



General Assembly

PROVISIONAL

A/42/PV.5
22 September 1987

ENGLISH

Forty-second session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FIFTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 21 September 1987, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic)

- Address by Mr. Jaime Lusinchi, President of the Republic of Venezuela
- General debate [9]: (continued)

Statements were made by:

Mr. Adodo (Togo)
Mr. Iglesias (Uruguay)
Mr. Sorsa (Finland)
Mr. Wagner-Tizon (Peru)
Mr. Hermannsson (Iceland)

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

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

The meeting was called to order at 3.25 p.m.

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

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

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

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

President LUSINCHI (interpretation from Spanish): Mr. President, on behalf of the people and Government of Venezuela, I am pleased to convey to you my sincere congratulations on your election as President of the forty-second session of the General Assembly. Your well-known personal qualities and your wide experience as a diplomat are guarantees that in this new stage of General Assembly activities we shall achieve fruitful results.

May I also express Venezuela's appreciation of the outstanding work accomplished by Mr. Choudhury of Bangladesh, the outgoing President of the Assembly. His valuable contribution was felt in many fields and his actions bear witness to his support of the principles which guide the United Nations.

It is with particular pleasure that I also greet most respectfully the Secretary-General, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, an eminent Latin American. His persistent efforts on behalf of international peace and harmony and the intellect and tenacity of which he has given proof in the discharge of his lofty functions have won him broad and open recognition.

Once again I come to this forum of universal dialogue to reaffirm the commitment of Venezuela to the fundamental causes of peace and understanding among peoples, which are the *raison d'être* of this Organization.

(President Lusinchi)

I come to this Assembly in the conviction that in times of great economic crisis, extreme political dilemmas and unabating threats to peace the United Nations is strengthened as the undeniable contemporary chosen place for negotiating solutions to the major problems which affect the international community. Our message is therefore one of unequivocal support for its endeavours and labours.

This assures me that I am interpreting the unanimous conviction of Venezuelans in reaffirming unambiguously that Venezuela has faith in the United Nations, in the motives that brought it into being and in the effectiveness of its ideals. We are firmly on the side of those who strive to strengthen it. The satisfaction of many basic expectations depends on its vigour. We cannot allow the prospects for collective well-being to suffer for the sake of subordinate interests. The time has come for concrete initiatives and results, with a clear sense of the responsibilities at stake. The United Nations can do it. We are certain of that.

I should like to put before this General Assembly some views which seem to me to be basic to the present international situation, together with a broad outline of the foreign policy of my Government, which is the Government of the Venezuelan people.

(President Lusinchi)

At the outset I must refer to the challenge of peace at the global and the regional level. The dangers which beset the human race in this nuclear era are well known. We are also familiar with the serious obstacles that lie in the path of a just and lasting peace. Confronted with these barriers, it is natural that pessimism often prevails in prognostications on the subject of peace and its future.

We cannot, of course, deceive ourselves. While it is true that since what is called the Second World War no new general conflagration has broken out, it is also true that the current "nuclear peace" is less a voluntary arrangement - which, of course, is not reassuring either - than the result of implacable rivalry for power and dominance, spurred by fear, mistrust and the quest for hegemony.

These facts cannot be concealed, but it would also be wrong not to point out some positive signs which show that our wills are not yet governed by irrationality. We realize that arms control and disarmament are not in themselves guarantees of peace, but there is no doubt that they make it clear that there is a desire for peace. In this respect, we welcome the important steps which the two great nuclear Powers have been taking to eliminate medium- and short-range missiles in Europe.

Venezuela wishes its voice to be heard in categorical support for this and other initiatives designed to lessen in some measure the crushing burden of the nuclear-arms race. I think it is necessary, and also fair, to recognize the positive intentions which seem to motivate the leaders of the great Powers in the negotiations under way. Let us hope that this spirit of compromise will be the prelude to speedier and more far-reaching advances on the road to arms control and nuclear disarmament. In these times, when the danger of self-destruction is looming with threatening clarity, we cannot rely on the balance of nuclear terror

(President Lusinchi)

as an element for peace. We must go beyond that and support peace on the basis of the values of international tolerance and understanding.

A few days ago the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development took place. It confirmed once again the obvious fact that in the midst of the economic-financial crisis which the developing countries face it has now become imperative that measures be taken which will make possible a rechanneling of substantial financial resources, which would undoubtedly facilitate the solution of some of the grave problems confronting our countries.

Any progress in the field of disarmament will be a welcome step towards a goal which we defend and will continue to defend resolutely. We therefore once again urge the super-Powers to accelerate and broaden negotiations in the field of nuclear disarmament. Similarly, as we reiterated at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, another objective which we shall not renounce is the conclusion of a convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons. We are pleased to see the progress that is being made on this subject in the ongoing negotiations.

In accordance with the principles of this Organization, we have exercised our responsibility as a member of the Security Council during three terms in the course of our 30 years of democratic life. Our current mandate as a non-permanent member of the Council, the primary organ of the United Nations, where we have at all times endeavoured to play a conciliatory and constructive role in the promotion of world peace, ends in December.

My country will continue to pursue its recognized peaceful calling and course in all relevant parts of the world. We firmly and loyally support the settlement of disputes between States by peaceful means, including direct negotiations, without pressure or unacceptable deadlines. We advocate the use of reasonable, broad and open dialogue to settle disputes.

(President Lusinchi)

It is in this spirit that we have taken part as a member of the Contadora Group in the resolute quest for peace in the Central American region. After four years of arduous work aimed at achieving a peaceful, negotiated solution to the Central American crisis, we are beginning to see some results which allow us to be reasonably optimistic.

The agreements reached in Guatemala by the Presidents of the five Central American Republics were a substantial advance and justify our referring to the obstacles that have been overcome. This is an effort made by the Central American countries themselves, which should make the agreed procedure genuine and trustworthy.

I wish to emphasize that the International Verification and Follow-up Commission provided for in the Guatemala agreement was established in Caracas a few weeks ago. The members of the Commission are the Foreign Ministers of the Contadora Group, of the Support Group and of Central America, and the Secretaries-General of the Organization of American States and of the United Nations.

We are, of course, aware that in this whole process we need the co-operation of countries with links with and interests in the region. All our efforts could be impaired and peace in Central America made impossible without a positive contribution from these elements. We also recognize that this conflict, like many others we have witnessed and are witnessing, is to a large extent the result of underlying socio-economic injustices, which have to be addressed. These are fundamental aspects and the Contadora and Support Groups take them into account in their true dimensions. Thus it was decided at the Caracas meeting to take the necessary steps immediately to prepare a structure and an instrument for an emergency programme of international technical and economic co-operation for the

(President Lusinchi)

benefit of the countries of the region. It was also agreed that work would be begun as soon as possible by the international community on measures to implement the programme. This is an important requirement.

The continuing negotiations and the political will constantly evinced in the joint action of the countries of the Contadora Group, enhanced by the addition of the countries of the Support Group, have led to the accumulation of a wealth of useful experience, prompting the eight countries to establish a permanent mechanism for consultations and concerted political actions. This was set up in Rio de Janeiro in December 1986.

This action is in line with our purpose of strengthening, organizing systematically and harmonizing political action by participating Governments, by means of regular consultations on matters which affect or interest our countries, in the context of increasing Latin American unity. We are also prompted by the determination to require and strengthen democratic and pluralist processes on our continent. We have not entered into competition with organizations and forums in our regional area, nor do we intend to do so.

As a step forward in this process, the eight Presidents of the consultation mechanism have decided to meet in Mexico at the end of next November to decide on specific objectives which will contribute to a broader understanding among the Governments and peoples of the Latin American region.

The trend towards democracy in Latin America has fortunately received a great impetus in recent years. Nevertheless, we must reaffirm our conviction that there is a close connection between international security, democratic stability and the socio-economic development of our countries. The survival of democracy has much to do with the capacity of a system based on freedom to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of its people to well-being. We know full well that the primary

(President Lusinchi)

obligation in meeting the challenges of development rests on our own shoulders. But this in no way diminishes the responsibility which the industrialized world shares and the contribution which it should make in the struggle against protectionism and in the sensible management of the debt problem in such a way as not to curtail our prospects of socio-economic progress and political stability.

If we are sincere - and history will not forgive us if we are not - we must recognize that the protectionist race in which some developed countries are engaged and the problem of the external debt and the rise in interest rates, which have recently been dangerously accentuated, are two scourges that also have sinister implications for world peace.

No viable solution has yet been found to the external debt problem, the solution of which has so far been approached without regard to any historical perspective. Instead it has been dealt with simply as a financial question, and the arrangements necessary to settle once and for all a crisis which affects both international banking and the development of peoples have simply been postponed. Even more alarming is the fact that increasing limitations are being placed on the debtor countries' capacity to meet the basic needs of their peoples. This one-sided and selfish approach undoubtedly creates deep divisions in international economic relations and jeopardizes social peace in the world.

(President Lusinchi)

We have been asked to be patient and make sacrifices, and we have demonstrated patience and made sacrifices so as to avert an international financial collapse and win time in seeking a concerted and shared solution to the indebtedness problem. But our attitude has been ignored and misinterpreted. A political dialogue has become more difficult; the conditions set by the international financial community have become more severe, and our ability to honour our international commitments by sharing in international trade has been restricted. It is therefore imperative - this bears repetition - to hold a broad and sincere dialogue between creditors and debtors, on the basis of co-responsibility and the right to develop.

I am saying this with the authority which Venezuela has by having honoured its obligations and negotiated the restructuring of its debt in a framework of moderation and understanding, and as a warning in the face of a crisis which, because it was postponed without any effort to deal with the root of the problem, might assume an even more acute form.

The protectionism of the industrialized countries - due in large measure to a lack of discipline in the management of their domestic economies - represents a new, fundamental and unfair - indeed abusive - restriction on opportunities for the developing countries to maintain normal relations with the international economic community. Through all kinds of mechanisms, crude and subtle, our products' access to international markets is being hampered, which in turn prevents us from adopting development strategies based on a large share in the world economy. While the rules of international trade are being side-stepped, new ones are being devised which ignore the needs of the developing countries, with no regard for the consequences to the stability and evolution of international relations.

As a result of this lack of perspective, the poor countries are now in the absurd situation of sending net transfers of resources to the rich countries,

(President Lusinchi)

which, in practical terms, means, greater poverty, deeper inequalities and fewer possibilities of maintaining a dialogue and institutional stability.

From every point of view, it is necessary to support negotiating endeavours so as to find better solutions for the problems mentioned. But it is also necessary to avert the risk that the developing countries remain on the sidelines of the far-reaching changes that are now taking place - among other reasons because of innovations in technology, production and international trade.

Unless international co-operation fills this gap we all run the risk of projecting into the future an international economy compartmentalized into unrelated blocs or, what would be even worse, integrated on the basis of dependent relationships, the characteristics and effects of which would doubtless be contrary to the purpose and to the essence of this Organization. We must therefore remember that we have pending on the agenda the mandate for the start of global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development, which should be revised and ratified in the light of present circumstances, including the results of the Seventh United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD VII), which met in Geneva last July.

That Conference was able to hold a constructive dialogue among all regional groups on the subject of the reactivation of development, growth and international trade through multilateral co-operation. This is very important; it is one of the surest steps taken so far to solve the problems raised.

In its conclusions, we note that it went beyond a diagnosis of the international economic situation and, in the measures and policies recommended by consensus, the Conference made it possible for UNCTAD, as the principal institution in the United Nations system in matters of economic development, to resume, at least in part, its proper role in multilateral economic politics.

(President Lusinchi)

We therefore trust that UNCTAD VII will mark the end of the process of debilitation and of the disagreements to which UNCTAD has been subjected. If UNCTAD has proved anything, it has been its relevance as a forum for the formulation and negotiation of policies and measures regarding the problems of international economic relations and economic development. Today we have a better perception of the problems, their scope and implications, of the positions and prospects for which they are managed, as well as of the directions that need to be taken for their solution.

In connection with the growing interdependence of all our countries, my Government wishes to make a very special mention of the report entitled "Our Common Future", prepared by the World Commission on the Environment and Development, an organization presided over by the Prime Minister of Norway, Mrs. Gro Harlem Bruntland, and whose final report has been submitted to this Assembly for consideration.

The diagnosis, conclusions and guidelines of that valuable work have been closely scrutinized in my country. Venezuela's traditional position, both at the national level and in the international forums dealing with the study of environmental problems, has been to defend development in harmony with a balanced ecology, of which man is an integral part and without which his very existence could be threatened. We welcome the publication of this brilliant and useful work and urge that it be debated with a creative intent for the best interests of man and his future.

I should also like to refer to the phenomenon of international trade in toxic and dangerous wastes. It is scandalous that this should exist and that the disparities in technology, progress, in the legal infrastructure and control are so abused as to make many developing countries the dumping ground of the scum of

(President Lusinchi)

industrial activity. This situation requires thorough study and regulation at the multilateral level. Venezuela will support every effort aimed at guaranteeing that by the beginning of 1989 the international community will be in a position to approve a world-wide convention on the control of cross-border movements of dangerous wastes.

In the meantime, the Government of Venezuela has decided to adopt regulatory provisions to prevent its territory from becoming the recipient of toxic wastes.

I must also reaffirm, with utmost force and urgency, that at times when we are busy solving pressing problems, we neglect what is perhaps one of the greatest dangers for mankind: the gradual breakdown of the environmental eco-system which is nevertheless our main source of sustenance and life. We therefore maintain that at all levels of activity of the United Nations system, as well as of all other sub-regional, regional and international organs, a greater awareness should be fostered of the close link between economic development and environmental problems, as well as of their long-term effects. It is urgent to ensure the quality of life for generations to come. Accordingly, we support with keen interest the holding, this session, of a plenary meeting devoted exclusively to items pertaining to the environment and development.

Venezuela is attentively following the process of reviewing the efficiency of the administrative and financial functioning of the United Nations, as called for in resolution 41/213, as well as an in-depth study of the intergovernmental structure of the United Nations and of its functions in the economic and social field, now underway in an ad hoc committee of the Economic and Social Council. This process, which is intended to improve the United Nations system, should not, however, affect the essential functions, mandates and programmes of the Organization.

(President Lusinchi)

As we see it, there is nothing whatever that can justify depriving the Organization of the budgetary resources which are mandatory under the Charter, nor for compelling it to dismantle its infrastructure and programmes because of delays and failures to comply with financial obligations. Such an attitude is inadmissible, the more so if it proceeds from contributors with a high level of responsibility towards the Organization.

The Government of Venezuela, even in the face of a difficult situation as regards its exports earnings and of countless economic and social needs, has made it a point of honour to comply fully with its obligations towards this Organization. Almost all Member countries have had the same attitude. We can only trust that the so-called United Nations financial crisis, the origin of which is well known, will be overcome by full compliance with the obligations we all undertook on becoming Members of this Organization.

One of the basic items that has figured prominently in our debates is the battle we are waging to eradicate the grave scourge of the production, consumption, abuse and illicit traffic of drugs.

At the International Conference held in Vienna in June last, important steps were taken to draft measures for international co-operation in this field, where the need for concerted action by all countries is becoming increasingly evident. The phenomenon of cross-border drug trafficking cannot be defeated by one country alone. It must be addressed on all fronts: domestic, bilateral and multilateral. The Vienna Conference succeeded in producing two important documents in this direction, that is, the Declaration and the broad and multidisciplinary Plan of Action, which are before us as instruments of undeniable value to guide and harmonize actions by States and by international organizations in the crusade against drugs.

(President Lusinchi)

On the other hand, as a measure to supplement the efforts of the international community in this direction, Venezuela, a resolute pioneer in this struggle, will steadfastly pursue its action within the United Nations, so that we may as soon as possible conclude the convention against the illicit traffic in drugs and psychotropic substances, the initial draft of which the Venezuelan delegation submitted to this Assembly in 1984. The work done so far leads us to be optimistic, but it is obvious that in this field - the battle against what I have not hesitated to call the "Trojan Horse" of our civilization - much remains to be done, particularly in those countries that provide the biggest markets for this fiendish consumption. Not to face this aspect of the problem decisively would be suicidal. The war against drugs must be global, at every stage, lest we be defeated.

Once again we must refer to the grave conflicts prevailing in southern Africa. It is intolerable that, after long decades of debates and decisions taken both by the Security Council and by this Assembly, the colonialism and racism imposed by the ruling minority in South Africa should persist at all costs.

Once again we urge South Africa to comply fully with Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), thus leading to the prompt independence of Namibia, as decided by the international community.

Venezuela attaches particular importance to its relations with African countries. With them we wish to pursue our efforts in the common struggle for the final eradication of apartheid and the defeat of colonialism reigning in Namibia.

One of the issues the Organization has been dealing with for decades is the Middle East conflict, a constant concern of the entire international community. We express the hope that it may be possible to arrive at a meeting of minds which will enable progress to be made towards a negotiated, just and lasting solution in that

(President Lusinchi)

important region of the world. In this respect we support the Secretary-General's efforts aimed at convening a peace conference on the Middle East with the participation of all parties concerned.

In the same context, we are gravely concerned about the persistent tension and armed confrontations between Iran and Iraq - countries with which Venezuela maintains cordial and important relations. We hope that this long war, which has engendered such widespread destruction, will soon be ended thus averting the implicit danger of a widening of the conflict.

The existence of this Organization, the continuing validity of its noble principles and ideals and its broad and diverse action in many different aspects of international life - all bear eloquent witness to its role and what it can accomplish.

There is no doubt that after this already lengthy road of 42 years of United Nations existence many expectations remain unrealized, but action on many others is on course and moving confidently into the future. In these times of supreme challenge our Organization urges us to strengthen it and give it our most resolute support.

We earnestly hope that the deliberations of this session of the General Assembly will be reflected in effective and fruitful results that will promote harmony and progress for all peoples, within a balanced world order where genuine and total peace prevails, free from any restrictions. That is what the yearning for justice of universal man still demands.

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

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

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. ADODO (Togo) (interpretation from French): We are once again gathered here in the General Assembly Hall of the United Nations, where so many debates have been heard on the most pressing questions of stability, peace and security in our world.

We are interrupted in our daily comforts by extremely grave images of suffering which regularly come to the fore from the four corners of the extended village our world has become, laying bare the desperation of millions of men, women and children who are deprived of the most basic requirements of life or of their legitimate rights as citizens.

However, we must persevere in our faith in the future, which is what brings us here together. We must continue and intensify our actions in order to fashion our world to reflect the hopes of all peoples, which are still counting on the capacity of our Organization to lead them towards a future of peace, dignity and prosperity.

I should like to say that my country is very much aware of our responsibilities once again to share in and promote the spirit of dialogue and harmony which imbues the work of this Assembly. Togo is unswervingly devoted to the noble ideals of the United Nations. Hence I am very pleased to bring you, Mr. President, and all the delegations present here the fraternal greetings and message of peace and solidarity of the people and the Government of Togo, as well as of His Excellency General Gnassingbe Eyadema, President and founder of the Rally of the Togolese People and President of our Republic.

I am especially happy to express to you, Mr. President, the heartfelt congratulations of the Togolese delegation on your resounding election to the presidency of the forty-second session of the General Assembly. Your competence

(Mr. Adodo, Togo)

and proven reputation as a skilful diplomat, as well as the sincere devotion of your country, the German Democratic Republic, to the ideals of international peace and co-operation made you a natural choice for this post. We are sure that as a result of this choice our work will be carried out harmoniously and successfully.

May I also congratulate your predecessor, Mr. Choudhury of Bangladesh, on the skill with which he led the work of the forty-first session of the General Assembly and ensured its full success.

I should like, through the Secretary-General, to hail the entire United Nations system for its prominent role in favour of peace, security and international development. We take comfort in seeing Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar once again carrying out his functions with his well-known devotion and calm determination. We should like to congratulate him on his timely and wise initiatives to give our Organization renewed energy capable of enhancing its credibility and effectiveness. In this regard the Togolese Government is following with deep interest his mediation efforts to resolve conflict situations.

My delegation is particularly happy to find Ambassador Reed at your side, Mr. President, for he has gained the confidence and friendship of us all. We wish him full success in his new high functions.

It has been unanimously agreed on the occasion of the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of our Organization that the United Nations remains the only world institution where there are discussions which, as repetitive as they may seem, awaken the conscience of world leaders on the choices that must be made and the urgent solutions that must be reached. It is that indispensable role of the United Nations which is the reason for our being here to seek solutions to the problems besetting the world.

(Mr. Adodo, Togo)

Indeed, it is very disturbing to note that, despite oft-repeated professions of faith in our declarations - which particularly characterized the last session devoted to the International Year of Peace - the world is hardly in better shape. Peace remains precarious. The obstacles in the way of negotiation and understanding among peoples are increasing, thus fomenting conflicts of all kinds.

In the face of turbulence that at times shakes our faith in the future, the United Nations, because of its presence and permanence, is the embodiment of the triumph of reason over force, of intelligence over passions.

But there is still a long way to go before reason can triumph over brute force in South Africa, where at the cost of much blood and untenable violence the majority of the population is kept under total domination by the white minority. The hopes raised last year by the great wave of protests against apartheid have waned today, given Pretoria's blind obstinacy. Africa for its part will never give up its struggle for dignity and freedom. Indeed, how can we allow a system to persist on part of our continent where the most basic civil rights are flouted because of skin colour. How can Africa, as declared by the President of the Togolese Republic, General Gnassingbe Eyadema,

"resign itself to an unjust situation of oppression such as that now prevailing in this region, where a régime unworthy of mankind and our times, and contrary to any and all morality, is maintained through unspeakable violence against a population whose only crime is the colour of its skin."

Far from giving up their inhuman system the defenders of this absurd concept of political society are stiffening their intransigence. The state of emergency declared last year to silence the protests and revolts is still in force, to the great misery of the black population. It is time that Pretoria unconditionally

(Mr. Adodo, Togo)

give up once and for all its infamous system of apartheid. This is a requirement of history. All peoples have a common destiny of freedom, and no form of oppression, whatever its violence and its duration, can halt their unstoppable march towards dignity. This is a lesson which is often forgotten, but which remains eternally valid.

More than ever it is important for the international community to increase pressure by all available means. That is why, in order to support the resolutions of the General Assembly, the Security Council must adopt against South Africa the comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter. The Togolese Government reaffirms its full support for liberation movements, in particular, the African National Congress (ANC), whose constant willingness to engage in dialogue has been proved. We pay tribute to Nelson Mandela, symbol of the determination of the black people to fight humiliation and to refuse to yield to despair.

(Mr. Adodo, Togo)

Namibia is still being occupied in violation of international law and United Nations resolutions, despite our proclamations and our warnings. The rigours imposed by apartheid and its excesses are still being suffered there. Pretoria is brazenly increasing the obstacles to implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which prescribes the unconditional independence of the Territory. In specifically and abusively linking the withdrawal of its troops from Namibia to the withdrawal of the Cuban forces from Angola, the racist régime is resorting to diversion and scorning our resolutions in order to stalemate negotiations and perpetuate its illegal occupation of the Territory. The international community and the United Nations should use all means that could help bring South Africa to accept speedy implementation of resolution 435 (1978). For its part, Togo takes this opportunity to renew its firm support for the heroic struggle of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the sole, authentic representative of the Namibian people.

We must do everything possible to halt the aggressions being arbitrarily unleashed against the civilian populations of the front-line countries, which are courageously serving as ramparts against injustice and racism. The Togolese Government hails the determination of the leaders and peoples of the front-line States who are opposing the violence and provocations of the South African army and the rebels taking orders from Pretoria.

The situation in Chad is a legitimate subject of concern for us all. Twenty years of fratricidal war have exhausted that country and its fraternal people, who aspire to peace in union with their sons and families, with the integrity of their territory restored. Our country hails the desire for national reconciliation which has been affirmed there. Unity among all the people of Chad is indispensable in order to rebuild and guarantee the independence of their country, which should then at last be able to devote itself to the essential tasks of development.

(Mr. Adodo, Togo)

We are pleased to note that the parties to the conflict support the proposal of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) for a cease-fire so that this dispute between them over the Aouzou Strip can be settled peacefully and definitively.

In order to prevent a further deterioration of the situation, on 17 September last the political bureau of the Assembly of the Togolese people urged the parties to the conflict to abstain from the use of force and advocated the following three-point plan for the peaceful solution of the dispute: first, an immediate cease-fire and the withdrawal of all forces involved from the Aouzou Strip; secondly, dispatch into the field of a neutral intermediary force, whose composition would be determined by the two parties involved, and whose mission it would be to ensure respect for the cease-fire; and, finally, acceptance by both parties of arbitration by the International Court of Justice.

In Western Sahara, the parties to the conflict have still not achieved a satisfactory agreement on the question of self-determination. We must continue to encourage all those who are trying to reconcile the various positions involved. We hope that intransigence will give way to greater flexibility so that an agreement can be brought about as quickly as possible in accordance with resolution 104 of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and General Assembly resolution 40/50. We hail the unceasing efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Acting President of the OAU to find a just and equitable solution to this conflict.

The war between Iraq and Iran is assuming unexpected dimensions that are greatly disturbing the entire international community. Indeed, recent developments in that conflict and the excessive concentration of military might in the small Gulf area indeed justify our fears. Indeed, all States that are truly aware of the gravity of the situation that has thus been brought about have greeted with relief the Security Council resolution directing Iraq and Iran to put an end to the

(Mr. Adodo, Togo)

hostilities, and we hope that that decision, which followed upon many appeals to the two belligerents, will be implemented so that the confrontation can be brought to an end in the interests of all. In this regard, the hopes raised by the recent peace missions of the Secretary-General to Iran and Iraq must not be disappointed.

Lebanon is living through a situation of open and permanent warfare whose origins go far back in time. The Lebanese nation is slowly crumbling as a result of the cruel and implacable war, which is constantly escaping control and reason. No one can be indifferent to the Lebanese tragedy. The violence it is engendering poses a real threat to stability in the Middle East. We invite the parties to renew their dialogue so that they may achieve an agreement that would make it possible for that country to return to peace and stability. Peace should be the basic objective in dealing with this acute conflict, which has pitted Israel against the Arab countries for many years now. At the centre of this conflict there remains the painful Palestinian problem. My country supports the idea of an international conference that would bring together, under the auspices of the United Nations, all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Such a conference should find appropriate solutions to the problems facing the countries of the region.

This year we again have on our agenda the painful problem of Kampuchea. My country has on several occasions expressed its position on the foreign domination to which that country is subjected. We feel that nothing justifies the occupation of a country by forces foreign to it. The eight-point proposal of the Tripartite Coalition led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk is conducive to making possible an agreement between the parties to the conflict. The United Nations should continue to support the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, and the Government of Togo wishes here and now to reaffirm its firm support for the people of Democratic Kampuchea in their struggle for territorial integrity and independence.

(Mr. Adodo, Togo)

Afghanistan, also, is a victim of the occupation of its territory by foreign troops, and that has forced its people to engage in armed resistance and exodus from the country. Togo hails the decision on the withdrawal of foreign troops and desires its effective implementation so that that country may be freed and its people may have the government of their choice free of foreign interference.

The Korean war ended with the division into two parts of Korean territory. Today the Korean people, whose common destiny springs from geography, culture and thousands of years of shared history, is suffering as a result of that division. The international community should not be indifferent to that tragedy. It should support the three-point plan of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, implementation of which would culminate in the constitution of a Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo, in which each of the two Koreas would have the régime of its choice pending final reunification. At the end of that process, Korea could be admitted to the United Nations as a single, united national entity. Any other solution would serve to perpetuate the present arbitrary division of the country. That is why we urge the international community and the United Nations to support the efforts to ensure reunification of the Korean homeland.

In Central America hope is being reborn following the agreement signed last August in Guatemala City by the five principal States of the region to bring about peace in that region. We hope that the parties concerned and all other interested parties will abstain from any measures that could disturb effective implementation of that agreement. My country would like to pay a tribute to President Arias Sanchez and to hail the exceptional contribution of Costa Rica as well as that of the Contadora group of countries to the restoration of peace in Central America.

The persistence of these zones of tension make the vital need for world disarmament all the clearer to us.

(Mr. Adodo, Togo)

The accumulation of arms in the world maintains and increases the climate of distrust and suspicion which incites States to engage in the arms race. Only effective and complete disarmament will make it possible for all nations to live in peace. This objective requires the courage and objectivity of us all.

The United Nations should therefore strengthen its powers of dissuasion and promote peaceful behaviour and a peaceful spirit among peoples and Governments. Individually and collectively, our States should work towards this objective.

(Mr. Adodo, Togo)

Our world is today at a crossroads and it must choose between continuing to arm and continuously endangering the human species and proceeding to general and complete disarmament, which would release new resources that could be used to improve the living conditions of our peoples.

There is thus a real link between disarmament and development. The evidence for that link was clearly emphasized at the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, which has just concluded its work. We hope that the efforts made in this connection will be pursued relentlessly, making it possible to determine the precise means by which resources released by disarmament will be reallocated to programmes for the economic, social and cultural development of our peoples.

It is encouraging that since last year significant progress has been made in the negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on nuclear disarmament. While we pay a tribute to those two great Powers for their courage, tenacity and sense of responsibility, we must say that their efforts should be increased and continued unceasingly and extended to all types of conventional, strategic and other weapons. We extend our warm congratulations to the Soviet Union and the United States for the important agreement on medium-range missiles which they have just concluded.

It is the duty of all States, large or small, to participate in our Organization's efforts to bring about disarmament. That is why Togo is pleased to have on its soil the United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa. My country has already concretely demonstrated its support for the Centre and will continue to support it to the best of its ability.

Terrorism in its present manifestations is a permanent danger to peace and a constant threat to the foundations of the political organization of our societies.

(Mr. Adodo, Togo)

My country, Togo, twice the victim, in 1985 and in September 1986, of mindless, blind terrorism, feels that this is a scourge with which the international community must deal with all the vigilance and determination that it demands.

In addition to the political problems which assail it, our world is also experiencing a tragic economic situation. Today the peoples' growth and development should be an objective of and a responsibility shared by all States. And here, as elsewhere, our ability to find appropriate solutions to the problems born of profound imbalances in international economic relations depends upon our understanding and our co-operation.

It should be no surprise that I am beginning my statement on this subject with the critical economic situation in Africa, which is of the greatest possible concern to the Governments and peoples of the continent. This is not the time to go at great length into Africa's economic situation; we have discussed that thoroughly, particularly during the special session which our Organization devoted to consideration of the question last year. However, I should like to recall that Africa is today the poorest continent on our planet. It accounts for the greatest number of least developed countries, and is exposed to such serious natural calamities as drought and desertification. Finally, it is a continent confronted by a continuing decrease in its export earnings and a considerable foreign debt the repayment of which heavily mortgages its development prospects. Africa has made enormous sacrifices to extricate itself from this tragic situation. It has begun structural adjustment programmes whose implementation has forced it to abandon many development projects. Many African countries have adopted economic recovery measures which had a considerable effect on the standard of living of their populations.

(Mr. Adodo, Togo)

However, those efforts have not attracted the support expected of the international community. In particular, the international community has not fulfilled its commitment to mobilize additional resources within the framework of the United Nations Programme for the Economic Recovery and Development of Africa, adopted last year. In these conditions, it will soon be impossible for the African countries to make the additional sacrifices without seriously compromising social peace, stability and domestic security. That is why my country appeals urgently to the international community to respect its commitments and substantially increase its assistance to the African continent to enable it to overcome its difficulties with regard to economic and social development.

The analysis of the present economic situation in Africa naturally leads us to consider the more general problem of the indebtedness of the developing countries, and in particular that of the reduction of the prices of raw materials and, consequently, the deterioration in the terms of trade. These are questions which are inextricably linked and whose solution is a challenge to our imagination, innovative capacity and collective intelligence. It is a challenge that we must meet.

To this end, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) decided to devote a special session towards the end of this year to consideration of this question, which urgently requires solution. To reach such a solution it is clearly necessary to deal directly with the structural causes of indebtedness and especially with the factors that compromise the ability of the debtor countries to repay: namely, the erratic fluctuations in currency rates and increases in interest rates. These are undoubtedly some of the factors that explain the irresistible growth of debt despite the praiseworthy efforts of developing countries to honour their commitments.

(Mr. Adodo, Togo)

It is urgently necessary that effective measures be taken to alleviate countries' debt burden. In a spirit of responsibility and solidarity, agreements between debtors and creditors must lead to the revision of agreements and the application of interest rates and repayment arrangements under very easy conditions. The pure and simple cancellation of debts to which some creditor countries have kindly agreed is an important step in the right direction. We wish once again to express our great gratitude to those countries for their gesture of solidarity and understanding.

It is necessary also that developed countries do everything they can to achieve or even exceed as soon as possible the objective of 0.7 per cent of their gross national product for official development assistance. In the case of the least developed countries, this assistance should be increased to 1.5 per cent of the gross national product, or doubled, in accordance with the New Substantial Programme of Action for the 1980s. Official development assistance should not only increase in volume, but should be accompanied by favourable conditions, in particular symbolic interest rates and sufficiently lengthy periods of grace and repayment.

As regards the international economic environment, the recent initiatives and studies undertaken by the international community have not been in keeping with the situation. This is true of the results of the summit meeting of the seven most industrialized countries held this year in Venice. Those countries expressed their desire to contribute to bringing about more balanced relations and greater solidarity between the industrialized countries and the third world, but the Venice conclusions did not respond to the expectations of the developing countries. This is also true, with regard to the Seventh United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), held last July in Geneva, of which we had legitimate hopes.

(Mr. Adodo, Togo)

However, UNCTAD VII was not able to attack international economic problems with the necessary courage and political will. A difficult compromise was achieved on the items considered, but the many instances of reticence shown by some developed countries with regard to measures for restructuring the world economy constitute a source of major concern for the developing countries.

Nevertheless, we reaffirm that UNCTAD, despite its present difficulties, should continue to be an organ of special importance for consideration, negotiation and decision in the area of international economic co-operation.

(Mr. Adodo, Togo)

In South-South co-operation, geographical distance should not be an insurmountable obstacle to the intensification of economic exchanges between developing countries. That has been reaffirmed twice this year - by the ministerial conference on economic co-operation between non-aligned countries, held at Pyongyang, and at the meeting on Africa's economic recovery, held at Abuja, the new capital of Nigeria. In this regard we must evaluate all of the economic potential of the developing countries in order to benefit from the ways in which they complement one another.

In so doing, we shall improve our opportunities further to develop fruitful relations capable of increasing our collective autonomy. Within this framework we should encourage attempts at economic integration being made in Latin America, Asia and Africa. In Africa, in particular, our countries are making sustained efforts, in implementation of the Lagos Plan of Action adopted in 1980 by the Heads of State or Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), to draw their resources together and integrate their economies within subregional organizations, pending the conclusion of the process of setting up a vast common market covering the continent.

The United Nations was created because twice in one generation the whole world was shaken by a murderous, devastating war. Ending violence, maintaining and strengthening peace, and promoting economic and social development were the main goals that the founding fathers set for the Organization. All Member States, big and small, must make their contribution to the realization of those noble objectives and to the strengthening of the Organization. Let them, in a spirit of close solidarity, join their forces to struggle against the real and growing threats to their collective well-being and unite to establish a new world order in which all will derive the energy, and see the need, for building together a world more in accordance with the deep aspirations of the peoples to peace and justice.

Mr. IGLESIAS (Uruguay) (interpretation from Spanish): Year after year we come to the Assembly concerned about the direction of international events, which, with disheartening persistence, weaken our hopes of laying the foundations of lasting peace in this century.

It is not only a matter of our going through a period of crisis. In fact, the world, particularly in modern times, has been in permanent crisis. What makes today special in historical terms is the speed with which changes occur, their scope and mankind's manifest inability to manage them. It would seem that during these last few years, more than at any other time in history, ideas have been lagging behind events. That should not surprise us. The world has evolved so rapidly that we have had to give up our notion of life as order to think of it in terms of movement. May it not be that during recent years man's creative energy has developed mainly in the scientific and technological fields, leaving behind man as a forger of ideas and institutions needed to bring order and leadership to the technological world that he has created? Today, more than ever, ideas are needed; ideas for regaining our mastery over a dynamic world that is going out of control and threatening to make us its prisoners.

Faced with the gulf between facts and ideas, with the persistence of factors that work against peace and security, and with the international community's inability to put an end to them, or at least to mitigate their effects, we believe the time has come to pause, so that we may all proceed on the one hand to examine the extent to which the international system set up after the Second World War adequately responds to the problems of the world of today, and, on the other, seriously to analyse our own individual attitudes, which, based solely on the satisfaction of special interests, threaten the most elementary forms of the international co-operation which we have so laboriously and hopefully built up over four post-war decades.

(Mr. Iglesias, Uruguay)

Uruguay has already stated in other forums that the poor performance of the international system, both in political and economic terms, is due largely to a turning away from the fundamental principles on which the post-war international order was built - international solidarity and multilateralism.

By pointing here to the crisis involving these principles, we are not simply referring nostalgically to ethical and political values of the past. We are pointing out the validity of two pillars of international relations, which we cannot put aside in the interest of pragmatism or so-called realism. If we wish to build a more equitable world, we must keep in step with the realities, but not at the price of undermining the climate of understanding and dialogue which we have created during these last 40 years.

That is why it is necessary to view international problems in a global context. A world of peace and justice can be based only on the conviction that there are no national interests that are not of concern to the international community; that what a country does or fails to do will have, in varying degree, repercussions on the international environment; that, if I may paraphrase, nothing that involves any State can be unimportant to the international community. Precisely because interdependence is today a fact which no country can avoid, we ask of the multilateral system an open and co-operative attitude so that the approach to and discussion of problems shall not be limited to partial, short-sighted views.

Last year, on an occasion similar to this, when Uruguay reiterated its support for the United Nations, we stated our belief in the need for an in-depth, unprejudiced and comprehensive analysis of the instruments available to the international community to achieve its common objectives, in order to determine their adequacy in present circumstances and the measures needed to correct their

(Mr. Iglesias, Uruguay)

failings and limitations. We still believe that such an analysis is necessary and that we must not delay it, going beyond the recent studies and proposals on restructuring.

This exercise must be carried out within the ethical and legal framework of the principles of the San Francisco Charter, and the United Nations must continue to be the main channel for international co-operation and solving political disputes. Our confidence in the Organization as an instrument of peace was recently strengthened when it was resorted to in an attempt to put an end to the tragic conflict between Iran and Iraq, which has gone on for years.

Uruguay is grateful for the spirit of compromise and the will to co-operate shown by the permanent members of the Security Council on this occasion, as well as for the Secretary-General's bold efforts. We trust that the Organization's intervention and the aggressive diplomatic action by the Secretary-General will be instrumental in restoring peace to that troubled region.

Despite what I have said so far, there are encouraging signs that we must not ignore, signs that make us think that the world is today better prepared than ever to adopt this comprehensive and long-term view, which the solution of our common problems demands. That is what happens when we observe the democratization process of the last 15 years, which, despite accidental set-backs and collapses, has continued to move forward and has become consolidated in all the regions of the world.

(Mr. Iglesias, Uruguay)

Moves towards democratization, begun in the 1970s when there were important political changes in countries of southern Europe, later spread to all regions of the world and were substantially furthered by the recent democratic recovery of almost all the countries of Latin America. This process is, in the judgement of the Government of Uruguay, a decisive factor in the pursuit of peace and security. Democracy, understood as the political system which is based on free and periodic election of its authorities, is the system which by its very essence ensures respect for human rights, the political independence of States and the ethical and legal principles which must govern international relations. There is a close undeniable relationship between peace and the effective exercise of democracy. History teaches us that the most serious disputes and wars of the past were almost always caused by authoritarian, expansionist and colonialist régimes. This is illustrated at the present time by the persistence of the Government of South Africa in continuing its intolerable policy of apartheid and the illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia, which is a clear threat to peace and an infringement of human rights, against which the formal repudiation of the international community seems not to be a sufficient reply.

On the other hand, the democracies are experiencing a natural rapprochement leading to solidarity and co-operation. What is happening at present in the Latin American regional environment is an example of how democratic Governments can coexist in peace and work for peace. For some time now, these Governments have decided to co-ordinate their efforts to find a solution to the great problems that afflict the hemisphere, initiating a process of active, direct and responsible diplomacy hitherto unprecedented in Latin America. In this search they have established informal procedures for consultation, co-ordination and negotiation in diverse areas including, inter alia, the peaceful settlement of regional conflicts,

(Mr. Iglesias, Uruguay)

economic integration and policy co-ordination in areas such as external debt and financial and trade questions.

The forthcoming meeting of eight presidents of the region will be a significant step towards Latin American solidarity and towards the political presence of the region in the world.

The Contadora Group and the Support Group, of which Uruguay is a member, continue to be, despite the enormous difficulties they have had to face, a vigorous expression of solidarity in the hemisphere. The Contadora Group has had a decisive influence on the search for a formula for a satisfactory political solution to the already long and painful drama of Central America. The end of this drama is up to the protagonists themselves, but it is undeniable that Contadora and its Support Group have played an essential role in bringing the parties together and in dissuading them from finding any but a political or diplomatic solution to the problem.

We hope that we are witnessing the last act of this drama and that its outcome will be a solution based on the principles of non-intervention, the free choice of peoples and genuine democratization and pluralism. On this occasion I wish to pay a tribute to President Arias of Costa Rica, whose efforts towards the restoration of peace in Central America deserve the gratitude of all of Latin America. The recent Esquipulas II agreements, which have been mentioned today, are a bold, responsible and dispassionate step taken by the Central American countries themselves. They deserve our full support and call for solidarity and non-interference on the part of all countries, especially those which have direct or indirect interests in the region. Let us, then, with our political solidarity and our co-operation, help the Central American peoples themselves to achieve a just and lasting peace in the region.

(Mr. Iglesias, Uruguay)

The Latin American democracies are thus united in their search for peace in the region and the welfare of their peoples, but enormous efforts are necessary if democracy is to be maintained in the developing countries. By its very nature it is a vulnerable system and its vulnerability increases in an economic and political environment which is not propitious for it, especially the international environment which conditions and influences our destinies to such a degree.

On the one hand, the democracies are threatened by a set of economic factors which seriously endanger their survival. This fact was stated by the President of our country, President Sanguinetti, in this Assembly in 1985 in these words:

"A genuine democracy ... can be preserved only within an economic context that allows its citizens to provide for their basic material and spiritual needs. ... When this condition is not fulfilled and poverty and unemployment prevail, violence emerges and is unleashed, the sowers of disorder take advantage of the fertile soil, the fabric of society disintegrates and, in the international sphere, political loyalties become erratic." (A/40/PV.6, p. 12)

Just as development without democracy inevitably leads to authoritarianism and totalitarianism, sacrificing freedom and human rights, democracy without economic development ends up being an empty form, which inexorably leads to political and social instability.

Much time has passed since the idea that political and social peace were not possible in an economically divided world became part of the basic tenets of international reality; none the less economic contrasts and contradictions have only increased and deepened. It is not germane at present to attribute responsibilities or identify those at fault; fortunately, awareness of our interdependence has developed sufficiently to make us understand that, just as we have all been involved in the genesis of the present situation, we must all suffer

(Mr. Iglesias, Uruguay)

its consequences if no satisfactory solution is found. It is paradoxical that despite the fact that we are fully aware of our responsibilities we have not taken the necessary action to reverse the trends that are leading us to a dead end. Current economic indicators regarding trade, production, consumption, investment and financing do not allow for optimistic forecasts; the pace of world economic activity has lessened and in most of the developing countries the recessive trends that have characterized the development of their economies in the last few years still prevail.

When trying to face these problems the developing countries are at a great disadvantage and we stressed this in the recent meeting of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. Several factors have contributed to the worsening of their situation: in the first place, the renewal of protectionist pressures by industrialized countries. Those countries have kept up costly programmes of domestic support to certain productive sectors, thus limiting international competition. Perhaps more serious yet has been the use of export incentives and subsidies, which are incompatible with the standards governing international trade and which affect how world markets work by artificially distorting supply, which, in turn, has served to depress even more the price levels of products of special concern to the developing countries.

On the other hand, prices of the main export commodities of developing countries have steadily declined, with some recent exceptions, but these exceptions seem to be linked rather to crises in exchange parities than to a true recovery in price levels.

To this we must add the external debt problem. Although there has been progress in acknowledging joint responsibility in the origins and solution of the debt problem, as well as in acknowledging that the subject must be faced within a

(Mr. Iglesias, Uruguay)

positive context of growth and adjustment policies, the international economic situation has made the tremendous adjustments carried out by the debtor countries insufficient. For the vast majority of our countries it is impossible simultaneously to grow, invest and service their external debt. The massive transfer of financial resources abroad has continued, reaching unbearable dimensions for our economies.

As was stated by our Presidents in the letter addressed recently by the Cartagena Consensus to the Venice Summit,

"We consider it essential to insist that the external debt problem binds us all, due not only to its causes but also to its consequences."

(Mr. Iglesias, Uruguay)

In the face of this dramatic situation, all that has been said and done so far is obviously not enough. It is not enough to acknowledge responsibilities and show understanding; nor are the partial measures which the most developed countries have adopted either individually or collectively enough. Efforts to understand the economic problems which afflict the developing countries today and the search for solutions must be but the starting-point from which the members of the international community should initiate effective co-operative action and support the transformation of developing countries.

It is from this starting-point that, within the framework of serious and responsible international co-operation, we must undertake the necessary structural adjustments in both the developed and the developing countries, whatever may be their political and economic organization and whatever the relationships that link the members of each group together and to other groups.

Indeed, the world cannot be based on principles of justice and equal opportunities in the economic field without adjustments in all economies, not just those of the developing countries.

What is particularly needed is a decisive change of attitude on the part of the most developed countries, especially regarding trade. They must allow the developing countries to cease to be the depositories where the developed countries dump their subsidized excess production and the suppliers of raw materials paid for at unfairly low prices to finance the welfare of other peoples. The developing countries wish to have access to the markets of the developed countries and to obtain fair prices for their products so that they may be able to repay their debts and devote new credits to investment rather than to financing high interest rates.

In making these statements our attitude is responsible and constructive: first, because the great adjustment required during the past few years, the worst since the great depression, was at the expense of the standards of living of the

(Mr. Iglesias, Uruguay)

developing countries alone; and, secondly, because we have long abandoned the simplistic attitudes that cast the blame for all that happened in the developing countries on external forces or relationships.

We, too, the third-world countries, must make a great adjustment effort which will allow us to play the role we should play in the world economy. In this context, we continue to believe that, in addition to the adoption of serious and responsible policies outside our own economies, all possibilities of South-South co-operation should be explored and used. We are convinced that there is still much to be done along these lines and that we, the developing countries, must establish the direction of this co-operation and the ways in which it must take place. In this context, we welcome and have great hopes of the recently established South-South Commission under the chairmanship of the illustrious African Statesman, President Nyerere.

Not everything is dark in this field either. It would be unfair not to mention some of the facts which allow us to nurture modest hopes regarding future developments in economic matters.

First, I must mention the new round of negotiations started in Uruguay last year within the framework of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Fulfilling the resolutions of the Punta del Este meeting, several working groups have been established and plans for negotiations have been approved. The parties are acting with a fitting sense of urgency and responsibility, and this justifies our optimism regarding the results to be obtained. The Uruguay round continues to deserve the full support of all its participants. Furthermore, it was comforting to note that at the recent Venice summit conference the Heads of State of the seven Western industrialized countries supported the objectives of trade liberalization and the strengthening of the multilateral trade system through the Uruguay round, and undertook to submit concrete negotiation proposals in the near future.

(Mr. Iglesias, Uruguay)

To this we must add the results of the last United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), which the Government of Uruguay considers to be very satisfactory. It is fitting to stress the fact that for the first time a text incorporating within a multilateral framework a series of important conceptual advances regarding external debt, basic commodities and international trade was accepted by consensus. UNCTAD was undoubtedly strengthened by this session, in which its role as a significant forum for the international debate on the development question was reaffirmed.

The need to adopt more imaginative viewpoints and concepts of renewal is urgent and essential when dealing seriously with the economic problems which afflict us, and the same need exists in the political sphere.

Here, too, the scene is one of light and shade. This year we began our tasks in this area encouraged by several events which we interpret as clear signs that we are on the path towards the solution of some serious problems. We have already mentioned the efforts made by our Central American brothers to put an end to the tragedy that afflicts them, as well as the Organization's efforts in the Iran-Iraq dispute.

The recent constructive dialogue between the leaders of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic was a contribution to peace and the relaxation of tension in the world.

Some disputes continue against all logic, however. One such is that which has afflicted the Middle East for years and already taken an enormous toll in lives and resources, without changing the obstinate stance of the Governments involved, which are determined not to acknowledge the rights of other States and peoples. We restate our conviction that a lasting peace in the region must be based on acknowledgement of the right of Israel to continue to exist as a State, with stable

(Mr. Iglesias, Uruguay)

and secure borders, and the right of the Palestinian people freely to decide their destiny according to the resolutions of the world Organization.

Many situations which affect peace and security have been created through the influence of external factors which distort the will of peoples. Anything that tends to twist, misrepresent or suppress that will is a violation of the political independence of States, the free choice of peoples and democracy, and should therefore be condemned. That is why our country reiterates its deep concern at the continuance of situations such as those in Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Cyprus and of the intolerable forms of oppression practised in South Africa and Namibia. Similarly, the continuance of artificial political divisions, as in the case of the Korean people, does not contribute to peace.

These and other international situations feed the feeling of insecurity and serve as an excuse for large and small countries alike to persist in the absurd arms race, weakening the economies of many of them, to the benefit of the producer and middleman élite.

In no other sector is the chasm between technological creativity and political and institutional creativity so deep as in that of war industries. The degree of diversity, sophistication and power achieved by the weapons defies the imagination, while the production of and trade in these weapons continues to increase. Meanwhile, during the past few years disarmament and arms-control initiatives have made no significant progress. Having saturated the planet with enough arms to devastate it several times over, the aim is now to place those weapons in outer space, adding terror to terror and making more acute the collective feeling of impotence.

Recently, the great Powers have multiplied their efforts to achieve at least partial results in the negotiations on disarmament and arms control. Last weekend we read with relief and joy that the Governments of the United States and the

(Mr. Iglesias, Uruguay)

Soviet Union were on the verge of reaching an agreement on the control of short- and medium-range missiles. What was said this morning by the President of the United States is certainly encouraging and casts a ray of light in this long tunnel of frustration and failure. The super-Powers, on whose will the continuance of the world as a habitable place depends, must know that the attention and hopes of the entire international community are set on these initiatives and negotiations, and that they are morally and legally bound to intensify the efforts already begun before it is too late. They bear the major responsibility for rescuing the world from the obsession with arms, which has, unfortunately, contaminated the developing countries as well. It is especially in this area that the creativity and good faith of States can play their part.

We are not completely satisfied with the results of the Conference on disarmament and development. None the less, it cannot be denied that recognition by almost all the international community of the link between the two is, with the other conclusions, a promising starting-point for future action.

(Mr. Iglesias, Uruguay)

A third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament could be an opportunity to revitalize old ideas, propose new ones and adopt procedures to implement them. But such a special session must be called only when we are sure that positive and substantial results will be achieved. We must not let such an opportunity become a mere rhetorical exercise.

So long as initiatives regarding general and complete disarmament are not crystalizing, proposals to relieve specific geographic areas from the dangers arising from the use of force have a fundamental role to play in the maintenance of peace and security. Last year, Uruguay supported Brazil's initiative, which resulted in a General Assembly resolution declaring the South Atlantic a zone of peace and co-operation. There is no need to stress how important the South Atlantic region is to Uruguay, not only from a political and strategic point of view but also from an economic and environmental point of view. In Uruguay's judgement, that resolution is only a first step on the basis of which we must draw up a legal statute for the South Atlantic which, taking account in particular of the concerns of the coastal countries, would not only ensure the avoidance of non-peaceful activities in the region or of having it used as a pretext for confrontation and rivalry, but also become an encouraging basis for the development of new manifestations of solidarity and co-operation.

But the effective establishment of a zone of peace in the South Atlantic will not be possible while the problem of the Malvinas Islands remains unresolved. Once more, as on previous occasions, Uruguay urges the parties to this dispute to intensify their efforts to resume negotiations to put an end to a situation whose persistence affects the whole of Latin America, and whose final solution must restore the islands to Argentina, which holds legitimate sovereignty over them.

(Mr. Iglesias, Uruguay)

Last year, in the same Latin Americanist spirit, we received in our country the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Chile and Bolivia, determined to seek a fair and final solution to the question of Bolivia's outlet to the sea. We sincerely deplore the suspension of those discussions and, in a fraternal spirit, we urge our Chilean and Bolivian brothers to persist in their dialogue, for which purpose we shall always welcome them in our country. We are convinced that dialogue is the only way to put an end to a dispute which, in the interest of all, ought to be resolved.

It is our lot to live in a complex and challenging, but none the less fascinating, world. While dangers and threats thus far unknown to mankind appear ahead of us as a result of intolerance of all kinds and the arms race, the future also offers mankind the hitherto unimagined benefits of modern technological civilization.

The task with which this Organization was charged by its Charter, 42 years ago, was to manage this world according to principles of equity and justice. To realize that lofty purpose we must all decide with sincere political will to face up to the great points of ambivalence of our world, which are the most disappointing features of our time:

At a time when our civilization makes it possible for a minority to attain an unprecedented standard of living, hunger and poverty persist and are increasing for the vast majority.

At a time when we are approaching a half century of efforts to achieve international dialogue, we are incapable of overcoming in a spirit of mutual tolerance the violence of fundamentalism in all its forms - racial, religious and national - and of insane and bloody terrorism.

(Mr. Iglesias, Uruguay)

At a time when we are adopting charters, treaties and declarations on respect for human rights, flagrant violations of those very rights persist in every corner of the planet, reflecting shamefully on the most precious ethical and political principles of our civilization.

At a time when we recognize economic interdependence to be as inescapable as it is mutually beneficial, we are incapable of facing together the great imbalance and injustices of international economic relations, and undertaking the adjustments which have so far been focused mainly on the developing countries.

At a time when we are advancing along the path of technological progress as brilliant as it is unbridled, we are attacking the environment, thus compromising future life on the planet, as reported so accurately by the World Commission on Environment and Development in its study entitled "Our Common Future", which is to be considered at this very Assembly session.

At a time when enormous resources are required for the great structural transformation of the developing countries, we continue to spend on weapons in a single year the total value of all third-world external debt.

Those are only some of the great points of ambivalence which trouble and challenge mankind. To face them, a commitment to the values of a democratic, pluralist, tolerant society is necessary on the domestic scene, and a commitment to a society based on the principles of dialogue, fairness and co-operation is required on the international scene.

Those are the principles by which my Government stands, along with all of Uruguayan society. In 1985 Uruguay recovered its traditional democratic life and made fully effective the operation of its republican institutions, along with all human, civil and political rights, thus achieving national reconciliation and initiating the dynamic activity necessary to bring about the economic and social progress of our people.

(Mr. Iglesias, Uruguay)

As a part of Latin America, Uruguay feels deep solidarity with all countries of the region. We reiterate our integrationist vocation, particularly vis-à-vis our neighbours, with which we shall continue to build bridges of political and economic co-operation which, along with strengthening our national identity, further the purposes of democratic consolidation and progress in the entire sub-region.

On the international scene, Uruguay, which has always been true to its traditions of respect for and commitment to international law, will continue to do everything in its power to strengthen international dialogue and foster the fulfilment of the principles of the Charter of which it is a signatory. That is the message of my Government and of all of Uruguayan society.

That is our position as we come to this Assembly session. We are certain, Mr. President, that as they were under your predecessor, Mr. Humayun Rasheed Choudhury, the results of this session, under your wise and inspired guidance, will make a significant contribution to international harmony.

Mr. SORSA (Finland): I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-second session. I am convinced that your experience and diplomatic skill will help you lead this session to a successful conclusion. I am also pleased to note that you represent a country with which Finland enjoys good and constructive co-operation.

I wish to express the appreciation of the Finnish Government to your predecessor in the presidency, His Excellency Mr. Humayun Rasheed Choudhury, Foreign Minister of Bangladesh, for the most valuable work he did in presiding over the General Assembly at its forty-first session.

(Mr. Sorsa, Finland)

The Finnish Government supports the determined efforts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, for the benefit of our Organization. In the midst of its difficulties, the Organization has demonstrated the ability to resist the erosion of its authority. But that is not enough: the trend must be reversed. The General Assembly now has a particular responsibility to adopt decisions that will make it possible again for the United Nations to play the unique role its founding fathers had in mind when they drafted the Charter over 40 years ago. In that work, the annual report of the Secretary-General is a welcome harbinger of renewed faith.

(Mr. Sorsa, Finland)

We all agree that awesome challenges in the areas of security and disarmament and economic and social development as well as human rights call for action. In practice, however, agreement on strategies and concrete measures often remains beyond our reach. Perceiving the national interest in an antagonistic manner is contradictory to collective security. For more than four decades the United Nations has stood at the centre of efforts to accommodate both the legitimate interests of sovereign nations and the requirements of collective security.

Finally, after years of fear and frustration, a positive change appears to be on the way in big-Power relations. The recent agreements between the United States and the Soviet Union on crisis control, on nuclear-arms reduction and on a summit meeting seem to open a window of opportunity that should be fully utilized. A process leading to a diminished role for nuclear as well as conventional weapons in the maintenance of peace and security is indeed evolving. The momentum should not be neglected. The emerging agreement on intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) is historic because it actually reduces existing nuclear arsenals. Its impact is felt especially in Europe, where progress is needed in the reduction of both nuclear armaments and conventional forces.

It is natural for Finland warmly to welcome the intensification of the international dialogue. Pursuing a policy of neutrality, my country does not seek security in military alliances. We emphasize the value of collective action through organized international co-operation. We believe in the United Nations. Nor is it redundant, today, to renew our commitment to the United Nations, to its Charter, its principles and its goals.

All nations, big and small, nuclear and non-nuclear alike, share a legitimate interest in and an inescapable responsibility for international peace and security. Here again, this Organization is at the focus of a common endeavour.

(Mr. Sorsa, Finland)

The Conference on Disarmament, with its broad agenda, offers ample possibilities for multilateral negotiations on the prevention of the arms race as well as its extension to new areas.

In order to make its own contribution to the multilateral disarmament process, Finland has recently advanced ideas on two areas which also offer opportunities for the United Nations. One area is verification of disarmament agreements; confidence-building is the other.

On regional disarmament, Finland speaks against developments that in our view might upset regional stability in Europe. We emphasize that all military Powers should show responsibility and restraint in the northern parts of Europe. Our well-known initiatives regarding the establishment of a Nordic nuclear-weapon free zone and the benefits of added trust and confidence in the maritime areas in the North relate to that concern. We hope that the favourable developments in Central Europe will not adversely affect the stability on the flanks of Europe.

The Stockholm Conference, held within the framework of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), adopted last year a significant set of confidence-building measures. The adoption of those measures marks a step towards greater openness in military matters. We expect more steps to follow as the Conference resumes its work.

Delegations of 35 States are at present convened in Vienna for the third follow-up meeting of the CSCE. Finland expects concrete results both in the area of the implementation of already agreed provisions and in the form of further commitments. The central dimensions of the CSCE - security and confidence-building, economic co-operation and human contacts - all need to be strengthened. The CSCE process has great potential. This process is not directed against anyone but works for the good of all, both in Europe and elsewhere.

(Mr. Sorsa, Finland)

The way by which South Africa is governed represents precisely what the United Nations was designed to oppose: inequity, injustice and discrimination. The United Nations must intensify its efforts designed to bring about the eradication of the inhuman and immoral system of apartheid. Apartheid cannot be reformed: it must be abolished.

We have demonstrated our preparedness to carry out concrete measures against apartheid. The Finnish Parliament has enacted a law which forbids all trade between Finland and South Africa. The law entered into force on 1 July this year.

The Finnish Government continues to believe that mandatory international sanctions in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter should be imposed on South Africa. Such concerted efforts would pressure South Africa into real change. Together with the other Nordic countries, we continue to work towards that end.

A decision on sanctions must be coupled with increased assistance to the front-line States and to the countries of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC). At present a substantial part of Finnish bilateral development assistance is already going to those States.

The South African Government also bears full responsibility for the situation in Namibia. The Government of Finland rejects the linkage of the application of resolution 435 (1978) with extraneous matters. We have repeatedly condemned all of South Africa's unilateral actions and dilatory tactics.

The situation in the Middle East remains of serious concern to the world community. A just, lasting and comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli dispute can be achieved only through negotiations on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians.

(Mr. Sorsa, Finland)

An international conference could make a major contribution towards that end. Intensive efforts are needed to bring about an agreement on the principles and the mandate of such a conference. I am pleased to see that efforts towards such a conference continue.

(Mr. Sorsa, Finland)

The war between Iran and Iraq has continued for seven years. Under the leadership of this Organization the international community has intensified its efforts to end this immensely destructive war. The latest reports from the area underline the urgent need to search for the means of terminating the conflict, which, if it continues, may have the potential for detrimental world-wide repercussions.

Central America suffers from violence and social instability. After years of effort, all five Governments of the region have now agreed on a plan, including a cease-fire and social reconciliation in the spirit of democracy. Finland believes in regional solutions to regional problems. We welcome the process that the Guatemala agreement represents and are prepared to make our appropriate contribution to its support.

Where conflicts beset nations the United Nations must be ready to render its services for the restoration of peace. The development of United Nations peace-keeping has been one of the most successful achievements of this Organization. Finland is particularly honoured by its involvement in these operations for over 30 years.

Peace-keeping operations should be carried out under a clear mandate from the Security Council, with the full support of its members and on the basis of satisfactory financial arrangements. A clear demonstration by all Member States of their willingness to give full political support to the United Nations peace-keeping efforts and to pay their assessed contributions remains indispensable.

The United Nations has agreed on an impressive body of internationally recognized human rights standards. Yet we are daily witnessing violations of human rights in many parts of the world. Perhaps in no area of United Nations activities is the gap between promise and performance more evident than in that of human rights. It is our common responsibility to ensure respect for them.

(Mr. Sorsa, Finland)

The vulnerable situation of the millions of refugees and displaced persons in different parts of the world calls for action by the international community and by individual countries. Those in need of international protection and assistance must be helped. In this work we rely fully on the goals and objectives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). It is our policy to increase our contribution to assist in the alleviation of the world refugee situation.

The problems of the world economy are a matter of serious concern. Despite progress in strengthening the prerequisites for global growth, economic development in the industrial countries is slower than anticipated. In the developing countries depressed levels of export earnings, high real interest rates, ever-mounting debt service payments and shrinking inflows of financial resources harass economic performance and weaken development prospects.

The avoidance of another recession and the restoration of sustained growth require determined and urgent policy changes in both developed and developing countries. The social costs of the necessary adjustment policies in developing countries ought to be recognized by the international community. We welcome the recent increase in the activities of international financial institutions designed to alleviate their worst effects.

The debt problem continues to be an impediment to growth in the developing world. It is a major reason for the further deterioration of the living conditions of the poorest of the poor. The heavy debt burden complicates the readjustment of the economic policies of these countries. Structural adjustment programmes and other efforts to improve domestic resource mobilization, including a more efficient use of investments, are not bringing about instant results because of the debt-servicing payments. The problem of debt servicing by the developing countries

(Mr. Sorsa, Finland)

should be further studied in the global context. When channelling the increased capital assistance, the needs of the most vulnerable countries should be properly addressed.

Against this background, Finland welcomes the positive outcome of the Seventh United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. Its final act must be translated into concrete actions at the national level and in the appropriate organizations.

The economic and social situation in Africa will be reviewed at this session of the General Assembly for the first time since the adoption of the United Nations Programme of Action for Africa in May 1986. Finland considers it important for the international community to show determination in the implementation of the Programme. Finland, for its part, has carefully studied its possibilities of promoting the Programme. At the multilateral level, Finland has constantly emphasized the urgency of a more effective response by international organizations and financial institutions to African economic and social needs. Some 60 per cent of our bilateral aid is now directed to Africa.

Over-exploitation of natural resources and the consequent deterioration of the environment have altered globally important life-support systems, and the basis for our economic and social development is severely undermined. The threat to our environment has put our very survival at stake. These issues stand out clearly as a major concern on the international political agenda.

The World Commission on Environment and Development, led by Mr. Gro Harlem Brundtland, Prime Minister of Norway, has analysed these issues in a profound manner. Both the World Commission report and the environmental perspective prepared by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) convey the same message to us: that economic growth and more equitable development are not

(Mr. Sorsa, Finland)

only necessary but also possible without endangering the natural resource basis. The Government of Finland endorses the recommendations in the environment perspective and the principles in the World Commission report. Sustainable development should be one of the guiding principles in the activities of the United Nations system and of other international organizations.

It was important that last year's extensive debate on the efficiency of the United Nations resulted in a consensus. All organizations should, in fact, periodically submit their activities to close scrutiny. Rather than a singular event, this should be seen as a continuous process, in which viability in substance and efficiency in administration constitute an entity.

The United Nations is no exception. A thorough self-analysis should involve a discussion on such modifications as may be deemed necessary. Decisions should follow. The entire process should focus on the strengthening of the operative capabilities of the Organization.

(Mr. Sorsa, Finland)

In the opinion of my Government, the United Nations as an Organization should strive for maximum effectiveness, based on a stable and reliable financial basis. The former cannot be achieved without the latter. A sound financial basis cannot be established unless all Member States demonstrate their willingness to meet their financial obligations. Assessed contributions to the United Nations budget cannot be made conditional on national requirements regarding the Organization's performance.

The United Nations is our common mechanism in our striving for common goals. Administrative effectiveness is a necessary, but not an adequate, condition for achieving those goals. Adequate conditions are created only by the willingness of the Member States to make full use of this mechanism.

Let us make good the commitments and promises we, the Member States, made to this Organization at its commemorative session two years ago. Let us be frank enough to recognize its failures and weaknesses, as well as its strengths. Let us not lose sight of the chances to redress what has been neglected. Let us use our resources wisely for the purposes for which the United Nations was created. In a changing world this Organization must be responsive to the changing needs of mankind, whether they arise from the need for security, economic and social development, or human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Mr. WAGNER TIZON (Peru) (interpretation from Spanish): Mr. President, I wish to offer you greetings from the people and Government of Peru and to express my pleasure at the fact that you have been elected to guide the deliberations of the highest forum of the international community. Your dedication to the process of international understanding is the best guarantee of the successful accomplishment of your task.

I must also say how much we encourage, how much we appreciate, and how grateful we are to our Secretary-General, whose unanimous re-election is the best

(Mr. Wagner Tizon, Peru)

tribute the international community can offer to his selfless work for international peace and security.

We are living through a dangerous period of deterioration in the international system, a fact which makes it imperative to establish a new rationality and strengthen the machinery available, so that the solutions to the world's great problems may be dealt with properly on the multilateral level. We are particularly concerned at the crisis of the United Nations system in which, above and beyond purely financial and substantive factors, we perceive attempts to weaken the Organization, to compromise its independence and to neutralize its role as a negotiating forum for major international issues.

Attempts are thus being made to erode multilateralism and thereby deprive the developing countries of the world's decision-making processes. Attempts are being made to do this in such a way that the relevant bodies will not be able to play their proper role, not merely as a group of operational bodies working in co-operation, but as factors of change in the very foundations of the system, and instruments for the attainment of a democratized international order.

Ours is an Organization with an imbalance, to the detriment of the developing countries. The imbalance is expressed through the veto in the Security Council as well as through financial domination, which has the effect of an additional veto, and through the concentration - an almost hereditary concentration - of the main posts in the Organization in a group of countries.

Therefore, any reform, far from increasing the inequalities in the United Nations, should, on the contrary, effectively democratize it, resolve its financial problems without political mortgages, and consolidate its functional independence, in order to enable it to achieve its great objectives of peace and development.

(Mr. Wagner Tizon, Peru)

What is required is a new concept of the United Nations system, one that would enable it to respond to the challenge of structural change experienced by international relations in the post-industrial society; so that it may be able to give direction to the emerging trends and avoid the threat to the third world of the establishment of more serious dependence and the distortion of basic elements of the nation-State.

For this purpose it is imperative to bring about a collective process of reflection and diagnosis that will make it possible to determine a new approach to the institutional structure of the international system; to review and revise the now obsolete schemes of the post-war period; and to anticipate the requirements of a new international dynamism.

We are living in a period of what promises to be a new stage in the disarmament process. The recent agreements between the United States and the Soviet Union give us encouraging signs, for the first time, of the reversal of the fatal arms race. We are inspired by the hope that the universal conscience in favour of peace and disarmament - which motivated the Harare message of the Heads of State of the non-aligned countries - will in the end triumph over the egocentric visions of security, which still cause many to spend great resources to win an impossible war, instead of making a reality of a peace without victories, based on the full realization and understanding of international social justice.

Let us trust that this progress will also help to usher in substantial progress in the total banning of nuclear tests, the prevention of the militarization of space, the strengthening of multilateral negotiations with regard to other aspects of disarmament, and the releasing of resources for economic and social development.

(Mr. Wagner Tizon, Peru)

In the regional and subregional area, we are persevering in the organization of convergent efforts to promote development through the social reorientation of the resources allocated to defence expenditures, an ongoing process now, which is conducive to the strengthening of regional security, based on a new dynamic of co-operation, integration and solidarity. We believe that the zones of peace can serve to strengthen international security and help in regional development work. In this area my country is in favour of a zone of peace in the southern Pacific.

(Mr. Wagner Tizon, Peru)

At the centre of this concern is the indissoluble relationship between disarmament and development and its connection with a democratic and fully integrated concept of security. Despite frustrations, the recent International Conference on the subject has offered us a valuable opportunity to clarify concepts and open a debate which, we hope, will soon be universal and sufficiently imaginative to establish appropriate ways and means to make this relationship effective and to promote genuine international co-operation towards renewed and fruitful multilateralism.

A significant contribution will be made by the United Nations Regional Centre for Peace, Disarmament and Development in Latin America, which will shortly be inaugurated in Lima, in accordance with the Assembly's unanimous decision last year. We trust that the Regional Centre will make it possible to mobilize the collective efforts of countries in the region in the area of the interrelationship between disarmament and development and its impact on the conflict-peace relationship.

In hosting this new institution, which belongs to all countries of the region, Peru will be unflagging in its efforts to increase the Centre's vitality and effectiveness and urges Member States to give it genuine and unwaivering co-operation.

On the initiative of Peru and the Group of 77 the General Assembly has for two years now been considering the grave problem of the external debt of developing countries. These considerations have had the following positive results: the adoption of resolution 41/202 and the points agreed on recently in UNCTAD VII. Thus it would appear that everyone agrees on the seriousness of the problem.

Nevertheless, the debt problem is growing daily, owing to the lack of universal agreement on how to implement a valid strategy for its solution.

(Mr. Wagner Tizon, Peru)

Endeavouring to solve the external-debt crisis through the imposition of adjustments and continuous refinancing is wrong.

Indeed, the constant process of debt refinancing makes it possible for the creditors to convert devalued loans into new loans with additional interest, thus increasing the principal and servicing. In other words, this refinancing thus establishes a permanent transfer of financial resources to the creditors - that is, perpetual tribute to be paid by the debtor developing countries.

In this way the debt expresses an asymmetry that is the product of a power policy that still accepts neither co-responsibility for the debt problem, nor flexibility in recognizing the real value of the debt in order to accede to historical interest rates, nor the real ability to pay of the debtors based on the requirements of their social and economic development.

As a consequence, the developing countries are increasingly adopting unilateral measures to reclaim their sovereignty and their peoples' right to development, thus limiting the transfer of resources and rejecting perpetual tribute to international financial profiteers. Thus, in the face of the abuse of the laws of the creditors, the justness of the laws of the debtors is suddenly arising.

If the debt burden has succeeded in reversing the logic of international co-operation, stretching the financial system to the limits of its credibility and political viability, the phenomenon of the international drug traffic is now reaching a scope that not only undermines the very essence of States but also add to an already critical international scene a criminal structure of formidable proportions.

In this context, it is encouraging to point out the fundamental importance of the International Conference on Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking, held in Vienna,

(Mr. Wagner Tizon, Peru)

which marks a new stage in the political treatment of a problem that has deep and complex social, economic and political connotations; the final declaration contains basic principles to which my country subscribes.

The decrease in prices of raw materials and the scarcity of resources generated by the debt crisis contrast scandalously with the geometric rise in financial resources destined for drug consumption. Peru considers that the time has come to mobilize the support of consumer countries to make possible a massive flow of financial resources to the producer countries that will enable a radical change to be made in the artificially created production structure created by drug traffic in specific regions of the world. What must be done is to substitute the incentive of agricultural producers towards a harmful prosperity based on drugs with an effective, profitable type of agricultural activity with guaranteed export markets coming from a new agro-industrial production structure.

Two years ago when the General Assembly approved an important resolution on terrorism, the United Nations assumed a unanimous commitment. However, not enough has yet been done to establish international conditions obstructing a climate propitious to terrorist activities. I believe it is urgent to promote a widespread mobilization of open rejection of organizations which, under political or cultural pretexts, would create in developed societies attitudes of tolerance for the proselytizing action of agents of groups that impose violence and death on our democracies and work against our peoples' aspirations for freedom and justice. The initiatives put forward to distinguish between terrorism and the legitimate struggles of liberation movements against colonialism, apartheid and foreign occupation are positive steps which should make it possible for us to move forward in this direction with greater determination.

(Mr. Wagner Tizon, Peru)

One year after the last Summit Conference, in Harare, we observe in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries a new dynamic with respect to the challenge of our times. The non-aligned countries must respond to a fluid international situation with unity and effective actions, incorporating our own perspective and consolidating our Movement as a negotiating force capable of promoting effective solutions to the grave problems of the world.

In this context the non-aligned countries are concerned over the intensification of hotbeds of tension - wrongly dubbed "remaining" hotbeds - which should appropriately be considered by the General Assembly.

My country is deeply disturbed by the escalation and undue prolongation of the conflict between Iran and Iraq and supports the peace process initiated by the Security Council and the crucial role of the Secretary-General.

The problem of southern Africa remains unresolved because of the intransigence of those who oppose our struggle to replace the abhorrent apartheid régime and achieve independence for Namibia - heroic undertakings with which Peru wishes to state its unflagging solidarity.

We are encouraged by the progress made recently on the convening of an international conference on the Middle East for a peaceful solution to the problem in keeping with the security requirements of all the parties and with respect for the rights of the Palestinian people. Similarly, we support the Secretary-General's efforts for a negotiated political settlement of the situation in Afghanistan on the basis of the independence, non-alignment and self-determination of that nation.

Once more we voice our fraternal support for the just demand of Argentina for the recovery of its sovereign rights over the Malvinas Islands, and we stress the urgency of negotiations to eradicate that vestige of colonialism.

(Mr. Wagner Tizon, Peru)

With respect to the situation in Central America, Peru has always been convinced that it is possible to find a peaceful solution based on the right of the countries of the sub-region to decide on their own destiny free from any foreign interference or intervention; and we express our solidarity with Nicaragua in the defence of its sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, stability and self-determination.

(Mr. Wagner-Tizon, Peru)

The present session of the General Assembly is taking place at a time when the situation in Central America is such that there are new prospects for the long-sought peace process to be successful as a result of the initiatives of the Contadora and Support Groups. We are deeply pleased that on 7 August last the Central American Presidents signed a document on procedures for the establishment of a firm and lasting peace in Central America and thus formed an executive commission to make viable the implementation of peace agreements, within which new dynamic the International Verification and Follow-up Commission was established.

We hail this great step of the Central American Governments which calls for the adoption of a resolution of great historical importance that confirms the broad and unrestricted support of the international community for the peace process agreed on in Guatemala and gives a clear mandate to the Secretary-General of the United Nations to support the implementation of that peace process, and in particular the work of the International Verification and Follow-up Commission.

Latin America has assumed the challenge of acting boldly in the world, using its rich experience and its own ideas and perceptions to become a factor for change in international relations.

In so doing, Latin America is aware of the need to change international economic structures; it identifies with the cause of the poor, deprived countries of the world and their desire to achieve development, which is a right and an international responsibility. In our region itself, we promote schemes for political co-operation and economic integration and further measures to make viable our development and strengthen our potential for working together.

Our first experience in dialogue, agreement and harmonization in the area of security has been the peace initiatives of the Contadora and Support Groups in the case of Central America. This exercise in solidarity has given rise to an

(Mr. Wagner-Tizon, Peru)

experience in political co-operation known as the Group of Eight, which will find full expression in the meeting of Presidents to be held in Mexico next November.

This new framework for political harmonization, established on a solid basis of democracy, flexibility and non-exclusivity, is an attempt to establish the nucleus of a process of co-ordination in the Latin American region which will draw the region together and consolidate its presence in the international system through the innovative work of a new political organization, an economic identity of its own and reconceptualization of its collective security.

Similarly, of very very great importance is the decision adopted in recent days by the member countries of SELA, the Latin American Economic System, to hold annual meetings of Foreign Ministers prior to the sessions of the General Assembly in order to examine, through direct and informal dialogue, the international situation and its repercussions in our region, as well as actions to strengthen the unity and joint actions of Latin America and the Caribbean. Those meetings, oriented around dialogue and political harmonization, give SELA a new dimension and held much promise for regional unity.

The crisis of the international system confronts the developing countries with critical situations and conditions in which national efforts to bring the great masses out of centuries of poverty are threatened by interests that want to maintain an unjust and unhealthy status quo.

Peru, in the midst of historical difficulties that have resulted from its being a third world country - difficulties aggravated by the aggression of terrorism and the extortion of debt - provides an acid test on how democratically to achieve structural transformations conducive to the consolidation of a popular nationalist programme.

(Mr. Wagner-Tizon, Peru)

If the adjustment policies of a discredited financial system have overshadowed negotiations to achieve a new international order, it is today more necessary than ever that the developing countries create an alternative based on growth that includes the redistribution of wealth - that is, a new concept of development.

In this important world forum there has been advanced the thesis that the relationship between the role of the State and development is a contradictory one, and the growth experienced in the informal economic sector has been given as an example. The Government of Peru feels that such a contradiction does not exist, especially if the actions of States are oriented precisely towards avoiding the oligarchic and oligopolic concentration of property and production so as to give all citizens, especially the poorest and most marginal, access to the means necessary for fulfilment in the context of a more just, egalitarian and therefore authentically democratic society.

It has also been said that the right to development is simply the right of economic agents to act freely. If this assembly of nations has enshrined the right to development as one of the basic rights of the human person and of peoples, it is because as time passes an international structure of domination and exploitation is increasingly frustrating and destroying the capacity of our countries to achieve their national development objectives. Whatever economic or social model is used, the development indicators and the living standards of practically all third world countries have declined to the levels of 20 years ago, which proves the structural and global nature of a crisis that is the consequence of relationships of power and an international economic order that brings down the prices of our raw materials, obstructs the access of our products to markets, favours regressive adjustment measures aimed at ensuring the repayment of unpayable debts under the original

(Mr. Wagner-Tizon, Peru)

terms, and makes international co-operation dependent on the submission and subjection of the developing countries to being tributaries of those who benefit from that unjust order.

On the other hand, if those adjustment policies are to be replaced with anti-crisis policies of growth and redistribution, which is what we have done in Peru, a bridge must be built between the needs of the immediate present and long-term requirements in order to achieve a new international economic order. The achievement of a consensus on this approach would sow the seed of new development for the coming century.

At this time Peru wishes to express once again its fraternal, militant solidarity with all peoples fighting for freedom, peace and justice and to reaffirm its desire for understanding and international co-operation and its commitment to the principles and purposes of this Organization and its responsibility to build a better, more secure and more just world.

Mr. HERMANNSSON (Iceland): I congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the forty-second session of the General Assembly and assure you of the support of the delegation of Iceland in carrying out the duties of that noble office.

Two years ago, at the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, I had the honour of addressing this great Assembly. On that occasion I also had the pleasure of listening to many world leaders express their hopes for a world without wars and misery, for a world of peace and good living for all. I do not doubt the sincerity of those who express such hopes, but I ask myself why, then, have we failed.

In those fine anniversary speeches several explanations are found. Certainly, much has been achieved through the United Nations, and not least through the efforts of the various specialized agencies dealing with specific world problems. On the other hand, it seems to be a rather widespread opinion that the General Assembly and the Security Council have too often failed, and certainly there is considerable evidence to support such an opinion.

The General Assembly has grown, it seems, into a forum of heated debates, with accusations and counter-accusations, between nations which too often seem to belong to power blocs with predetermined views on most issues of importance. To many the General Assembly does not look like a world forum of statesmen seeking in earnest answers to the many problems from which humanity is suffering. But why bring this up at this moment, somebody may wonder. Two years ago we went through the exercise of reviewing the work of the United Nations throughout 40 years and suggesting ways of improvement. We have now gathered here for yet another session of the General Assembly. This is therefore the proper time to do as we promised the world two years ago and show at this session that we meant what we said.

(Mr. Hermannsson, Iceland)

The Icelandic delegation to the General Assembly will act accordingly. We shall not take part in accusations and arguments between nations. We shall honour the sovereign right of every nation to govern its own affairs as long as that is within internationally agreed rules and regulations and does not give others cause for grievance. We shall oppose those that do not honour the sovereignty of their neighbours and that start military conflicts and wars. We shall support reasonable measures to settle such differences.

We congratulate the Central American countries on the peace agreement which they have reached and urge all nations to support and assist in the implementation of that treaty. We assume, of course, that the parties involved will restore human rights in the area without delay and thus show their sincere intentions to live up to the agreement.

We also strongly support the Security Council's attempt to end the military conflict in the Middle East. I wish to suggest that, if this is not accepted by the countries in question it should be followed up by further international action, such as the imposition of a complete arms embargo. We shall support all realistic resolutions calling for the limitation and eventual elimination of nuclear weapons, a nuclear-test ban and the elimination of chemical weapons, with satisfactory means of verification.

We strongly oppose apartheid and any and all suppression of human rights. We shall take part in an honest effort to improve the general quality of life. We shall therefore support all reasonable measures to prevent pollution and destruction of the environment, especially when such practices affect more than one nation or the whole world. In this respect I refer, as examples, to such practices as making the oceans of the world dumps for the most hazardous waste and destroying the ozone layer. No nation or industrial complex should be allowed to continue such practices, often purely for financial gain.

(Mr. Hermannsson, Iceland)

The danger involved in the application of nuclear energy for power production can no longer be overlooked. With that fact in mind I suggest that the nuclear power industry should be required to accept mandatory safety standards and inspection as determined by an international body such as the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Iceland strongly supports the conclusions of and proposals made by the World Commission on Environment and Development and we trust that these will become the basis for world action.

We shall honour the right of every nation to make proper use of resources within its boundaries without interference from others, but where such exploitation affects others we shall stress international consultation and scientific control. Furthermore, we believe that all living resources have the right to be conserved, although they can be utilized properly. We reject interference by a self-appointed police force, however powerful such a nation may be. People in glasshouses should not throw stones.

I trust that I have made the position of the Icelandic delegation clear. Furthermore, I want to stress that we look to the United Nations with high expectations and respect. In spite of its shortcomings, we see this important Organization as humanity's greatest hope for survival. We believe that the United Nations should be strengthened and we are willing to take part in such an effort.

Personally, I believe that a major source of our problems is to be found in the lack of confidence and trust. Therefore I suggest that we do everything in our power to ensure that people from all parts of the world are allowed to travel freely and get acquainted. I am certain that this would dispel many of the false ideas about others now so frequently held by so many.

(Mr. Hermannsson, Iceland)

A year ago my country, Iceland was host to the leaders of the two most powerful nations in the world, who, we can assume, have the future of mankind in their hands. It was a pleasure to host that meeting and thus contribute a little to the crucial attempt now being made to reach agreement on the long overdue reduction of nuclear weapons.

I want to pay a special tribute to the super-Powers for the results now made evident by the agreement just announced on the elimination of medium-range missiles. We trust that this will be followed by further and larger steps in the elimination of nuclear weapons.

Iceland, which is one among a very few nations that does not have a military force, will always be available to assist in such an attempt to improve life on earth. I should like to see my country become a sanctuary for those who want to meet in peace and seek solutions to the many problems from which mankind is suffering. For that purpose I would welcome not only the leaders of the super-Powers but all members of the General Assembly to my country, Iceland.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): We have now heard the last speaker for this afternoon's meeting. However, the representative of Viet Nam has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

May I remind representatives that, according to General Assembly resolution 34/401, statements made in exercise of the right of reply shall be limited to 10 minutes for the first statement and to five minutes for the second and should be made by delegations from their seats.

I now call on the representative of Viet Nam.

Mrs. TON NU THI NINH (Viet Nam): It is with regret that my delegation is exercising the right of reply on this very opening day of our general debate. In his statement this morning the head of the delegation of Singapore presented what can be qualified as a distortion of Viet Nam's actions and intentions regarding Kampuchea and a solution to this question. We would have wished a constructive, forward-looking approach in the general debate of this forty-second session of the General Assembly. It is unfortunate that the Foreign Minister of Singapore should have chosen for his early statement such a distrustful key, which is, we believe, out of keeping with the prevailing realistic spirit among the majority of countries concerned and with the overall atmosphere of this session which is propitious for dialogue.

Out of deference for the General Assembly, and in order not to waste its precious time, our delegation will refrain from answering as to the substance of the statement by the head of the Singaporean delegation. We shall do so in due time in the course of our own statement in the general debate.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): The representative of Singapore has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply, and I now call on him.

Mr. MAHBUBANI (Singapore): To be honest, I am a little surprised. I was expecting to hear a little more from my colleague from Viet Nam, my Foreign Minister having made many substantive points. There is, however, one main point to which I should like to respond, because it is a critical point that has been raised here.

The point was made that, our efforts and statements in this session of the General Assembly would disrupt genuine dialogue in South-East Asia. Singapore, like all the other States of South-East Asia, welcomes dialogue. We are all in favour of dialogue, and we have said so since 1979.

However, I regret to say that, notwithstanding seven or eight years of attempts at dialogue, the fact remains that the fundamental situation in Kampuchea has not changed, that foreign forces continue to remain there, that fundamental principles of international law continue to be violated and that attempts are being made to deceive the international community that real change has occurred. It is for that reason that my Foreign Minister spoke out clearly and forthrightly to draw the attention of the members of the Assembly to the essential facts of the situation.

The delegation of Viet Nam has said that it will respond fully and substantially to the points he has made. We look forward to hearing the responses, and we will of course continue to pursue dialogue in the same open and amicable fashion we have always done.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.