



General Assembly

EXEMPLAIRES D'ARCHIVES
FILE COPY

A retourner / Return to Distribution C. 111

PROVISIONAL

A/40/PV.8
25 September 1985

ENGLISH

Fortieth session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE EIGHTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 25 September 1985, at 10.00 a.m.

President: Mr. DE PINIÉS (Spain)
later: Mr. MAKEKA (Lesotho)
(Vice-President)

Address by Mr. Mohamed Hosni Mubarak, President of the Arab Republic of Egypt

- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements were made by:

Mr. Sepulveda Amor (Mexico)
Mr. Andreotti (Italy)
Mr. Dizdarevic (Yugoslavia)
Mr. Al-Alawi (Oman)

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

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

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

ADDRESS BY MR. MOHAMED HOSNI MUBARAK, PRESIDENT OF THE ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT

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

Mr. Mohamed Hosni Mubarak, President of the Arab Republic of Egypt, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

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

President MUBARAK (interpretation from Arabic): It gives me great pleasure, Sir, to begin my statement by congratulating you on your election to the presidency of this session which coincides with the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. We are gratified by the great confidence placed in you through your election since we highly appreciate the close ties of friendship that bind our country to your great country, as well as your praiseworthy record in the promotion of the purposes for which the United Nations was established.

I wish to express our sincere condolences and sympathy to the friendly people and Government of Mexico on the tragic calamity which has struck Mexico in the last few days while it was pursuing its efforts towards reconstruction and development. I am confident that I express the sentiments of all delegations present here when I reaffirm our solidarity with the friendly people of Mexico and reiterate that we stand by them while they are facing this distressing ordeal. In such moments, we are guided by the spirit and principles of the United Nations and by our belief that we all, irrespective of our national loyalties, stand in the same trench in the face of dangers and challenges.

I speak from this rostrum on an important historical occasion, namely, the observance of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. This Organization was established as an expression of the aspirations of the peoples of the world to begin a new era in which mankind could avoid the scourge of devastating wars and live happily in a climate of just and lasting peace that would enable it to gear its energies and resources towards tackling economic problems and achieving social progress and economic growth, free from despotism, oppression or aggression.

The establishment of this Organization did not take place in a vacuum, nor was it an accidental occurrence occasioned by temporary circumstances. Rather, it was an outstanding landmark in the evolution of the international community, which had undergone bitter experiences during two world wars that flared up within half a century, and witnessed the development of sophisticated weapons of mass destruction and havoc, which reached a dangerous peak in the use of the atomic bomb. Such a state of affairs increased the peoples' resolve to set up a new international system that would ensure against the outbreak of new wars that would inevitably cause the annihilation of all forms of life over a wide area and wipe out many features of civilization.

For all these reasons, the occasion we are commemorating in these days acquires a special importance for Egypt as one of the 51 founding Member States that established the Organization and actively participated in drawing up its Charter and laying down its purposes and principles. This importance also derives from Egypt's geopolitical position at the heart of a region beset by conflicts and tensions, from its affiliation to regional and international groupings confronted with crushing, decisive issues which give rise to possibilities of peace or war, survival or death, economic growth or paralysis and deterioration. Thus, Egypt was a founding member of the League of Arab States, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

(President Mubarak)

It is natural, therefore, that Egypt attaches high importance to the establishment of the United Nations, the development of its role and the enhancement of its effectiveness. It is equally natural that Egypt contributes intellectually and substantively to this required development in response to the vast changes that have swept over the arena of international relations since the establishment of the Organization. Some of these changes were: the breakdown of the international alliance which had won the Second World War and set up the United Nations; the unprecedented progress in the production of nuclear bombs and weapons of a destructive capability that far exceeded any imagination; and the changes in the structure of the international community as a result of the accession to independence of many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, bringing the total membership of the Organization to 159 countries - three times the original number of States within a short span of time. Moreover, the economic factor in international relations acquired added importance as economic issues and problems became the primary preoccupation of all States, large and small, developed and developing, rich and poor alike.

It may not be appropriate here to make a thorough evaluation of the performance of the United Nations since its inception, to enumerate the positive and negative aspects of its activities or to analyse its achievements and setbacks. This topic needs a lengthy exposé. Furthermore, much has been said about this issue on many earlier occasions. Suffice it to refer to the valuable report of the United Nations Secretary-General which he submitted on 4 September.

Instead, I propose to concentrate on two major points which I believe to be pivotal in any serious attempt to launch the Organization into a new orbit in keeping with present-day challenges.

(President Mubarak)

The important thing is neither to look back on the past and weigh success against failure nor to censure or assign responsibility to one party or another. What is really necessary is to look at the future, with all its potential fields of action and possibilities of change in order to arrive at a better formula for effective collective action, regardless of existing obstacles and restrictions. It will naturally be necessary to scrutinize the performance of the Organization in the past four decades to find out whether there is a specific pattern covering the fields in which the Organization has succeeded and those in which difficulties and impediments have prevailed. Our objective in such an exercise will be to reform the United Nations system and adapt it to evolving needs.

The first point I wish to raise in this regard is that the basic problem facing States, individually and collectively, is the economic one. The issue here is not confined to the problems facing States in their foreign relations; the domestic economy of most States has become a heavy burden which cannot be ignored or underestimated. While all of us are confronted with this problem, the developing countries are the most hard-hit and feel that it is a flagrant injustice to be left to bear the burden of problems in the creation of which they had no say, not having contributed substantially to the establishment of the international system which brought about those problems.

It is a source of grave concern that the economic situation in developing countries continues to deteriorate though much is repeatedly said about the need to rectify this situation and halting its deterioration. Thus the gap between hope and reality is continuously widening - a situation that does not augur well. Suffice it to mention here that the debts of developing countries at the end of 1984 totalled \$US 900 billion and that this great increase in the volume of debts has been compounded by increasing servicing burdens on the export earnings of debtor

(President Mubarak)

countries coinciding with the stagnation of the official development assistance granted by rich to developing countries. Although the International Development Strategy set 0.7 per cent of the gross national product of developed countries as a target for official development assistance, this assistance has stagnated in recent years at less than half the target set in the Strategy. In addition, the terms of international trade have deteriorated and protectionist practices in developed countries have increased. All those factors combined have created a serious situation the consequences of which cannot be limited to a particular international group but will inevitably affect the international system as a whole. Either we tackle this dilemma through a realistic, comprehensive formula that deals with the situation in all due seriousness or we shall all be subjected to more deterioration and loss.

The picture is all the more grim when we look at the situation in sub-Saharan Africa, where problems resulting from drought, desertification and food shortages are worsening and have been compounded by the deterioration in Africa's terms of trade and the fall in its commodity prices. This situation poses a serious threat to the lives of millions of Africans, undermines the social fabric of their countries and shatters their legitimate aspirations to stable and continued development at a time when their main preoccupation is to secure the basic means of subsistence.

We should all realize that the African continent suffered for a long time from colonization, exploitation and domination and that over the centuries it was deprived of a fair chance to develop its material and human resources or to utilize its energies in the interest of its peoples. The foreign Powers which ruled at that time regarded the continent as a source of raw materials and thus did not allow it to share the fruits of the resultant industrial and technological wealth.

(President Mubarak)

For all those reasons it is incumbent upon us to approach the situation in a new spirit that does not count profit and loss in rigid arithmetical terms or stem from narrow individual interests. Such a new spirit should take into account the fact that the interests of all of us are interrelated and that there can be no victor or vanquished in this struggle.

Therefore we voice our full support from this rostrum for the call made by the 21st summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) for the convening of a special General Assembly session at the ministerial level to discuss the economic problems of Africa, and the appeal to the international community to take the necessary measures to support the efforts made by the African countries towards undertaking economic reform, implementing development projects and staving off the threat of disasters.

On the other hand, we appeal to the Governments of creditor countries, financing institutions and international banks to co-operate with debtor countries within the framework of an enlightened political dialogue, free from pressure, with a view to reaching a lasting solution to the problem of indebtedness that will preserve the rights of developing countries, safeguard their aspirations in regard to food, basic health and educational services, and ensure their social and political stability.

The second point I propose to touch upon briefly is the need to seek a genuine and radical solution to the problem of the lack of effectiveness of the United Nations in coping with the crises which threaten international peace and security. To our mind, such ineffectiveness is not due to any shortage of resolutions adopted by the Organization and its various bodies in critical times. On the contrary, a host of resolutions have been adopted on all problems, despite recourse to the veto by some permanent members of the Security Council to bar the adoption of certain

(President Mubarak)

resolutions on specific issues, for reasons that are no secret to anyone. However, the resolutions adopted remain a dead letter, void of life, ineffective and useless. This undermines the true value of the Organization and weakens its position vis-à-vis the peoples directly involved in the issues. Moreover, it encourages those States which violate the provisions of the Charter to persist in their aggression and defiance of the collective will of the international community.

(President Mubarak)

Allow me in this context to refer to three issues by way of example, in the hope that we can examine them in depth in a manner that does not ignore the international status quo but, equally, does not lead to paralysis and helplessness before the attempts made by some States to impose their will by force.

The first issue I should like to put before the Assembly is the Palestinian question, on which enough resolutions to fill large volumes have been adopted. However, the Palestinian people still live under the yoke of occupation and military rule in the West Bank and Gaza. Israeli settlements are still being established on their lands and restrictions are still being imposed on their movement and political, economic and cultural activities. Collective punitive measures are still being practised against the Palestinian people, and acts of violence and extremism are escalating. We believe that the key to a beginning to redressing this situation is the implementation of the resolutions that stipulate that the Palestinian people be allowed to exercise the right to self-determination and to establish their own State in the manner they choose, as well as the necessity to halt demographic changes in the occupied territories and to respect Arab, Islamic and Christian rights in Jerusalem.

The second issue relates to the deteriorating situation in southern Africa as a result of the persistence of the racist régime of Pretoria in violating the rights of our brothers in Namibia, South Africa and the front-line States, despite the clear resolutions of the Security Council in this regard. It is neither conceivable nor, indeed, acceptable that the African majority of the population should continue to be subjected to the atrocities of this racist régime, which is escalating its practices of violence, suppression and terrorism and which does not hesitate to violate basic human norms and provisions of law, relying rather on brute force, as if it were living in the Dark Ages.

(President Mubarak)

The third issue is the war raging in the Gulf between Iran and Iraq and the resulting harm to the interests of both the warring parties and all neighbouring countries. This situation gives rise to a state of unrest and tension which could be used as a pretext for large-scale foreign intervention - a development that could lead to a widening of the sphere of conflict and an escalation of fighting and destruction.

I do not intend here to delve into the technical aspects of amending the Articles of the Charter or reinforcing the role of the Security Council and improving its rules of procedure. I would only state that the primary issue is one of political will, because, in the final analysis, the United Nations is what we want it to be and it is we who decide how it will fulfil its functions and carry out its mission.

We should always remember that the objective is to reinforce this Organization and to lift the restrictions that curb its ability to respond to the increasing demands of the international family of nations in an age pervaded by unrest, uncertainty and insecurity, in which new generations are wondering what the future holds in store for them: comfort or pain, hope or despair, efficiency or paralysis.

We firmly believe in the ability of mankind to choose and define targets when it has a clear vision before it, its priorities are sound and its intentions are good and when the dangers are obvious, since the will to live is capable of fashioning miracles.

May God guide our steps and bless our actions.

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

Mr. Mohamed Hosni Mubarak, President of the Arab Republic of Egypt, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. SEPULVEDA AMOR (Mexico) (interpretation from Spanish): President Miguel de la Madrid had intended to bring to this body Mexico's message on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. Last week's tragic events have prompted him to remain in Mexico. The President felt that in this hour of grief his place was at the side of the Mexican people. The President has therefore instructed me to submit to the Assembly some of the theses and proposals which he would have set forth. He has asked me also to express the deep and lasting gratitude of the people and Government of Mexico for the countless expressions of solidarity and concrete support which we have received from so many friendly countries. In particular, he has asked me to reiterate his gratitude to the Heads of State or Government as well as those other distinguished figures and international officials who have travelled to our capital for that purpose, and to express his thanks to the heads of delegation that have so generously referred to this question from this rostrum. Finally, I have been asked to thank on his behalf all Member States for the decision adopted yesterday by the General Assembly. Mexico is in mourning, but finds comfort in its grief in the fraternal embrace of the international community.

Mr. President, allow me, on behalf of the Government and people of Mexico, to express to you my sincere congratulations on your election to the post you now hold. That election confirms Spain's importance in international relations and is, at the same time, a well-deserved recognition of the work of Ambassador Jaime de Pinies. Permit me to offer my best wishes that the work of this Assembly, under your wise leadership, will culminate in the success we all hope for.

(Mr. Sepulveda Amor, Mexico)

I should also like to note publicly our satisfaction with the effective way in which Ambassador Paul Lusaka accomplished the task of presiding over the work of the last session of the General Assembly.

Mr. Secretary-General, the United Nations has conferred upon you the responsibility of guiding this Organization at a moment that is crucial for the community of nations. The report you have presented to the General Assembly gives proof of your tenacious determination to bring about the complete fulfilment of its objectives. Mexico fully appreciates your efforts to solve the problems that today affect international concord. My country resolutely supports your tireless work on behalf of peace and development.

Four decades ago, when 51 nations adopted the United Nations Charter, the world was just emerging from the cruelest devastation mankind had ever faced. The experience of the Second World War had shown the need to create structures for co-operation that would prevent the scourge of war and its aftermath of suffering.

In 1945 the world community resolved to establish guiding principles for the conduct of States, to promote respect for the fundamental rights of individuals and peoples, and to expand multilateral co-operation. The United Nations mechanism which thus emerged was one of the greatest political achievements in history.

To a great extent, today's world is a product of our Organization. It was thanks to the support of the United Nations that many of the countries represented here today achieved their sovereignty. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted in 1960, was a political event of decisive importance. Without it self-determination would have exacted a heavier price in blood and worsened existing world tensions.

We owe it to the United Nations that development is today an essential concern of the community of nations. The system provides the most appropriate mechanism for channelling economic and technical co-operation to the benefit of the

(Mr. Sepulveda Amor, Mexico)

less-favoured countries. The Organization's work of furthering the evolution of the international juridical order is a similar source of unanimous recognition. Its contribution to the cause of universal respect for human rights is particularly outstanding.

Nor should we forget the work of the Organization in resolving political conflicts and armed confrontations. It has frequently been a useful instrument in defusing hostilities that would have led to more serious clashes. In the global confrontation, the United Nations has also been a factor in promoting détente and dialogue; its perseverance has prevented universal destruction.

The United Nations has broadened areas of understanding and has provided a normative order that does away with the law of the jungle and protects weak countries. Without its presence, the tensions and inequalities facing us would have been greater.

This is an appropriate occasion to recognize that in its 40 years of existence our Organization has succeeded in shaping institutions and promoting programmes benefiting children, young people and women; it has sought to improve health, labour conditions, dietary levels, education and culture, to the benefit of mankind. This Organization's work in the field of population problems is also outstanding.

Mexico repeats its firm commitment to the principles and purposes of the United Nations, which coincide with the historical doctrine of my country's foreign policy. In our opinion, this is by far the best forum for joining the political wills of States to foster the values that are a distinctive characteristic of civilization.

(Mr. Sepulveda Amor, Mexico)

In 1945, at the Chapultepec Conference, the nations of Latin America co-ordinated their points of view on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. We then suggested measures to strengthen the General Assembly and to expand its authority in matters of security and peace. We maintained that the United Nations should reflect the ideals of universality, equality before the law, democracy and respect for the law. We also expressed Latin America's concern about the need for our Organization to be given the instruments to permit it to carry out its activities effectively.

Unfortunately, the Latin American ideals were to be faced with the reality of an unequal distribution of power. The Powers that had been victorious in the Second World War sought primarily to safeguard their own interests rather than to attend to the needs of the developing countries. Bipolar attitudes have marked the life of the Organization ever since.

In addition, the political map of the world has been radically transformed. Today 159 States hold seats in this forum. The development of the majority of countries still urgently requires action. Various regions are suffering grave economic and political crises and even warlike confrontations, and the United Nations is not always able to provide satisfactory solutions.

Thus we should not be surprised that there is discouragement when obstacles are placed in the path of measures needed to maintain peace and security. The difficulties involved in establishing a new ordering of economic and political relations between States give rise, equally, to despair and scepticism.

We must also recognize that accusations and confrontation have often prevailed over negotiation and pragmatic means of obtaining results. It must be admitted that this tendency weakens the United Nations and feeds mistrust and frustration.

(Mr. Sepulveda Amor, Mexico)

These reflections should not lead us to underestimate the value of multilateral forums. That is certainly not my intention. The fortieth anniversary of the United Nations offers an exceptional opportunity to draw up a balance sheet of achievements and limitations, to examine the system and correct its shortcomings. I am sure that the community of nations expects such an effort at renewal to be made for the purpose of improving international relations.

We must assume our respective responsibilities for ensuring the full effectiveness of this Organization. We are well aware that it will not be easy to obtain a meeting of minds, but we are convinced that that is the only way for the purposes of the United Nations to be fully realized.

We all have an obligation to give way on less important matters in order to reach agreement on what is basic. A constructive approach and a search for practical solutions are urgently needed. It is imperative, too, that the great Powers ponder more carefully their use of the right of veto, as well as showing a real willingness to enter into dialogue to reduce global tensions and demonstrate a greater understanding of the problems of developing nations.

It is inadmissible that any State should endeavour to shape the international system to its own ends, or try, either openly or surreptitiously, to impose or induce the adoption of its own political system by other countries. The confrontation between East and West encourages political submission and imposes alignments that stand in the way of peace and world democracy. Frequently, outside interference prevents the peaceful solution of regional conflicts and promotes confrontation between brother nations. The unproductive stockpiling of arms resulting from the desire to dominate forecloses valid development options.

Those who seek hegemony have used the mirage of privileged relations to undermine the solidarity of others. Thus our genuine independence is jeopardized

(Mr. Sepulveda Amor, Mexico)

and circumscribed. As the twentieth century draws to a close, it is not possible to accept supposed rights of supremacy or spheres of influence that undermine sovereignty and limit self-determination.

The effectiveness of the United Nations depends on the will of its members. Lasting peace can be achieved only if efforts to dominate are renounced and if we recognize that co-existence in a pluralistic world is based on respect for law and on satisfying the needs of the peoples. Security demands that we solve controversies through political and diplomatic actions, and, therefore, that we abstain from the use of force. Equitable development is predicated on solidarity and the giving up of privileges. As I make these observations, I think of Benito Juárez, Mexico's great statesman, who said:

"Among individuals, as among nations, respect for the rights of others is peace".

Unequal opportunities and confrontations generate an explosive situation that threatens the fragile stability of international society. The United Nations is our sole recourse to keep us from relapsing into savagery and to permit us to live according to reason and political wisdom. I am convinced that only in this universal forum can we offer a common hope of survival and well-being to present and future generations.

On this solemn occasion my words are meant to call upon the sense of responsibility of all Governments. The history of civilization teaches us that the future cannot be made subject to the demands of immediate power. We must remember that a world conflagration would make a new Renaissance impossible. For that reason, the purposes and principles of the Charter are more relevant today than ever before.

(Mr. Sepulveda Amor, Mexico)

The shortcomings of the Organization can be overcome with a creative spirit and vision of the future. The options are clear: either we strengthen our institutions or we face the risk of international anarchy.

In the years following the Second World War the international community, mindful of the lessons of history, and exercising political will, decided to prevent a recurrence of the economic events of the 1930s, which were, to a large extent, the principal causes of the most destructive war the world has ever known. The 1930s were marked by a severe recession, uncertainty, monetary and trade instability, disarray in the financial markets and lack of economic co-operation. Each country tried to solve its problems alone and to export them to other countries. Upon the cessation of hostilities in 1945, in a demonstration of co-operation that was also without precedent, there was a transfer of real resources for the reconstruction of Europe and Japan that saved the countries involved from famine and did much to promote their remarkable recovery.

In a climate of dialogue and economic co-operation between the majority of the countries that were independent at that time, there began in the 1950s a period lasting almost 20 years in which the world economy was characterized by relative monetary stability, by flows of finance that, although still insufficient, promoted development, and by a growing expansion of trade. That co-operation, although not wholly inadequate, permitted advances and improvements in the levels of well-being of the industrialized countries and, to a lesser degree, of the developing countries.

The world economy today shows signs of great uncertainty. The economic recovery in the industrialized world, which began in 1983, has not had enough impetus to reach the developing countries. What is more, the pace of recovery is now beginning to show signs of slackening. There has been a significant drop in the prices of primary products, worsening the terms of trade of the developing countries and making their prospects of economic progress gloomy.

(Mr. Sepulveda Amor, Mexico)

The slowdown in the international economy has created mounting tensions. The threat persists that the world economy will become fragmented as pressures increase to adopt protectionist measures that would do particular harm to the developing countries.

(Mr. Sepulveda Amor, Mexico)

Interest rates in the principal financial centres remain high and inhibit the channelling of resources into productive investments. Instability and speculation have persisted in the exchange markets.

Today, faced with the hesitant evolution of the world economy, direction has been lost and prosperity has been jeopardized. Consequently, to the developing countries and particularly to Latin America, an international monetary system which, instead of creating certainty and productive investment, gives rise to the instability of exchange rates, inflation and speculation, is not acceptable.

An international financial system which, instead of promoting a flow of resources that would contribute to economic and social development, gives rise to a greater concentration of wealth and the decapitalization of countries that represent more than three fourths of the world population, is not acceptable.

An international trade system which, instead of encouraging efficiency and the utilization of comparative advantages, gives rise to protectionism and isolation and relegates developing countries to the simple role of providing raw materials and goods of little added value, is not acceptable.

In a world that is more interdependent than it was 40 years ago, the lack of sufficient will to solve the problems confronted by the world economy by employing effective co-operation systems is not acceptable.

The unfavourable international economic climate has hindered the efforts undertaken by developing countries to improve their standards of living. A steadfast battle is being waged against inflation and internal and external imbalances, while, at the same time, efforts are being made to reactivate the productive apparatus, increase exports and maintain the most essential social investments. In the developing countries, our actions have demonstrated our acceptance that there can be no substitute for our own internal efforts to confront our problems.

(Mr. Sepulveda Amor, Mexico)

Those internal efforts are unprecedented, but their success depends on receiving greater support from the international community. Paradoxically, our adjustment measures have met with no equivalent counterpart in the most developed economies. Efforts to export are met with trade restrictions and the need for resources is responded to with limited and burdensome financing and inadequate investment and transfer of technology.

Increased dialogue and the holding of multilateral negotiations are imperative if we are to solve the great economic problems afflicting the world and turn economic co-operation from words into actual fact.

The international monetary system must be revised without delay to recover the stability lost, to create a climate conducive to productive investment and to stimulate world trade. Every effort must be made to ensure that the correction of disparities in the balance of payments is even-handed, distributing the burden of the adjustment process between the developing and the industrialized countries, between the nations with a deficit and those with a surplus.

Equitable distribution of costs and benefits within a world economic system is a basic premise for the prosperity of all. In finance, as in trade, it is essential to recognize different levels of development as an element on which the principle of equity is based.

The financial system should be capable of channelling resources under terms and in amounts that are concordant with development needs. In recent years the developing countries, and particularly those of Latin America, have had to use credits from the commercial banking system, in which terms and interest rates are not the most suitable for development purposes. This has been caused by the lack of development funds negotiated through bilateral and multilateral agreements. Ironically, resources that should have been directed towards improving the

(Mr. Sepulveda Amor, Mexico)

well-being of mankind have been channelled into an arms race that threatens our survival and distorts economies.

The foreign debt problem of Latin America and of other developing countries cannot be definitively solved through rescheduling that grants only temporary relief to the debtor countries and to the international community. If we are to pay, we must have growth.

There is a real need for a dialogue between representatives of debtor and creditor countries, international private banks and world financing agencies as a means of devising formulas that acknowledge shared responsibilities and reconcile the various interests with a view to revitalizing the world economy and permitting more equitable levels of development.

What is required is to design a global strategy that includes the transfer of new funding under suitable terms and conditions so as to achieve the reactivation of world trade, the elimination of protectionist barriers against the exports of the debtor countries and the reconversion of industry with a view to utilizing the comparative advantages existing throughout the world.

In the field of international trade, and particularly at the next round of negotiations that will begin in 1986, it is essential to obtain preferential treatment for the products of developing countries, so as to allow them to export and thereby reach a rate of development that will make it possible for them to meet their growing domestic demands and fulfil their commitments abroad.

Monetary, financial and trade problems form the dangerous structure on which the world economy now rests. Dialogue and negotiation, not confrontation, are the basic elements for seeking solutions. The international community, its leaders and the United Nations must all be called upon to join in a great exercise of political will for the purpose of structuring reform programmes that, like those of 40 years

(Mr. Sepulveda Amor, Mexico)

ago, will prevent crisis and conflagration. The developing world, which represents more than 30 per cent of world economic activity and more than 75 per cent of the world population, now needs a bold and imaginative programme to reactivate and transfer real resources in order to deal with hunger, ignorance and the heavy debt burden and thus to achieve a solid world economy with a better distribution of its benefits.

Latin America also demands negotiated solutions to the tensions that are endangering peace in the region. The efforts of the Contadora Group, undertaken by my country, together with Colombia, Panama and Venezuela, in order to prevent a generalized conflagration are a Latin American response to eminently Latin American problems.

We insist anew that the roots of Central America's problems lie in the region's needs and lagging social and economic development that have caused the instability of the political institutions of the area. None the less, we cannot fail to recognize that the conflict implies geopolitical considerations of zones of influence and strategic balance; nor is it possible to ignore the fact that the cessation of foreign interference is a decisive condition for achieving any peaceful settlement in Central America.

Nevertheless, we stand firm in our conviction that the deepest causes of the confrontations in Central America are endogenous and should be isolated from the context of East-West confrontation.

The Contadora Group has set itself to find political and diplomatic formulas that will protect the legitimate interests of all the Central American nations and safeguard their right to self-determination and independence. We are not alone in

(Mr. Sepulveda Amor, Mexico)

our efforts. The establishment of a support group, formed by Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Uruguay, demonstrates Latin America's rejection of the use of force and foreign intervention of any origin in Central America.

Although signing a legal instrument is clearly not enough to ensure peace and development in the area, the Contadora Act for Peace and Co-operation in Central America is, in our opinion, a viable means of preventing war and intervention in the zone. That is why we appeal to all the countries of the region to step up negotiations leading to the prompt signing of the Act. We also urge nations with links and interests in Central America to support agreement among the nations of Central America and to abstain from any measure that could worsen the situation.

(Mr. Sepulveda Amor, Mexico)

Political decisiveness and good faith are undoubted requisites for the re-establishment of bases for communication among the Governments of the region. The will of the Central American nations is an essential element in any understanding. There can be no doubt that bilateral contacts would reinforce the Contadora Group's negotiations on behalf of a Central American agreement.

Central America has a right to well-being and to live free from the spectre of a war that would only bring about death and devastation in an area that is already suffering the daily occurrence of irreparable loss of human life and resources. Solutions imposed by force, reaching beyond any immediate illusions, would only contribute to perpetuating and extending regional instability. Peace is an indispensable prerequisite for consolidating political institutions that will promote democracy and social and economic development.

The Government of Mexico wishes to express its gratitude to the General Assembly for the support it has given the Contadora Group's efforts. That support commits us to persevere in efforts to bring about peace. We are confident that the unanimous support expressed by the international community will persuade the Central American Governments and those involved in the conflict to allow law to prevail over force and the power of politics over the politics of power.

Mexico has noted with concern the new impetus in the nuclear and conventional arms races. Distrust between the super-Powers is encouraging a quest for technological and military supremacy that in turn causes ever greater distrust. As a result, a dynamic increase in tensions and in the stockpiling of weapons is produced, increasing the risk of a conflagration.

The fear of falling behind in the competition to achieve the greatest preparedness for war could lead to the mistake of attempting a first strike that precludes retaliation. Worse still, the missiles of today, with their complex

(Mr. Sepulveda Amor, Mexico)

computerized data systems for guiding both offensive and defensive launches, increase the chances of an accident that could trigger the holocaust.

Mankind would seem to be hovering on the threshold of its own annihilation. In the face of the nuclear danger, no one can encourage false hopes of survival. The conclusions of the most recent scientific research are unanimous: a nuclear war would mean the end of intelligent life, and possibly of all forms of life, on the surface of our planet.

Nuclear disarmament concerns all peoples. Hence, in January of this year, Mexico, together with Argentina, Greece, India, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania, called upon the Powers possessing nuclear weapons to take steps urgently towards reversing and bringing to a halt the senseless escalation of the arms race.

The logic of deterrence and the balance of force at constantly increasing levels of destructive potential must now be replaced by successive, step-by-step political agreements that take legitimate security needs into account, gradually reduce the danger of extermination and finally lead to the total elimination of nuclear weapons.

Recently the world marked the fortieth anniversary of the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Since then, nuclear weapons have caused a qualitative alteration of the international scene. Modern arsenals of war are not the unexpected result of scientific and technological advances but rather the product and instrument of political decisions. Technology in itself is powerless to eliminate the threat that hangs over civilization. From now on the continuity of history depends on agreement and disarmament - in other words, on forthright political action that will reverse the momentum of the slide towards disaster.

We insist that the stockpiling of arms frustrates hopes of improved well-being and squanders resources that could satisfy the basic needs of the majority of the world's people. It is also a factor in the prevailing disarray in the

(Mr. Sepulveda Amor, Mexico)

international financial market. Thus the extent of world poverty is undeniably linked to the magnitude of military spending.

It is time to call a halt to this foolish and dramatic course towards war. The super-Powers must make straightforward commitments in the task of nuclear disarmament. All States alike share the responsibility for putting an end to the stockpiling of increasingly sophisticated and lethal conventional weapons.

We hope that the Geneva talks between the United States and the Soviet Union will prevent the vertical proliferation of strategic arsenals, which might become irreversible, and instead encourage their progressive dismantlement. We are confident that the world community will revitalize multilateral disarmament forums and promote new regional arms limitation programmes. This is essential if we are to safeguard man's rich heritage and future generations, which otherwise may never exist.

Global confrontations exacerbate regional conflicts and endanger international peace and security.

In America, the Malvinas continue to be the subject of a sovereignty dispute. My delegation takes this occasion to renew its support for the historic rights of the Argentine nation and once again calls upon the parties to begin negotiations leading to a settlement of the controversy.

In 1985 South Africa still suffers systematic human rights violations. During the past months the repression of civil protest movements has further discredited the apartheid system. Moreover, South Africa continues to prevent the people of Namibia from attaining full independence. Mexico condemns the racist Pretoria régime and urges all States to implement the various Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on that country.

(Mr. Sepulveda Amor, Mexico)

The right of all States in the Middle East to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries and the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination continue to preoccupy the international community. The national integrity of Lebanon has fallen victim to the regional and extraregional power politics that prevail in that area. The war between Iran and Iraq has introduced an additional element of instability. Terrorist tactics and indiscriminate reprisals that harm innocent people deepen antagonisms between groups and nations and replace legitimate political action by arbitrary acts.

Mexico believes that interference in the internal affairs of other States is never admissible. In our judgement the principle of non-intervention admits of no exception. Therefore we reiterate our support for a negotiated settlement that will permit the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Afghanistan.

By definition, the practice of politics is the human activity leading to the establishment of a just order of peaceful coexistence among individuals, groups and peoples. In essence, it is an expression of man's free spirit that tends to set standards of conduct that will help to channel scattered activities into a common effort. Thus it is a creative act of culture that postulates values, specifies means, sets goals and transforms anarchy into the higher unity of social organization.

Politics embodies the tension between stability and change. In it are combined the values of order and aspirations to freedom, well-being and progress common to all mankind. A synthesis of collective ideals, political activity builds institutions that transcend individuals and reconcile the demand for stability with the need for change. Therefore political organization is at once the reflection and the hope of the cultural traditions of the community.

(Mr. Sepulveda Amor, Mexico)

Throughout history the coexistence of peoples and nations has been marked by violence, confusion and anarchy. Until 1945 the international order expressed the free play of political and military forces, which for brief periods achieved states of balance within an unstable array of countries dominated by a few hegemonic Powers. Hence the fact that war has been the privileged and traditional instrument of politics between States, the perfect synonym of power politics.

The savagery and horror of the second world conflagration of the twentieth century revealed the devastating consequences of power politics. This led at the time to the attempt to found a system of coexistence based on the rule of law and equality. In the post-war system the United Nations would become both the keystone and the ultimate guarantee of a new international order governed by the supreme values of peace and development.

The hopes of that time have been only partly fulfilled. What has turned out to be decisive is that for the first time in history, because of today's military technology, the use of force can no longer be an effective means of political action. In the nuclear era an imperial order of domination and subordination is no longer possible. For the community of nations there is no alternative to dialogue, diplomacy and negotiation. This is not only an ethical mandate but also, and fundamentally, a logical demand and an imperative of reality. That is why I have said that the principles of the United Nations are more relevant today than ever before.

Intelligence demands inexorably that the United Nations be strengthened, otherwise we may not survive. It is my fervent hope that on this fortieth anniversary of our Organization all Member States will heed the voice of justice and law, of understanding and reason, and that we will work together with renewed vigour for peace and for the development of all the world's peoples.

Mr. ANDREOTTI (Italy) (interpretation from French): First, I should like to extend to you, Sir, my delegation's most sincere and heartfelt congratulations on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly. You represent a country which is linked to Italy by traditional and ancient ties and by a common Latin and Christian background. You are also the representative of a country which, next January, is to join the European Community.

We wish also to convey our thanks to the Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, for the intelligent work he has accomplished and for the efficiency and loyalty with which he has upheld the principles and values of the United Nations during the many crises that have troubled the community of States.

In these days our thoughts turn to the great friendly country of Mexico, so terribly stricken by natural disaster. The news and pictures we receive daily from that country fill our hearts with sadness. We respectfully bow our heads in remembrance for the dead and we share the sorrow of the many bereaved families so harshly affected by the calamity. From this rostrum I should like to express our feelings of friendship and sympathy to the Mexican people and let them know that we are ready to contribute to the relief work undertaken by its Government.

At the moment we are all witnessing an intense and eventful period of great significance and also of radical change. Our societies are changing internally, and the international situation is also changing as a result of the creation and consolidation of new States. These changes have become even greater as we confront new and complex needs that cannot be fulfilled at either the national or the regional level.

It is precisely because we are passing through such a turbulent period and because we are bound together by increasingly close ties of interdependence that we feel we must stress how closely the theme of international solidarity and co-operation is linked with the strengthening of multilateral machinery. Only in

(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

that way can we ensure the participation of all States in the decisions that will determine the maintenance of peace, the protection of human rights and the economic and political growth of peoples.

There is, no doubt, a risk that our system may become cumbersome if we maintain the pluralistic approach that is not only desirable but that represents the practical outcome of our observance of the principle of universality proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations. Pluralism thus involves a risk that we must face, but one that we must not allow to dictate our conduct. Indeed, it seems important to me that the major multilateral forums must adopt a long-term strategy in this regard: they must learn to look to the future, to overcome immediate difficulties and to uphold, beyond ideological confrontations and tensions, all those factors that can serve to unite rather than divide the members of the community of nations.

That is why our appeal for solidarity and co-operation is more than a need; it has become an essential and basic strategy against which all countries must measure their actions.

In light of the great challenges of our era, we must come up with co-ordinated responses in which the contribution of the United Nations is decisive. I shall cite a few examples. Italy was particularly appreciative of the action taken by the United Nations to alleviate the consequences of the famine that recently faced so many countries in Africa. The work done by the Office for Emergency Operations, to which the Secretary-General assigned one of his most qualified colleagues, is and continues to be particularly effective in such important sectors as transport, food aid distribution, rural development and water supply. Many Governments, including the Italian Government, have also taken part in this work, and their efforts in this area have been extraordinary.

(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

The problem of drug control, in my opinion, constitutes a proving ground in which the United Nations must show that it can deal effectively with one of the greatest evils of contemporary society. The work being done in Vienna by the competent organizations has yielded very positive results. The spread of drugs is a global assault on the basic interests of humanity and, above all, on the integrity and stability of society. Our defences against this scourge must therefore be global in nature. In this connection we welcome with satisfaction the Secretary-General's proposal to convene a world conference on the drug problem. The Italian Government warmly supports that proposal.

Our appeal for solidarity and international co-operation must be linked with a reaffirmation of the need for all States Members of the Organization to share in economic and social well-being. With that goal in mind, we will continue to work towards a concept of international commerce based on free trade, a concept that, in the past 40 years, has been an essential factor for growth in the world economy.

If we are to achieve a more equitable distribution of world resources to increase general well-being and reduce the existing imbalances in standards of living, we must also ensure a more careful utilization of those resources. They must not be wasted, especially by the poorer countries.

In this connection as well, Italy would like to repeat an idea that it put forward some years ago in this same forum. It seems to us important that agreement be reached on the establishment of a control mechanism that can ensure that trade in conventional weapons be completely open and visible.

Throughout its history the Republic of Italy has demonstrated its belief in the principles and values of the United Nations. That faith in those principles and values reflects, above all, a conviction that is deeply rooted in the minds of our people. Our commitment to the Organization reflects our response to the

(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

objective requirements inherent in Italy's geographical position and history at the crossroads of three continents. That crossroads is situated in a geopolitically sensitive region where the fruitful coexistence of different civilizations and cultures is often accompanied by acute tensions.

In the light of such complex realities, in which balances seem precarious and fragile, Italy has made certain fundamental choices in the post-war period. Those choices are reflected, on the one hand, in the Atlantic Alliance and in Italy's friendship with the United States and, on the other hand, in its participation in the process of European integration, both political and economic.

(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

These choices, besides being still valid today, are in line with the ideals and the objectives of the United Nations. They allow Italy to make a contribution to peace, fulfilling the security conditions necessary for carrying forward successfully the process of détente, in which we firmly believe.

We have always understood our participation in the European Community not only as a means of consolidating our internal well-being but also and above all as a means of overcoming, through regional solidarity, the dangerous destabilizing factors which are to be found on the European continent and, more generally, on the international scene. We consider that the close ties of association linking the Community with many countries on all continents are an important contribution to stability.

The Charter of the United Nations mentions and indeed proclaims the role of the regional organizations in helping to create an atmosphere of stability and in ensuring a more ordered development of relations among States. The European Community is pursuing these objectives, whose validity is confirmed by the force of attraction exercised by the Community itself on other European countries. We have recently seen a good example of this force of attraction in the decisions by Spain and Portugal to join the Community. The Italian Government has not spared its efforts, particularly during the first half of this year, to achieve that welcome result.

Social and human concerns form an integral and essential part of the international actions undertaken by Italy and indeed by the other members of the European Community. This approach is derived from our conviction that any equilibrium not based on respect for the dignity and fundamental freedoms of men and women carries within itself the germs of destruction and therefore is destined to last for only a brief period of time.

(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

For these reasons Italy participated in the recent mission to South Africa carried out by three Foreign Ministers of countries belonging to the European Community. The dual aim of the mission was to bring home to the Pretoria Government the Ten's agreed position and its strong condemnation of apartheid and also to make contact with eminent individuals not belonging to the Government of South Africa.

The elimination of the intolerable system of apartheid and the full enjoyment of legitimate political and civil rights by all members of the South African population are becoming more and more urgent. The action taken by the European Community has not ended with the completion of that mission. The Community follows the events in South Africa with constant concern. This concern is an aspect of the signals that we have so far sent to promote a change of the situation in South Africa.

We are also concerned about the delays in the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We feel that it should be fully implemented so that Namibia may achieve rapid and unconditional independence.

This year we are beginning our discussions in an atmosphere of fervent hope. The renewal of dialogue at the highest level between the United States and the Soviet Union opens up the prospect of an essential movement towards the general lowering of tension and therefore towards the resumption of détente.

The Italian Government has welcomed with satisfaction the decision by the United States and Soviet Governments to begin global negotiations on nuclear and space weapons. We have seen in that decision the glimmer of a hope that there will be a reduction of armaments to the lowest possible level.

The world community must be freed from the threat of a never-ending accumulation of military arsenals. The problem of disarmament is certainly a

(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

general problem, and both global and regional understandings must contribute to its solution. However, it is clear in this context that the major Powers should play their role in the definition of a new offence-defence relationship.

Therefore we hope that the forthcoming summit meeting between the President of the United States of America and the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will result in an understanding which will allow the disarmament negotiations to move forward constructively, although it must not be forgotten that détente is fostered also by attitudes which are not exclusively connected with the military sphere.

The Disarmament Conference in Geneva constitutes another important stage in the strategy to achieve a general reduction in tension. As we all know, that Conference is seeking to eliminate another category of weapons of mass destruction, namely, chemical weapons.

The Italian Government is striving and will continue to strive to achieve equitable solutions to the problems that are still pending in this forum. A complete and verifiable ban on chemical weapons should constitute for all countries, including those in possession of such weapons, a priority objective. It is for this reason that we express our disappointment at the slow progress at the Conference.

It is our view that the existing channels of communication, whether formal or informal, are not enough in themselves to ensure a process which will lead to a more stable international equilibrium. These channels in any case do not allow the overcoming of distrust. In other words, we must spare no effort in the search for more suitable instruments for the achievement of positive results in international negotiations, particularly those relating to disarmament. For this reason we have

(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

long considered that we must multiply the opportunities of obtaining a better understanding of legitimate security needs.

One channel of communication which, in our view, has so far not been sufficiently appreciated is that of the international scientific community. We should not forget that this community has an ancient tradition of universality and a natural vocation for co-operation. With these advantages, it constitutes a reference point and a means of support for political action designed to favour the bringing together of positions. There are, in this connection, encouraging examples, such as the Scientific Forum held in Hamburg in 1980. We should endorse the recommendation that another such meeting be held. Such a course of action is suggested by the important scientific developments which have taken place and by the fact that the simple exchange of information among scientists may help to overcome prejudices and to correct errors.

In our view, the holding of a new conference may provide us with a starting point for considering machinery whereby we could associate the scientific world more closely with the search for peace and an effective understanding on the control and limitation of weapons. A message to that effect has reached us in recent years from scientists all over the world who, in their thousands, signed the Erice Appeal for "Science Without Frontiers".

We feel that it will be difficult to achieve real progress in disarmament if States do not show a greater readiness than in the past to ensure the visibility of military activities. In this respect, the problem is certainly not to renounce the safeguarding of legitimate security interests. On the contrary, we must take note of the fact that technological progress and the increasing sophistication of weapons have created a need for visibility which did not exist in the past, precisely in order to safeguard vital security interests.

(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

In other words, I believe that we must now abandon the mental attitude of regarding measures of visibility and verification as secondary elements in disarmament agreements. Instead we must recognize, with a strong sense of realism, that, in view of technological developments, these measures must become, together with the balance of forces, the central and vital components of any understanding on the control and limitation of weapons.

(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

Aware of the need for increased international co-operation at all levels, Italy has made a significant contribution to the progress of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. There is no contradiction between the objectives set forth in the Final Act of Helsinki and those set forth in the Charter of the United Nations: they are complementary. I would like here to emphasize, in the light of the results obtained at that Conference, that recourse to these multilateral instruments of dialogue does not exclude, but indeed promotes, a balanced and fruitful development of bilateral relations.

The commitments we have assumed and those that we intend to assume at the Conference provide a basis for giving specific shape to the ideals of security, of respect for human rights, and of economic, scientific and cultural co-operation among States.

In this context, may I point out that the cultural forum to be held at Budapest next month will provide us with a meeting place at which we can hold a positive exchange of views on particular subjects. We shall ensure that the basic feature of this forum - that of unfettered discussion, is constantly maintained. We shall do so in the conviction that the three fold terms of reference - creation, dissemination and co-operation in the field of culture - are parts of a process which is not meant to be a propaganda exercise but aims at mutual understanding. By its nature, culture is not a destabilizing factor and consequently knows no frontiers.

We are also still concerned about the theme of economic and social development.

We are on the eve of a great technological revolution destined to improve living standards and hence the well-being of the peoples of the world. I have said that the problem facing us is to enable all countries which are members of the international community to benefit from the results of this far-reaching peaceful revolution. Today we are engaged in the struggle to overcome hunger and to

(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

free as many peoples as possible from disease, epidemics and drought. However, we must ensure that the battle we are fighting today - and which we are determined to win - is not shifted tomorrow to other fields of combat, namely those in which the aim is to gain access to the results of technological progress. In other words, we must now ask ourselves how to prevent the emergence of other tensions once the tensions resulting from under-development have been overcome. This is an additional reason not to continue today to waste on the nuclear and conventional arms race an ever-increasing portion of those resources to which future generations will rightly demand access.

Italy is aware of the consequences, including the long-term consequences, inherent in the relationship between disarmament and development, and we await with keen interest the conference to be held in Paris in July 1986 to consider ways and means of helping to reduce the need for weapons in different areas of the globe and thus to improve prospects for development.

Before concluding, I would like to express our satisfaction at the successful conclusion of the work of the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. The non-proliferation régime represents one of the pillars of international stability and security. Italy is convinced that this régime should be strengthened and made universal. The fact that the Conference was able to reach agreement on a final document attests to the determination of the international community to unite to halt and reverse both horizontal and vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons.

In the context of the world economy the problem of external indebtedness has now rightly been given priority in international discussions. My Government believes that this question should be approached realistically, bearing in mind the desire to achieve specific solutions. In that conviction, Italy gives strong support to the international organizations concerned. We also hope that a greater

(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

spirit of solidarity can be given to the interventions of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.

If we approach this problem in a detached and rational frame of mind can we find appropriate solutions to free us from two difficult problems: on the one hand, an intolerable burden which can seriously affect chances for future development, and, on the other hand, the risks of bankruptcy which would disrupt the world economic system and dry up the sources of financing and credit, to the detriment of the weakest countries themselves.

However great the progress made we are unfortunately still far from having worked out effective remedies in this field.

Italy believes in multilateralism. In a world where the interests of individual countries or groups of countries finally prevail over the collective interests of peaceful coexistence and respect for international law - we maintain that we should heed the recommendations which emerge from the community of States within the United Nations.

In this connection, our thoughts turn above all to the Middle East. The proposals that appear in Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) continue to constitute the main basic reference point in the search for a lasting and hence valid solution.

Our position on the Middle East remains based on the fundamental principles proclaimed on several occasions by the countries of the European Community: the right of all States in the region to exist in security and peace and the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, with all that the exercise of that right implies.

We welcome the recent Jordanian-Palestinian agreement designed to establish the basis for a joint negotiating approach, even though it has not yet produced the hoped-for results. It brings closer together the positions of two of the main

(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

protagonists in the peace process and introduces an element of dynamism in that troubled region.

Equally relevant, in our opinion, are the proposals put forward by Egypt which have led to a new phase of negotiation with Israel. In the context of the Middle East, the Italian Government believes that it is essential to associate Syria with the process of stabilization and peace in the region.

In this same constructive spirit, we shall spare no effort to promote a return to normality in Lebanon with respect for its independence and territorial integrity.

I would also like to point out that during this year Italy has increased its contribution in finance and men to the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), which we consider a key element in the United Nations contribution to a peaceful settlement of one of the most serious disputes of modern times.

In dealing with the problem of the Middle East I would like to say how distressed we are at the consequences for the civilian populations of the Iraq-Iran conflict. The reasons for this conflict seem to defy any logic but that of endless destruction. We must ask ourselves seriously whether the community of States should resign itself to being unable in any way to intervene to persuade the interested parties to adopt a cease-fire.

In the Mediterranean region the Cyprus crisis unfortunately remains unresolved. We unreservedly support the activities of the Secretary-General and we address an urgent appeal to the parties concerned to give sincere and specific evidence of their will to negotiate.

As part of our direct interest in the Mediterranean region, we are devoting close attention to our relations with Malta. We intend to develop these relations with full respect for the Maltese Government's position of neutrality and non-alignment, which Italy considers as a very positive element.

(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

Latin America, a region to which Italy looks with attention and interest, is playing an increasingly important role on the world stage. The processes whereby the norms of democracy are being restored on that continent are a clear indication of an advanced maturity which we can but welcome with strong approval.

Unfortunately, shadowy areas still remain in Latin America. We therefore appreciate all the more certain signs of change, such as, for example, the understanding reached in Chile among the democratic forces, as a result of the initiative taken by Cardinal Primate Fresno, an initiative designed to pave the way for the transition to the full democracy we hope for. The Government and the armed forces of Chile must therefore respond constructively to that important development.

(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

Another source of concern is the political and socio-economic crisis that persists in Central America, even though in some countries of the region progress has been made in the process of restoring democracy.

We fully understand the importance of stability in the Central American and Caribbean region for the maintenance of world peace. That is why we shall continue to support any initiative such as that taken by the Contadora Group designed to relieve tension and promote peace.

Accordingly, at the meeting to be held next November in Luxembourg, we shall support the continuation of the dialogue initiated last year in San Jose, Costa Rica, between the Ten countries of the European Community, Spain, Portugal, the countries of the Contadora Group and the five countries of Central America.

In the Horn of Africa, a region with which Italy is especially linked by historical ties and by increasing co-operation, we shall continue to work for the settlement of outstanding disputes through negotiating processes based on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Thanks to dialogue and co-operation on subjects of common concern, it should be possible to achieve solutions based on respect for the territorial integrity of States within existing frontiers and on non-interference in internal affairs, with due regard for the historical and cultural identities of the peoples of the area. We hope that the same method of dialogue and patient, courageous and constructive negotiations, designed to achieve solutions based on the principles of the United Nations, will be applied to the serious problems of the Asian continent.

In this connection, we shall continue to follow closely the two serious crises which continue to plague the region: the Afghan and Cambodian crises.

(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

In Afghanistan the clearly formulated suggestions of the General Assembly have not yet been acted upon and the country is still suffering from the ravages of war.

Another question which concerns us is the tension on the Pakistan frontiers, in particular as a result of bombardments which have caused many civilian victims among Pakistani peoples of that region. Italy deems it essential that a determined effort should be made to resolve that question and renews its appeal to the parties concerned to adopt a constructive approach at the Geneva negotiations.

As regards Cambodia, Italy once again wishes to renew its strong appeal for the restitution of international law that has been violated. We urge the parties concerned seriously and specifically to start negotiations that can lead to solutions which bring freedom, justice and peace to all the Cambodian people.

Concerning Korea, Italy takes a positive view of the resumption of direct talks between Seoul and Pyongyang on economic and humanitarian subjects. We hope that these talks will be gradually extended to other sectors, such as the question of sport, in view of the coming Olympic games at Seoul, which must be free from all political constraints. This will undoubtedly help to create a lasting atmosphere of détente in that peninsula, thus increasing the prospects for its reunification. With this aim in mind, we favour the admission of the two Koreas to this Organization - thus filling an unreasonable gap.

The Charter of the United Nations, whose fortieth anniversary we are celebrating this year, provides means, if we want to use them, which could respond adequately to the needs of peoples exposed to sudden change.

Aware that the destinies of nations, both large and small, are closely linked, the United Nations has become a unique forum for meetings, discussions and co-operation.

(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

Within the context of this evolution towards pluralism, which we deem to be highly positive, disputes and conflicts still exist, of course. Such conflicts, even though they may be of a circumscribed and sectoral nature, could end up becoming - as a result of this phenomenon of general interdependence - universal events which bear the seeds of danger for mankind as a whole.

This is why, on the eve of a new year, which we intend to dedicate to peace, it seems to me extremely appropriate to reflect on the manner in which this Organization could play an even greater role as a forum which can foreshadow and anticipate events so as to direct them towards an ordered and harmonious coexistence between people and nations.

The Italian Government will make its contribution to this end because we are convinced that peace is indivisible and is won day by day through sacrifices and concessions, without ever slackening our attention or yielding to the temptation of adopting easy solutions.

Mr. DIZDAREVIC (Yugoslavia): At this moment of great tragedy which has befallen the people of friendly Mexico I cannot but, first and foremost, express the deepest condolences and solidarity of the people of Yugoslavia. We are convinced that the international community will do its best and provide necessary relief to the people and Government of Mexico in their self-sacrificing efforts to overcome the effects of this dreadful catastrophe.

Mr. President, it gives me pleasure to congratulate you, the representative of Spain, a country with which Yugoslavia has good and friendly relations, on your election to the high office of President of the fortieth anniversary session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

(Mr. Dizdarevic, Yugoslavia)

I also wish to express our appreciation to Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his continued efforts to make the United Nations a forum for an equitable dialogue on all issues of vital interest for the international community.

We come to the fortieth session of the General Assembly feeling that it is necessary to recall, for the sake of the future, the path that our Organization took to reach this anniversary. Moreover, we come with a feeling of responsibility to make a common decision, at this historic turning point, as to what should be done with a view to building a better and more just world.

The United Nations was conceived as an expression of the desire and effort of peace-loving peoples of the world to embark, after a war that had caused unparalleled destruction and loss of human lives, upon a road of peace, co-operation on equal footing, a road that would ensure the fulfilment of the essential aspirations of countries and peoples for freedom, independence and progress. The principles and objectives laid down in the Charter, which we have made universal, have been our lodestar and support in securing the basic inalienable rights of all countries and peoples irrespective of race, level of development and political system. Experience has shown that there can be no true peace or progress in the world unless these rights are fully exercised.

During the 40 years of the existence of the United Nations, the world underwent vast changes. The United Nations was an integral part of these changes, affecting them and changing itself in the process. During these decades our Organization gave a great contribution to the preservation of peace and security in the world. Under the auspices and with the assistance of the United Nations, the struggle for the liberation of peoples from colonial rule and domination was won.*

*Mr. Makeka (Lesotho), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Dizdarevic, Yugoslavia)

Newly liberated and sovereign States, with equal rights, entered the world scene, thus radically changing the map of the world. Often, when we sought ways of meeting the great challenges that we had to face, this universal forum witnessed patience, wisdom and faith in progress. This is where a new international practice and awareness were forged, notwithstanding all the difficulties and resistance encountered. This is where we elaborated, codified and tried to make universal the rules governing relations among sovereign nations and States. This is where we adopted the concept of the new international economic order. This is where we defined the ideals of peace and progress for all, in keeping with the new, historic era, thus narrowing the scope for the use of force and for the pursuit of the policy of domination.

In this period mankind advanced greatly in all fields. The technological revolution has given rise to possibilities undreamed of before.

The struggle for freedom and independence, equitable international relations, a world free of blocs and development led to the inception of the policy of non-alignment. This policy was essential in that struggle and with its principles, objectives and thrust it has become an irreplaceable, independent factor of positive influence in global international relations.

However, these long decades have brought us many disappointments and much distress. Quite a few of our aspirations of 40 years ago are still unfulfilled. The purposes and principles of the Charter pertaining to the preservation of international peace and security, respect for the tenets of self-determination and the sovereign equality of all countries, refraining from the threat or use of force, the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, as well as many others, have been in constant and serious jeopardy. The achievements of mankind are far from being accessible to all. Many

(Mr. Dizdarevic, Yugoslavia)

people the world over are deprived of basic opportunities for development and of means for a bare existence.

Therefore it is justifiable to ask what is the nature of the peace in which we live and how far we are from lasting and universal peace. Unfortunately, the peace of today is neither lasting nor universal. We have been living in a state of permanent uncertainty, faced with confrontations, local wars and conflicts, bloc rivalries and the arms race. Four decades after the most horrible of all wars we wonder whether the danger of a new one has been removed and, if so, to what extent. We are not sure that a new war, far more terrifying and totally devastating, will not break out.

For a long time now the world has been at a historic crossroads. Which way and how should we proceed in order to ensure lasting peace? Which way and how should we proceed in order to overcome all the factors that make this peace so fragile and uncertain? Which way and how should we proceed in order to eliminate injustices and inequalities, so as to achieve development and progress for all in a world in which peace would be enjoyed by all?

Awareness of the need to carry out radical changes in all spheres of international relations has grown in the world, as have the forces striving to that end. These changes would lead us out of this time of grave challenges towards the goals we defined and set for ourselves in this very forum. In the world of today of great achievements of the human mind, no one should be a passive onlooker while wars are being waged for the sake of others and people are dying of hunger or living without hope. We can neither condone nor accept the idea that peace and prosperity for anyone can be built on such foundations. We can neither condone nor accept the idea that peace and progress can be ensured by the stockpiling of ever more destructive weapons. The arms race imperils the security of all, while

(Mr. Dizdarevic, Yugoslavia)

inequality in economic and other relations threatens the stability and prosperity even of those who perpetuate such a situation through their monopolistic and privileged positions.

The forthcoming negotiations between the great Powers and their approaching summit meeting are awaited with great attention and interest by us all. At their recent conference in Luanda, the non-aligned countries welcomed that development in the relations between the great Powers, calling upon them

"to eschew mutual confrontation, overcome mistrust and embark upon responsible and fruitful negotiations, with a forward-looking approach and in a spirit of goodwill, bearing in mind the interest of all mankind".

We expect that their dialogue will lead to the easing of tension in their relations and in the world at large, since confrontation and the strained relations between them and between the blocs have afflicted us all. Like all other non-aligned countries, we believe that, in order to be fruitful and universally beneficial, this dialogue should be carried on in keeping with the objectives of the United Nations and with the establishment of a true system of collective security.

At the same time I wish to emphasize our profound conviction that all should be involved in the quest for solutions to the crucial issues of the world. Our experience to date has shown that the only possible way of ensuring true détente is to involve all countries and peoples and consider their vital interests. Today it is not in the interest of a single country or group of countries to remain on the sidelines of world developments, without any influence over them, because their own independence and prosperity depend thereon. The horizon of international relations can be cleared of all clouds only if all countries are active in the implementation

(Mr. Dizdarevic, Yugoslavia)

of the principles of peaceful co-existence and the broadest possible co-operation. Every contribution to that end is truly invaluable.

My country has always attached the utmost importance to disarmament issues, being deeply convinced that security and stable relations throughout the world cannot be built under the shadow of arms. Disarmament has today become the pivotal issue for the survival of mankind. Military expenditures, which have reached exorbitant figures this year, have hindered development and the progress of nations. Although the announcement of negotiations between the great Powers brings much relief and rays of hope, the continuance of the arms race and the attempts to extend it into outer space give rise to new fears. In the present international situation the beginning of the process of disarmament, both nuclear and conventional, is of paramount importance. As regards disarmament, the direction is clear and the measures that should be taken urgently to halt the arms race are well known. This path should be embarked upon and these measures should be carried out.

(Mr. Dizdarevic, Yugoslavia)

Our demands and expectations go beyond starting the process of halting the arms race. Our expectations are the creation of an atmosphere conducive to a relaxation of international tension which will lead to the solution of all problems jeopardizing peace and security.

In southern Africa, the blood of innocent people is being shed only because they seek the elementary human right to freedom and independence and to liberation from domination and racial oppression. In South Africa, at this precise time, hundreds and hundreds of people are being killed only because they wish to have equal rights. There should be no further hesitation regarding the application of sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter against the Pretoria régime. By holding its ministerial conference in Luanda and by deciding to hold the eighth summit of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in a front-line State, freedom-loving Zimbabwe, the world of the non-aligned expressed its full solidarity with and support for the struggle of the people of South Africa and the struggle for the final liberation and independence of Namibia under the leadership of its sole and legitimate representative, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). We most strongly condemn the constant pressure and flagrant aggression by South Africa against non-aligned Angola.

Concerted efforts are indispensable to bring the war between Iran and Iraq to an end. There is no justification whatsoever for its continuance.

The full exercise of the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to establish their own State under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), their legitimate representative, can no longer be delayed; nor can the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territories.

(Mr. Dizdarevic, Yugoslavia)

We are deeply concerned and troubled by the escalation of armed intervention and pressure against the sovereignty and independence of Nicaragua.

The peoples of Kampuchea, Afghanistan and Grenada must be given the opportunity to decide their destiny themselves, free from the presence of foreign troops. We support all efforts to preserve the integrity and independence of Cyprus. We also support the efforts made by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to fulfil the aspiration to unification of the Korean people.

International economic relations form one of the main fronts in the struggle for the stable development of the world as a whole and for the further democratization of international relations. There can be no safe development and sure survival for anyone in conditions of an enormous gap in the level of development and affluence such as exists today and is constantly widening.

The developing world is faced with basic problems of existence. The development of entire continents is stagnating. If the present rate of growth were to remain unchanged, developing countries would need almost an entire century to reach the current level of the developed part of the world. Yet in the year 2000 they will account for 80 per cent of the world's population.

This situation has been dramatically aggravated by the enormous debt burden on the shoulders of the developing countries. The non-aligned countries devoted a great deal of attention to this matter at their conference in Luanda. They invited international financial and banking institutions as well as the Governments of creditor countries to take part in a constructive political dialogue in order to find a just and lasting solution to this problem. They also proposed several concrete and realistic measures which could serve as a basis for reaching agreement on this problem, which has spread far beyond regional boundaries and become a global political problem.

(Mr. Dizdarevic, Yugoslavia)

Together with all non-aligned and developing countries, we call for an urgent quest for solutions through a dialogue with developed countries with regard not only to debts but to other issues upon which the development and future of all depend. This is in the interest of both developed and developing countries and creditors and debtors alike. Any delay could cause a chain reaction of upheaval and disruption, with far-reaching consequences. Yugoslavia calls for the United Nations to take an active role in resolving the debt problem, which does not preclude the participation of other international bodies. We believe that everything possible should be done at this session of the General Assembly to ensure the convening at an early date of an international conference on money and financing for development. We fully support the request of the Organization of African Unity regarding the convening of a special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations devoted to the critical economic situation in Africa.

I should also like to point out the importance that we attach to the adoption at this session of the declaration on the right to development. We consider this to be an integral part of the efforts aimed at promoting human rights and freedoms.

Yugoslavia, as one of the founders of the United Nations, has contributed through its commitment and activity in this forum over the past four decades to the search for solutions to all the problems that weigh upon the world today. I should like to recall the deep faith that President Tito always had in the United Nations and its mission of democratization of international relations. We are determined to proceed along that path together with all others who share the same aspirations.

In spite of many challenges, the lasting value of the United Nations Charter has been confirmed during the past 40 years. Today more than ever before the world needs reaffirmation of the role of the United Nations. Yugoslavia deeply believes that the United Nations is an irreplaceable factor in bringing all countries

(Mr. Dizdarevic, Yugoslavia)

together on an equal footing in endeavours aimed at resolving the vital problems of the world. It is precisely for that reason that the United Nations will be equally necessary to the world in the decades to come.

If the gap in development continues to grow and if the arms race is not halted, it is an open question whether and how we shall observe future anniversaries and what the world will then be like. We must find a way to ensure development for all. There can be no peace without development, nor development without peace. Peace and détente should therefore be imbued with new substance and given a fresh impetus. Only in a world at peace can spiritual and material well-being be enhanced, differences eliminated and the qualities of peoples and countries and human dignity promoted.

Let us do our best to make the fifth decade of the United Nations a decade wide open to co-operation, understanding and the resolution of problems by concerted effort, in the common interest of all countries. This we can do by strengthening the role of the United Nations and providing for far greater efficiency in its activities. We are convinced that the forthcoming gathering of Heads of State or Government in this same forum will give a strong creative impetus to such efforts and such development.

Mr. AL-ALAWI (Oman) (interpretation from Arabic): It is my pleasure warmly to congratulate the President of the fortieth session of the General Assembly on his election. I am confident that the vast and deep experience which he brings to this great post will be of the utmost help in ensuring the success of this session - this session at which we celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations and in which all peoples of the world place great hopes. Our pleasure is all the greater on this occasion because he represents Spain, a friendly country to which our country is bound by relations of friendship and respect. Spain has had close historical contacts with our Arab world, contacts that still have a positive effect on the development of relations between the Arab peoples and the people of Spain.

I also express with pleasure my deep appreciation to Mr. Paul John Lusaka, the President of the last session, whose wisdom, knowledge and firmness gave depth and smoothness to the work of that session. This was evident in the excellent way in which he led the work of the thirty-ninth session and in the manner in which the General Assembly completed that work.

I also take this opportunity to express my appreciation and admiration to Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, for the efforts he has made since assuming that post. We wish him all success in his tasks, which everyone realizes are both difficult and complex. We express to him our support for his efforts, as well as our support for the goals of this international Organization, and our firm belief in the necessity of preserving its strength so that it can play its leading role in eliminating the spectre of war and can contribute effectively to the solution of international problems.

(Mr. Al-Alawi, Oman)

I take this opportunity also to express, through the delegation of Mexico, our deepest sympathy to the people and Government of Mexico in connection with the tragic earthquake they have experienced. It has caused great loss of life and destruction of property, and we hope that international solidarity will help Mexico to bear the burdens of this tragedy.

As we celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, we renew our commitment to the principles and purposes of its Charter and to the endeavour to strengthen further the role of the United Nations, which is the only international forum through which all countries seek the achievement of peace, progress and justice.

We live today in a world where events change at an unprecedented pace. The crises and challenges faced by some countries and peoples reverberate in various parts of this globe. We live as one international family, in which crises intertwine, each one affecting the other. Our Organization can in no way remain isolated from those crises.

In spite of the continued existence of hotbeds of tension in various parts of the world, the United Nations has remained the international forum to which countries involved in conflicts resort - taking shelter under its umbrella - in order to bring about peace among them. The United Nations has been able to contain regional wars, preventing them from turning into world wars. It has also proved itself able to achieve solutions commensurate with the questions of world peace and development and to pursue a balanced approach towards the present international issues.

(Mr. Al-Alawi, Oman)

The Sultanate of Oman has adopted clear and well-known positions towards the hotbeds of major political tensions facing the international community. The foreign policy of the Sultanate is committed to working towards the solution of international disputes through dialogue and understanding. This policy is based on moral and legal standards, guided by the principles and purposes of the United Nations, and is committed to the resolutions and recommendations of the United Nations.

Every year we review and assess past achievements, and then address ourselves to the large number of international questions still on the agenda of the General Assembly.

If we compare the international situation today to that which prevailed a year ago, we see that in spite of the tireless efforts that have been made the international situation is still characterized by increasing tension and disputes and by escalating conflicts, in addition to the economic crisis that is strangling many countries.

On the agenda of this session are the same questions that the General Assembly has dealt with at previous sessions. The inability of the United Nations to find viable solutions for the various problems that it faces is the result of the disregard by some countries of the resolutions and recommendations of the United Nations. The question of Palestine is the clearest example of this.

The cause of the Palestinian people is the oldest and most important question that the United Nations has dealt with since its inception. This year, when we are celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, we find Israel still imposing its occupation on the Arab territories and refusing to allow the Palestinian people to exercise their right to live peacefully in a stable and secure homeland.

(Mr. Al-Alawi, Oman)

The real obstacle faced by the international community in seeking to find a solution to the Palestinian question is Israel's refusal to comply with and implement the resolutions adopted by the United Nations, and its rejection of all initiatives aimed at reaching a just settlement of the Palestinian question.

The question of the Palestinian people does not lack initiatives; there have been several, such as the Venice declaration by the countries of the European Economic Community, the Brezhnev initiative, President Reagan's initiative, the Fez Arab summit declaration, the Geneva declaration of 1983 and, most recently, the Palestinian-Jordanian initiative, which was hailed by the last extraordinary Arab summit meeting, held in Casablanca. That latter initiative could be an instrument for achieving a just and lasting peace.

The Arabs, by accepting those peace initiatives, have proved that they advocate security and peace, not the peace that Israel is trying to impose by force and the policy of fait accompli, but peace based on justice and international legitimacy, represented in United Nations resolutions calling on Israel to withdraw from all the occupied Arab territories and calling for the establishment of a national homeland for the Palestinian people so that the two peoples can co-exist: the Palestinian people in its independent State and the Israeli people.

Time has proved beyond any doubt that Israel will not be able to achieve security and stability so long as it persists in denying the rights of the Palestinian people and so long as it continues to occupy the territories of the neighbouring Arab countries, thereby violating their sovereignty and stability. It has also become clear that the logic of Israeli military might will not create stability and calm in the region.

Dialogue is the ideal way to achieve peace and stability in the Middle East. The Sultanate of Oman, believing in that approach, has supported all efforts aimed at achieving a just peace.

Israel must for once show the same courage and wisdom as the Arabs and Palestinians have already shown and provide concrete proof that it seeks peace - just, firm and lasting peace for all. The countries friendly to Israel should play an important role in prevailing upon it and encouraging it to take those steps before it is too late.

The Gulf region has witnessed for the past five years one of the most destructive wars, which has claimed so many lives and caused destruction of, and damage to, property and installations. We appeal to all countries to pay more attention to the matter and speed up efforts to find a reasonable solution to end this raging war between two neighbouring countries, Iraq and Iran. The continuation of the war on its present scale requires concerted efforts to put a firm and final end to it.

If the war has been confined so far to the territories of the two warring countries, that does not guarantee that it will not in the future spill over their borders. The fact that neither country is able to inflict military defeat on the other must not lull the international community into believing that the war no longer poses a threat to international peace and security.

Tension, confrontation, instability of relations between countries, conflicts of interests and international alliances may transform the Gulf war into a hotbed of international conflict threatening the security and stability of all the Gulf States, disrupting international navigation in the Straits of Hormuz, thereby inflicting damage not only upon the economies of the countries of the region, but also upon the world economy, especially the economies of developed countries.

Proceeding from our realization of the dangers of that war and the need to put an end to it, the Sultanate of Oman has taken part in all efforts to that effect, whether those of States members of the Co-operation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf, the Organization of the Islamic Conference or the Non-Aligned Movement. We also affirm the importance of the role of the United Nations and the Security

Council as well as the good offices of the Secretary-General, through which he has been able recently to achieve some relative progress in containing the conflict. We realize that much more must be done to put an end to the war, and we believe that it is important to co-ordinate the efforts of the United Nations and other international efforts.

Iraq has adopted a clear position accepting the principle of negotiations with a view to achieving a just and peaceful solution, while the Islamic Republic of Iran has set pre-conditions to end the war. We believe that those countries with strong relations with either or both parties to the conflict have not made enough efforts to persuade them to resort to negotiations to solve the conflict before they reach a point of no return in the war and before reconciliation becomes impossible.

As for Afghanistan, we still see, despite the passage of five years and the adoption of many General Assembly resolutions, the foreign presence hovering over the territories of a Moslem, non-aligned people. The events in Afghanistan provide the most glaring example of foreign interference in the internal affairs of other States, and the use of armed force to impose a fait accompli that the Afghan people cannot accept, denying a whole people the exercise of its legitimate right to select its own system of government, compatible with its religious beliefs and social traditions.

In this context, we affirm our support for the talks going on under the supervision of the special representative of the Secretary-General between the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the Kabul Government. We hope that they will lead to a just settlement of the Afghan question which will promote the right of the Afghan people to self-determination and guarantee the safe and dignified return of the Afghan refugees to their homeland. We also hope that the talks will lead to a political settlement that will preserve the relations of good-neighbourliness and non-interference between the Afghan people and other neighbouring peoples.

(Mr. Al-Alawi, Oman)

We should also like to commend the positive position of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and its constructive efforts aimed at making the negotiations succeed. In addition, we express our appreciation to it for its humane role of serving as host to and sheltering millions of Aghan refugees.

In South-East Asia, the continued presence of Vietnamese military forces in Democratic Kampuchea has led to insecurity and instability in that area. The situation there presages a wide confrontation in the region that will have an adverse effect on international security and stability. Therefore, we renew once again our demand that United Nations resolutions which call for the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchean territory be implemented. At the same time, we affirm our continued support for the efforts of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) to find a just solution to the Kampuchean question - a solution that will achieve unity for that people, and enable it to enjoy the right to self-determination and to choose its own system of government.

Our concern about the events in the Horn of Africa is due to the historical and geographical links between our country and that region. We believe that the instability there is due to the fact that the Horn of Africa has been continuously subjected to foreign intervention. The rivalry among the interests of States in the region leads more often than not to confrontation. We are closely following developments - which naturally represent a source of concern to us. We call for an end to all attempts at interference in the internal affairs of the countries of the region.

There is another problem, in southern Africa, which is a source of concern to us, namely, the question of Namibia. In that connection, we reaffirm our support of the Namibian people's achieving independence and self-determination and make clear that the central approach for the solution of this problem lies in accelerating the process of terminating the illegal occupation of Namibia by

(Mr. Al-Alawi, Oman)

South Africa through the implementation of the relevant resolutions adopted by the Organization, particularly Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

We reiterate our denunciation of the policy of apartheid pursued by the Government of South Africa which runs counter to all noble aims, principles, divine laws and proper human behaviour. We affirm the necessity of complying with the resolutions adopted every year by our Organization on this question. If those resolutions were implemented they would assist the black African majority in attaining its legitimate rights.

My country, owing to its geographical location which overlooks the Indian Ocean and being a member of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean established by the General Assembly, follows closely the situation in the region. We also participate in the work of that Committee, which is preparing the convening of an international conference that aims ultimately at the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. We do not want to be pessimistic about progress in that Committee's work; however, the facts do not leave much room for optimism. The Committee is still pursuing its work very slowly and that will not lead us speedily to the desired goal. In that regard we appeal to the member countries, particularly to the two super-Powers, to give greater momentum to the Committee's work so that it can achieve the desired result and hold the conference in the first half of 1986.

The situation in Central America deserves our attention. Tension and violence are escalating in ways that raise concern and make it imperative that a solution of the disputes, domestic or foreign, be found quickly. The ideal approach for solving those conflicts must be based on respect of the rights of peoples and sovereignty of States so that no opportunity for interference in the internal affairs of States of the region is given to the great Powers.

(Mr. Al-Alawi, Oman)

We support the efforts of the Contadora group and believe that they are the best guarantee for achieving peace in Central America. We wish it success in its good offices and call upon all States of the continent to choose co-operation and coexistence in peace instead of conflict and war.

The escalating arms race and the possession of lethal destructive weapons in the past few years have gone beyond anything imagined. In spite of all its efforts, this international Organization has been unable so far to put an end to this terrible race. Disarmament is no longer just a political issue, for its human side has become more important. Those weapons do not pose a threat to only one aspect of human life; they are a grave destructive danger to the very existence of our globe - not to mention the economic aspects which are of no less importance than the others, since arms expenditures could solve the economic problems facing the world, particularly the developing countries.

In this connection, we express our satisfaction at the resumption of negotiations between the two super-Powers at Geneva. We hope that they will lead to putting an end to those destructive weapons. Peace and security for humanity are the main goals we must strive to achieve. My country supports all efforts aimed at limiting nuclear weapons. It also supports the efforts being made to proclaim the Middle East and the Indian Ocean zones of peace, free from destructive weapons.

We welcome the forthcoming summit meeting between President Reagan and Mr. Gorbachev and hope that they will be able to reach positive results that will help reduce international tension, solve various crises and remove obstacles that face mankind.

(Mr. Al-Alawi, Oman)

The international economic situation is not much different from that of security. There is continued regression in the following areas: shrinking international trade, instability of commodity prices and their continuous decreasing trend while the prices of manufactured goods are increasing, creeping protectionism, imposition of barriers against the outflow of capital, rising interest rates, and declining transfer of technology.

(Mr. Al-Alawi, Oman)

This economic situation is also reflected in the chaos prevailing in the international monetary system. The countries of the third world, which depend on limited resources, although not alone are the hardest hit by the present economic situation. This has been demonstrated by the increasing imbalance in their foreign trade, their increasing indebtedness and their inability to service such debts owing to rising interest rates. The continuance of this abnormal situation without any attempt to check it will lead to increased suffering by the peoples of third-world countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

It would be unfair to ourselves to accept this situation as a matter of fact and not work to find viable solutions for it. If the situation deteriorates further it will affect all of us, including the rich countries. We realize that the present economic system cannot deal with this crisis. Therefore we in the Group of 77 call for the establishment of a new international economic order based on more clarity and justice for all countries of the world, rich and poor.

In spite of the deterioration of the international economic situation we should not give way to despair. We should follow the example set by international initiatives to confront the famine and the deteriorating economic situation in Africa, initiatives that demonstrated what the international will, when properly directed, can achieve. The excellent international spirit that confronted famine and drought in Africa should be an incentive for the initiation of a constructive dialogue between North and South that can lead to the establishment of a new economic edifice in harmony with the hopes of the peoples of the world on this fortieth anniversary of the United Nations.

Our world is witnessing increasing terrorism in the form of the kidnapping of individuals, the hijacking of aeroplanes, the bombing of civilian installations and the killing of innocent people. We deplore terrorism in all its forms; we find it

(Mr. Al-Alawi, Oman)

contradictory to lofty human and moral ideals and contrary to the teachings of our religion, Islam, and other revealed religions. We belong to a nation that takes pride in its civilization, ideals, traditions, religion and human heritage, and we consider terrorism and violence to be a phenomenon that reflects ideological bankruptcy.

We call for a commitment to the principles of right and justice to achieve the goals we seek, for reliance on legitimate means of defending ideologies and national interests and for respect for the differences that exist between individuals and peoples.

We will support every international or regional effort to combat terrorism, in whatever form it may take, and we call upon all States to co-operate closely in confronting and combating this dangerous political disease.

In spite of all the difficult problems and crises faced by our world today we should not underestimate the progress achieved by the United Nations since its foundation. We still have hope that the United Nations will seek and find just and appropriate solutions for the different crises and problems that confront us.

We appeal to all Members of this Organization to work together in this endeavour so that security and trust may prevail in our international community and confidence between States and peoples be strengthened.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.

