



## General Assembly

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Forty-second session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWENTIETH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Thursday, 1 October 1987, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic)

- Address by Mr. Joaquim Alberto Chissano, President of the People's Republic of Mozambique
- General debate [9]: (continued)

Statements were made by:

Mr. Mangwende (Zimbabwe)  
Mr. Abdullah (Oman)  
Mr. Mladenov (Bulgaria)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.25 a.m.

ADDRESS BY MR. JOAQUIM ALBERTO CHISSANO, PRESIDENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ZIMBABWE

The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will first hear an address by the President of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

Mr. Joaquim Alberto Chissano, President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, His Excellency Mr. Joaquim Alberto Chissano, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President CHISSANO: It is for me a great honour to address this Assembly, an important forum in the struggle for the preservation of peace and the consolidation of friendship and solidarity among peoples. The United Nations plays an essential role in easing world tension and containing conflicts. It is the cornerstone of closer diplomatic ties between Member States and of the struggle for progress and development.

In addressing the forty-second session of the General Assembly I should like to express my delight at seeing the presidency in your hands, Sir. You are an experienced diplomat who has achieved a high standing in international relations and I am confident that the present session of the General Assembly will benefit greatly from your wisdom and evenhandedness. I should like to pledge my country's determination to co-operate closely with you in carrying out your duties.

I also congratulate the President of the forty-first session, Mr. Humayun Rasheed Choudhury, Foreign Minister of Bangladesh, on the energy he devoted in bringing that session to a successful conclusion.

(President Chissano)

I have the pleasure of conveying a message of appreciation and recognition from the Mozambican people to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar. Your commitment and devotion to the search for solutions to problems besetting humankind have earned you, Mr. Secretary-General, the admiration and esteem accorded to great international personalities. Your name will for ever be associated with the international community's efforts aimed at seeking solutions to serious problems obtaining in southern Africa. Your name will be particularly associated with all that has been done to relieve the human suffering caused by natural calamities and the war of aggression against Mozambique.

Ten years ago the President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Marshal Samora Moises Machel, addressed this Assembly for the first time. He brought a message from a country that, having just won its independence by force of arms, fully understood the need for peace to build a future of prosperity and well-being. Samora Machel devoted all his energies to the search for solutions to southern Africa's problems.

On 19 October 1986 Samora Machel was returning from yet another mission for peace and development when the aircraft in which he was travelling was diverted from its normal route by an unregistered radio beacon (VOR). As a result of that diversion, the aircraft crashed in South African territory, causing the death of President Samora Machel and 34 people accompanying him. We are convinced that this radio beacon (VOR) was deliberately installed and operated with criminal intent. The Mozambican Government reaffirms its determination to pursue the investigation until the whole truth is revealed. Those who assassinated Samora Machel are the enemies of peace, progress and justice. Those who killed Samora Machel are the enemies of the purposes that guide the United Nations. In evoking the memory of President Samora Machel, I should like to thank all those who, in those tragic

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moments, enveloped us in the mantle of their sympathy and strengthened our determination to pursue the struggle for peace.

My country continues to experience a difficult situation brought about by an undeclared war waged against us by South Africa. With repeated massacres and massive destruction of our social and economic infrastructures, this war of aggression, which initially was led by the racist and minority régime of Ian Smith of the then Rhodesia and was taken over in 1981 by the apartheid régime of South Africa, has reached an unprecedented scale. At various moments this war has involved either direct military aggression by the South African armed forces or attacks by mercenaries and terrorists recruited, trained, armed, directed and supported by Pretoria. As a backdrop to this war, and using the vast financial and technological resources at its disposal, the apartheid régime resorts to threats, blackmail, economic blockade, sabotage and a campaign of disinformation and calumny against our country.

The Nkomati Agreement, signed in 1984 by the People's Republic of Mozambique and South Africa with a view to establishing a climate of peace and good neighbourliness between the two countries, has not yet fully achieved its purpose. As the Gorongosa documents have amply demonstrated, South Africa, instead of ceasing its involvement in the aggression against Mozambique, has escalated the infiltration of terrorists into our country and increased military support to them. Despite the unmasking of this scheme, through the irrefutable evidence provided by the Gorongosa documents, Pretoria has remained captive to its plan of waging an undeclared war against Mozambique. Despite the immense propaganda effort made by the circles that finance the armed banditry in an attempt to give it an acceptable face, these terrorists and mercenaries in the pay of Pretoria remain faithful to their criminal, anti-social and anti-national character. That is

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proved by, among other things, the massacres perpetrated by the terrorists in Homoine, Manjacaze, Mandimba, Mechungwe and Sena. It is proved by the destruction of property and social and economic infrastructures and by the looting, robbery, rape and sadistic mutilation of defenceless populations.

Without being exhaustive, the following are some of the nefarious effects of the attacks perpetrated by the terrorists: From 1982 to 1986, the terrorists destroyed or looted 1,500 shops and consumer co-operatives; 1,800 schools, affecting 315,000 students; 490 hospitals, health posts and centres, affecting more than 2 million citizens, who lost access to regular health care. In the same period, more than half a million people died as a direct or indirect result of the terrorist attacks; more than half of this total is made up of children below the age of five.

But who are these criminals that indiscriminately sow death and destruction? Who are these murderers that, under the command of foreigners, brutalize and massacre the Mozambican people? Who are these terrorists - or armed bandits, as they have become known in Mozambique and throughout southern Africa? They are agents of colonialism who were always opposed to the liberation struggle of the Mozambican people and who, after the triumph of this struggle in 1974, desperately attempted to prevent the realization of our rights to self-determination and independence.

(President Chissano)

In their ranks we find drug addicts, thieves, outlaws and criminals, mercenaries and murderers. Their creation and leadership were dictated by objectives and interests foreign and hostile to the most legitimate aspirations of the Mozambican people. On the testimony of their very creator, the former head of Rhodesia's intelligence service, Ken Flower, this group was formed in 1974 in Ian Smith's Rhodesia. It was created as a pseudo-guerrilla movement based on Ken Flower's experience gained from the Portuguese army in Angola. To this pseudo-movement the Rhodesia secret services gave the name of MNR in the middle of 1976.

As a consequence of the war Pretoria is waging against us, and of the natural calamities that affect our country, 4.5 million Mozambicans have been displaced inside the country or have sought refuge in neighbouring countries.

In the face of this catastrophe, the international community has shown gratifying understanding and solidarity. On the initiative of the Secretary-General, and in response to our appeal, an international meeting on humanitarian assistance to Mozambique was held earlier this year. As a result, United Nations specialized agencies, governmental and non-governmental institutions, humanitarian and religious bodies have been giving our country precious support in foodstuffs, clothing, medicine, seeds and tools. Thanks to this programme, it has already been possible to save the lives of thousands of Mozambicans.

On behalf of the Mozambican people, I thank all the donor countries and the entire international community for the support given our country. Without this support it would have been impossible for us to cope with the countless difficulties faced by the population displaced by war or returning from neighbouring countries where they had sought refuge.

(President Chissano)

The war in southern Africa is a creation of the apartheid régime. The forces that carry out the massacres are an extension of Pretoria's army.

The South African régime wants to subjugate the whole of southern Africa. That is very obvious to the countries in the region. Therefore, Zimbabweans and Tanzanians are today fighting in Mozambique, side by side with Mozambicans, against South African aggression, in operations that have the logistical support of Angola, Zambia and Botswana. The front-line States understand that what is at stake in Mozambique is the future of the region as a whole. The war being waged against Mozambique is a struggle between freedom and oppression, between equality and racial discrimination, between independence and colonialism.

Even beyond the borders of the front-line States, we are beginning to note positive signs of co-operation intended to bring an end to this terrorism. That is the case of Malawi, with which we have signed a security agreement that is being implemented with positive results.

The broad movement of solidarity we enjoy from member States of the Organization of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement and the international community in general strengthens our determination to fight and our confidence to win.

Our economy reveals deep structural and conjunctural distortions, as a consequence of a combination of factors such as the financial and trade imbalances; the unprecedented reduction in prices of commodities which constitute the main source of revenue for developing countries; unemployment; the disproportionate increase in the prices of manufactures from industrialized countries; high real interest rates; the adoption of protectionist measures that hamper the access of exports from developing countries to developed countries' markets; recurring hunger that affects millions of human beings; the critical situation inherited from

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colonialism; the losses occasioned by the implementation of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia; direct and indirect military aggression and economic blockade pursued by South Africa; natural calamities; and our managerial shortcomings in the implementation of our economic policy, as recognized by the Fourth Congress of our Party.

Of all those factors, it is the war of aggression being waged against us by the South African régime that most aggravates our economic and financial difficulties.

Between 1975, the year we became independent, and 1981 we scored successes in our national reconstruction. During this period our gross domestic product achieved a reasonable annual growth rate. Our exports reached a peak of \$US 280.8 million. In the field of education, the illiteracy rate, which was 92 per cent at the time of independence, was reduced to 72 per cent by 1980. Our success in the field of health resulted in the establishment of 900 rural health posts. In 1981, for the first time in our country's history, every district had the services of a health professional able to provide diagnosis and treatment.

Significant achievements were registered in many other economic, social and cultural fields. It is those successes that are being threatened by the escalation of South African aggression.

Between 1981 and 1985 our economy registered a decline every year, which brought a decrease in standards of living and an increase in our foreign debt.

Analysing our situation, we concluded that, although the war was the main aggravating factor in our economic crisis, we could not wait until its end to adopt fundamental measures to deal with and overcome the crisis. On the contrary, rehabilitating our economy was a condition of paramount importance for us to win the war.

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So at the beginning of this year our Government devised an economic recovery programme that envisages, among others, the following measures: a new system of exchange control that encourages exporters; the abolition of price control on some goods; incentive to producers by means of an increase in the prices of produce; better management methods in the co-operatives; reorganization and rationalization of some State farms, with a resultant redistribution of land to the family sector, co-operatives and private farmers; and a new salary policy, with the aim of increasing productivity.

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The goal of this four-year programme is to revitalize the national economy and to obtain a level of growth in gross domestic product of the order of 12 per cent by 1990. The assessment made of the first six months of implementation of the economic recovery programme has been encouraging. In the first six months of this year, industrial production rose by 34 per cent over the same period last year. Furthermore, there is likely to be a rise of 12 to 15 per cent in agricultural marketing this year over 1986, owing mainly to an increase in production in the family sector.

In general, we note that the various economic elements are reacting in a positive way to the measures that have been taken and there are indications of a trend towards an overall recovery in our economy. It should be pointed out that there is inevitably a high social cost to be paid for the adoption of an economic programme such as this one.

The international economic crisis, the impact of the war imposed on us by Pretoria, and the disproportionate increase in foreign debt servicing that absorbs or even exceeds our export earnings have all meant that Mozambique, like many other developing countries, finds itself in a strait-jacket of foreign debt which, little by little, is restraining our efforts and initiatives.

To complement our national efforts, we have negotiated the rescheduling of our debt. In May of this year we came to a better understanding, and the terms agreed on were reasonably favourable.

The recent meeting of the Consultative Group for Mozambique resulted in encouraging promises of new resources to revive our economy and sustain a new start. However, we note that in reality a large part of the additional resources will enter our country only to leave almost immediately in the form of payments of outstanding obligations. We therefore add our voice to the growing demand for

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profound reforms in international financial and economic relations and for lasting, effective and equitable solutions.

In this context, we share the views held by many countries, organizations and personalities, such as the Vatican, on an ethical approach to the issue of international indebtedness that emphasizes the need for both creditor and debtor countries to share equitably in the sacrifices and efforts required by the adjustment programmes, and criticizes the prescription of authoritarian and technocratic measures that do not take into account the particular circumstances of each country. This view reinforces the authoritative stand taken in favour of an equitable settlement of the debt of the developing countries.

Some of these concerns are echoed in the Venice Declaration made by the seven industrialized countries, which shows an awareness of the need to encourage structural changes and to review the intolerable interest rates. It is my hope that this awareness will generate the necessary will to work out a just and equitable solution of the debt problem.

The undeclared war waged against Mozambique by South Africa is part of the latter's strategy of domination of the whole of southern Africa. The twin vectors of this strategy are to maintain the essence of apartheid within the country, on the one hand, and to impose South Africa's hegemony on the region, on the other. This hegemony has been challenged by the triumph of the national liberation struggle in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

The attempts to mask apartheid through cosmetic reforms that do not change the essence of the system are firmly opposed by the South African people. The South African people are not struggling for the modernization of the racist régime: they are fighting for a democratic society in which all women and men have equal rights and duties, and where all - black, white, Coloured and Asian - are simply citizens of one country.

(President Chissano)

The declaration of a state of emergency, the strikes, the demonstrations and the mass arrests are clear signs of the failure of the reformist option in South Africa. In response to the popular uprising, the régime is becoming more deeply entrenched in obstinacy and violence. It has now become more obvious to the international community that Pretoria is not sensitive to the demands of the South African people for freedom and democracy and that it refuses to negotiate the end of the apartheid system.

The international community must firmly support the struggle of the South African people under the leadership of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and other democratic forces in South Africa. It should, moreover, exert effective pressure on the South African régime to persuade it to accept the only peaceful means of solving the conflict, namely, to abolish the racist laws, to free Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, to legalize the ANC and other democratic political bodies, and to negotiate with them the political future of the country.

We note, with satisfaction, that wider and wider circles in the South African white community understand the need to tread this path. The movement against apartheid inside South Africa draws to its ranks thousands of white South Africans, especially the young, who want to destroy the artificial barriers imposed by racism and to play a role in building a non-racial and democratic society. Significant political, economic, social, cultural and religious circles in the white community are establishing contacts with the ANC in the hope of finding a solution to the problem of South Africa.

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Since its independence in 1975, the People's Republic of Angola has been facing devastating invasion and attacks carried out directly by the South African armed forces. It is the duty of the Assembly to reaffirm its condemnation of the South African aggression against Angola and to demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the South African régime's troops. We reiterate our fraternal solidarity with the people and Government of the People's Republic of Angola.

Regarding Namibia, we pay a tribute to the recent proposals made by the People's Republic of Angola aimed at bringing to an end South Africa's aggression and occupation of parts of Angolan territory and creating conditions conducive to a negotiated settlement of the issue of Namibia. We once again reject the policy of "linkage" and demand immediate and unconditional implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We salute the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the sole, legitimate representative of the Namibian people, who are struggling with courage and determination for Namibia's independence.

It is encouraging for us to note that there is, on the part of the international community, an increasingly clear understanding of the real nature of the conflict and the difficulties southern Africa faces. Evidence of this can be found in the growing support that the front-line States enjoy in their efforts to establish a lasting peace in the region. The international community must ensure the strengthening of the defence capability of the countries in the region so that they may effectively face South Africa's aggression.

The international community in general and the Western countries in particular should make a firm commitment to promote the economic and social development of the independent countries of southern Africa. This commitment could find expression through bilateral or multilateral channels, particularly within the framework of

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the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), which has shown itself to be a valuable instrument in the struggle for economic emancipation and to lessen our dependence on South Africa.

The proliferation of conflicts in Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Latin America, the continuous growth in stockpiles of nuclear arms and other means of mass destruction, the steadily widening gap between developed and developing nations - all are issues that represent a grave threat to the future and the very survival of mankind.

Despite the efforts made by our Organization in the promotion of peace and international security, it has to be admitted that the progress achieved so far is modest.

On the African continent, the occupation of parts of the territory of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic and the denial of the right of the Sahraoui people to self-determination and independence continue. We are still convinced that solution of this problem will be made possible by implementing the relevant resolutions of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations. We reiterate our support for and solidarity with the Sahraoui people.

Speaking of the conflict between Chad and Libya, we regard as positive the acceptance by both parties of a cease-fire, as announced in Ethiopia by the current Chairman of the OAU. Similarly, we hope that Chad and Libya will co-operate with the efforts of the ad hoc committee that recently met at the summit level in the Zambian capital, Lusaka.

Regarding the issue of the Middle East, the People's Republic of Mozambique reaffirms its support for the just cause of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), their sole, legitimate representative: the establishment of a free, independent and sovereign State. We

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favour the convening of an international conference on the Middle East as a step towards a negotiated settlement of this question.

We demand that Israel withdraw its forces from all Arab territories occupied since 1967 and respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all the States of the region, including Lebanon.

We renew our appeal to the Governments of Iran and Iraq to bring to an end the fratricidal war that is devastating both countries and to co-operate with the United Nations endeavours for a negotiated settlement of the conflict.

We support the efforts being made by the Secretary-General with a view to helping the two Cypriot communities find a just solution to the problem of Cyprus without foreign interference.

The Asian continent continues to suffer from violence and war.

We urge the withdrawal of foreign forces occupying the territory of East Timor, in order that the Timorese people may freely exercise their right to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council.

We express our solidarity with the struggle of the Timorese people, led by FRETILIN, for the attainment of their legitimate and inalienable rights.

On the Korean peninsula, the People's Republic of Mozambique supports the initiatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for a peaceful reunification of that nation.

We encourage the Secretary-General to pursue his efforts aimed at finding a just and lasting solution to the question of Afghanistan.

One can consider positive the results reached in the negotiations between Indonesia and Viet Nam on the issue of Kampuchea.

(President Chissano)

My country is following developments in Latin America with attention and concern. We express our solidarity with the people of Nicaragua in their struggle in defence of their national sovereignty, territorial integrity and peace. We pay a tribute to their repeated readiness to find a negotiated settlement of the conflict affecting Central America. We are in solidarity with the struggle of the people of El Salvador for the triumph of democracy in their country. The efforts made in that region to resolve current conflicts by means of negotiations - and particularly the Agreement reached by the Central American countries in Guatemala - offer hopeful prospects for the restoration of peace in the region. The People's Republic of Mozambique supports these initiatives and hopes that the international community will do likewise.

In the South Atlantic, we favour a negotiated solution to the question of the Malvinas. The good offices of our Secretary-General can play an important role in this question.

Turning now to the Indian Ocean, of particular interest to my country are the efforts being made to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, free of nuclear weapons.

In this context, we urge all Member States to co-operate with the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean, so that it can successfully complete its work and fulfil its mandate without further delay, and pave the way for the early convening of the international Conference on the Indian Ocean.

(President Chissano)

It is with anguish that all humankind notes that the stockpiling of weapons of mass destruction at current levels entails in itself the danger of destroying the life of our planet. It is essential not only to halt the development of these means of mass destruction but also to ensure their limitation and complete elimination.

The People's Republic of Mozambique regards as highly significant the talks between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with a view to reaching agreements on the limitation and elimination of nuclear weapons and other arms of mass destruction.

We welcome the result already achieved on medium-range missiles. This is a significant step towards general and complete disarmament. We hope that the commendable efforts made and the flexibility demonstrated by the two parties will continue. We look forward to seeing the redoubling of the political will of all those whose contribution is relevant to the success of this endeavour. Détente between the nuclear Powers will decrease tension and the tendency to create zones of influence detrimental to the interests of the world community as a whole. The reduction of arms will release resources that must be used to the benefit of the harmonious development of nations, particularly developing countries.

The Mozambican people are steadfast and determined. We love freedom and we prize independence. Now, as in the past, we are making huge sacrifices to preserve our freedom and independence.

Today, when we take up arms, we do it solely in defence of a nation that is ours, in defence of a freedom that was achieved through a hard-fought struggle. We do it in defence of the interests of our people, of the objectives of our non-aligned State, of our ideals of liberty, peace and social progress. The

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solidarity we enjoy is evidence that the international community understands that this is the guiding force of our people and the main aim of our State.

In saluting the international community, governments, international institutions - the United Nations specialized agencies in particular - and non-governmental and humanitarian bodies for the assistance rendered to our country, we urge them to continue and increase their support so that our people may defend themselves more effectively from the aggression to which they have been subjected.

In concluding, I want to reiterate our adherence to the principles of the United Nations. We reaffirm our determination to co-operate with the United Nations system and all countries in the realization of the objectives of this great world Organization, namely, the elimination of focal points of tension; the containment and elimination of conflicts; the establishment of a just international economic order; disarmament; the elimination of wars, small or big, local or world-wide; and the preservation of peace and security. Our active non-alignment is the foundation of the strengthening of our friendship and co-operation with all nations regardless of the economic and ideological systems they embrace. We are always ready to co-operate with all those that respect our independence and those that wish to work with us on the basis of mutual respect and all the universal principles of the United Nations.

I am confident that representatives will faithfully convey to their peoples and Governments this message of co-operation, friendship and peace.

The struggle continues.

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

Mr. Joaquim Alberto Chissano, President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. MANGWENDE (Zimbabwe): First, Sir, I should like to extend my congratulations to you on your unanimous election to the presidency of the forty-second session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Your election is a deserved tribute to your admirable diplomatic qualities and also a vote of confidence in your country. My delegation intends to co-operate fully with you as you guide the work of this Assembly.

(Mr. Mangwende, Zimbabwe)

To your predecessor, Mr. Humayun Rasheed Choudhury, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bangladesh, we extend our most sincere appreciation for the able manner in which he presided over the work of the forty-first session of the General Assembly.

The Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, has steered the ship of this Organization during very stormy weather and has done so splendidly. He is deserving of our unreserved praise and support. We welcome his report on the work of the Organization. The Secretary-General has ably outlined the problems, opportunities and challenges that lie ahead as we begin the forty-second session of the General Assembly. We sincerely hope that his important ideas will receive the serious consideration they deserve in the days to follow, as the Assembly tackles the items on its agenda.

As we meet today, impulses for peace have quickened when compared to the position prevailing at the inauguration of the forty-first session of the General Assembly. Encouraging, if tentative and rather tantalizing, signs of a relaxation of tension between super-Powers and on the international stage in general are discernible. Yet much too much is still unresolved for us to say peace is here at last. The international situation remains volatile and explosive and much can still go amiss. For that reason we should take very seriously the Secretary-General's words when he states that:

"Even if the favourable wind felt this year prevails, our global vessel will need skilful piloting and the assistance of dedicated oarsmen to navigate the many shoals and reach safe landfall in the next century." (A/42/1, p.2)

For us to profit from the present thaw, it is necessary that we take every advantage of the possibilities before us to create an environment conducive to the

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search for peace world-wide. This forty-second session of the General Assembly provides us with one such opportunity. Let us seize and exploit it to the fullest possible extent.

Our deliberations this session could not have started on a more auspicious note than that provided by the announcement two weeks ago by the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of an agreement in principle for the global elimination of land-based intermediate nuclear forces (INF). We welcome this positive development. It is the first time an agreement actually to reduce existing arsenals of nuclear forces has been made. It is therefore an important psychological breakthrough, not only because it will demonstrate, as we have always argued, that a reduction of armaments can actually create a sense of greater security among nations, but also because it will, we are convinced, expose the fallacy of trying to seek security in the arms race. We hope that, when signed and ratified, the INF agreement will give fresh impetus to continuing negotiations on other broader areas of disarmament aimed at the halting of the arms race, nuclear disarmament and ultimately general and complete disarmament. We urge the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union and, indeed, of all other nuclear-weapon States to seize these possibilities of our times, to proceed to agree on a moratorium on nuclear testing as a first step towards the conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty and the reduction and eventual elimination of strategic nuclear missiles.

We urge the Conference on Disarmament to redouble its efforts to ensure the early conclusion of the convention banning the development, production, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons. The use of chemical weapons is already proscribed by the 1925 Geneva Protocol. However, it is our conviction that the mere possession

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of such weapons inevitably leads to their use. It is for that reason that we seek their total elimination.

Outer space is the common heritage of mankind and must be used for practical purposes and for the benefit of all peoples. It should not become yet another frontier to be conquered in the armaments race, neither should it become another repository for implements of death and destruction. A weapon-free outer space is possible if all States forgo the so-called defensive option and commit themselves to the dialogue for general and complete disarmament. We call on the Conference on Disarmament to hasten negotiations aimed at the conclusion of agreements on the prevention of the extension of the arms race into outer space. Meanwhile, strict adherence by all parties to the already existing international legal instruments on space weapons, including the 1986 outer space Treaty and the 1972 anti-ballistic missile Treaty, would prevent the extension of the arms race into outer space.

In spite of the gains that have been made in a number of areas of disarmament, our world is far from being safe; the future of mankind is far from ensured. The prevention of nuclear war remains the most urgent task of our times and a pre-condition for all our endeavours. It is imperative that disarmament negotiations in the various multilateral forums be facilitated for the sake of the survival of mankind. It is for that reason that the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries believes that the convening of a third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament could give the necessary political impetus to negotiations in various forums aimed at the elimination of the threat of nuclear weapons. We therefore urge the forty-second session of the General Assembly to decide on the specific dates for the convening of the special session.

(Mr. Mangwende, Zimbabwe)

The convening of the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development in August-September this year was an event of major significance. Viewed against the background of the seemingly unbridgeable differences and the dire prediction that the Conference was doomed to failure, the adoption of a consensus document after three weeks of serious negotiations was a victory for multilateralism. It was a testimony to the willingness of States to work peacefully together without intimidation or threats. This consensus may have fallen short of the expectations of many of us but we take comfort from the fact that a foundation-stone upon which we shall build has been laid. In a world in which global military expenditures now run at approximately \$2 million a minute and threaten to burst the \$1-trillion-a-year barrier, the staggering opportunity-cost in terms of human needs not met, retarded and distorted economic growth or lost opportunities for constructive co-operation can no longer be ignored. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries looks forward to the consideration of this important item during this session of the General Assembly and the third special session devoted to disarmament.

The gradual revival of multilateralism was evident not only during the recent Conference on disarmament and development but also at Geneva during the seventh session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). The convening of UNCTAD VII against a background of uncertainty in the international economic environment and the adoption by consensus of the Final Act represent yet another victory for multilateralism.

It has opened up new possibilities for progress in economic negotiations, particularly on the interrelated issues of money, finance, external debt and trade and development. The signature or ratification of the Commodity Fund Agreement by many more States during the UNCTAD meeting has brought the Common Fund for Commodities closer to fruition. The consensus reached in the areas of external

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debt and financial resource flows, though limited in scope, nevertheless opened new avenues that need further exploration during this session of the General Assembly. We in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, having participated actively in the evolution of the consensus at Geneva, stand ready to co-operate fully in exploring these new opportunities.

Similarly, we hope to build on the consensus resolution, 41/202, adopted at the forty-first session, which recognized that the external debt crisis had already reached dangerous proportions and that an integrated approach involving creditor and debtor nations, multilateral financial institutions and international private banks was necessary if durable solutions were to be found to the debt problem. We welcome the growing realization in some quarters in the industrialized creditor countries that the case-by-case approach cannot provide a viable solution to the debt crisis. We are concerned at suggestions that seem to indicate that the free play of blind market forces alone can correct the imbalances in the international system by a process of automatic adjustment.

The long-term solution to the debt problem lies in the adoption of a comprehensive set of measures recognizing, inter alia, the need for growth in the debtor countries, for stability of commodity prices, for the halting of reverse transfer of resources from developing to developed countries and for the reinitiation of financial resource flows to developing countries with a view to achieving the official development assistance target of 0.7 per cent of gross national product, as agreed in the International Development Strategy, and the official development assistance target of 1.5 per cent of gross national product for the least developed countries as agreed in the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s. We in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries believe that the convening of an international conference on money and finance, with universal

(Mr. Mangwende, Zimbabwe)

participation and aimed at meeting the development and financing requirements of the international economy, particularly those of the developing countries, is already long overdue. We therefore urge the forty-second session of the General Assembly to examine further the possibilities of setting in motion the preparatory process for the convening of such a conference without further delay.

A little over a year ago the United Nations General Assembly, in recognition of the critical economic situation on the African continent, convened a special session for the purpose of mobilizing international support for Africa's efforts towards recovery and development. The partnership for development that emerged then between the international community and Africa under the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development 1986-1990 held out hope of a promising future for Africa. Regrettably, that hope has been largely unfulfilled. The debt crisis, the collapse of commodity prices and stagnating resource flows to Africa continue to place obstacles on Africa's path to recovery. As if that were not enough, many of the commitments made by the international community have not been translated into concrete action in terms of increasing resource flows to Africa. It is therefore imperative that this session of the General Assembly explore new avenues for making available additional financial resources for Africa's development, in accordance with the commitments made during the special session, so as to avoid further deterioration of the situation in that part of the world.

(Mr. Mangwende, Zimbabwe)

The non-aligned countries are determined to play their part through the enhancement of programmes for economic co-operation among developing countries. In June this year the members of the Movement had the opportunity to meet in Pyongyang, in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, in an Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting devoted solely to South-South co-operation. Action-oriented measures aimed at giving a new push to economic co-operation among developing countries were taken. We therefore call upon the United Nations to give all the necessary support, through its appropriate machinery, to these South-South programmes for co-operation.

The interrelated nature of the issues of the environment and development is no longer a question for debate. We therefore welcome the findings in the report of the World Commission on Environment and Development, released earlier this year. We hope that the report will awaken the consciousness of the international community to the need for the mobilization of resources to enable developing countries to pursue long-term strategies harmonizing environmental considerations with developmental objectives.

In addition to the challenges of disarmament and economic development, the international scene is still characterized by a number of focal points of tension. These crises distract the parties concerned from their priorities of socio-economic development and aggravate international tension. It is therefore essential that they be resolved, if international peace and security is to be assured. In this regard the signing of the Guatemala agreement by the five Central American Presidents in August this year is a most welcome development, promising a future of hope and peace not only in Central America but also in the whole Latin American and Caribbean region, and indeed for all mankind.

In August this year I had the privilege of leading a nine-member delegation of the Standing Committee on Central America of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries

(Mr. Mangwende, Zimbabwe)

on a mission to Managua and Caracas. On that occasion we had the opportunity of meeting the Foreign Ministers of the countries of the Contadora and Support Groups, to deliver a message of support for the peace process in Central America from the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. Wherever we went, whether Managua, Caracas or Panama, we were greeted by ordinary men and women whose only desire for their countries and their region was peace - peace to enable them to live with each other in harmony and friendship, peace to enable them to channel their energies into the socio-economic development of their countries, peace to give them a chance of hope for a brighter future for their little ones. Among those men and women in Nicaragua, Panama and Venezuela one could not fail to feel and sense an air of great expectation and hope and, above all, an overwhelming desire for peace. The people of Central America have dared to dream dreams which some of us are too cynical and too afraid even to think of.

Central America would like to give peace a chance. Let us give the countries of that region an opportunity to give peace a chance. We have already heard some of the leaders of the subregion presenting their case before this international body from this rostrum. We shall be hearing others in the days to come. But what can this body do by way of response? How shall we respond to those eloquent appeals for peace? I believe that the international community should, first, unreservedly, openly and forcefully declare its support for the Guatemala agreement; secondly, solemnly call on all nations not to do anything that might undermine this very important agreement; thirdly, urge member countries to give increased financial support to Central America so that the subregion may address the economic and social problems resulting from years of economic disruption and neglect; and finally, give full support to the efforts of the Secretary-General in

(Mr. Mangwende, Zimbabwe)

this regard and urge him to continue to fulfil his mandate to assist in every possible way in the implementation of the Guatemala agreement. Surely the minimum that we can do to demonstrate our support for this unique and daring regional initiative is adopt a resolution embodying these elements.

The deteriorating situation in the Middle East is a cause of great concern on the part of the international community. Earlier this year it seemed as though a consensus on the convening of an international conference on peace in the Middle East was at long last within our reach. Indeed, the Secretary-General's interim report (A/42/277, para. 6) noted encouraging signs of "increased interest on the part of the international community in the idea of a [Middle East] conference" and "indications of greater flexibility on this issue amongst the parties" directly concerned.

It was in an effort further to promote the early convening of the international conference on peace in the Middle East that the Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries called for a special ministerial meeting of the Non-Aligned Committee on Palestine, in Harare in April this year, to review international developments in the light of General Assembly resolution 41/43 D of December 1986. A week later there was the historic Algiers meeting of the Palestinian National Council, which enhanced the unity of the Palestinian people, thus preparing them to be effective participants in the Middle East conference. Since that time the non-aligned countries have been engaged in consultations with the President of the Security Council, the Secretary-General and all the members of the Security Council in an effort to bring about the convening of the conference.

(Mr. Manqwende, Zimbabwe)

We are still awaiting the Secretary-General's final report on the prospects for such a conference. In the meantime we appeal to the friends of the Tel Aviv régime to come out in the open in support of the convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East. We urge them to make it clear to Israel that the international community cannot accept its continued veto of the convening of the Conference. We all know, of course, that Israel does listen to its friends: for - as the French saying goes - c'est la vie and, alas, the "Lavi" is no more. We urge the Security Council to meet as soon as the Secretary-General presents his final report so that it may take the necessary measures to bring about the convening of this important Conference.

The return of peace and stability to the troubled Gulf region must receive our undivided attention. In this connection, we welcome the Secretary-General's efforts to restore peace in that part of the world. We urge Iran and Iraq to heed the call of the international community to put an immediate end to this fratricidal war, which should not have been. But, equally, we are opposed to the introduction of forces alien to the region, as these can only aggravate the tension there. We therefore call for the removal of such alien forces from the Gulf.

The situation in southern Africa continues to threaten international peace and security. The past year has proved, for all to see, that the Pretoria régime has no intention of dismantling the immoral system of apartheid. Quite to the contrary: the racist régime has intensified its campaign of terror against the oppressed masses of South Africa in defence of its heinous system. The situation has deteriorated badly, as can be seen from the reimposition of a state of emergency; the muzzling of the press; the radical lurch to the right in white politics; and the systematic and unrelenting campaign of torture, assassination,

(Mr. Mangwende, Zimbabwe)

and detention and arrests of children, women, workers and opponents of apartheid. An age of darkness has descended upon that benighted country. It is clear that Pretoria has lost respect for or fear of a divided international community. It has taken comfort in the complicity of those countries which have used their vetoes in the Security Council to shield it from the wrath of the international community. It is necessary that Pretoria be left in no doubt that it is a pariah because of its obnoxious policies. But what can be done now to get our message across? It is my humble suggestion that we need to follow a two-track strategy. The first should be to examine the possibility of the setting up of an international mechanism to monitor and report on the implementation of the various packages of sanctions already agreed to by the international community. That will introduce an element of heightened accountability. Secondly, we should demand that the United States, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany desist forthwith from shielding South Africa in the Security Council, and we should call upon the Security Council to impose immediate comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

The international community has a special responsibility to bring Namibia to independence. The time has long passed for it to discharge that duty. In August this year the apartheid régime unleashed a vicious campaign of terror in the Territory. It has flooded the Territory with over 100,000 armed troops to terrorize the tiny population of Namibia. Arrests, disappearances, detention without trial, murder and assassination have become the régime's methods to coerce the population into submission. Churches and schools have been demolished, often fire-bombed, at the slightest suspicion that their followers are sympathetic to the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). Trade unions and other popular movements are under siege. Namibia today is the definition of hell on earth for its inhabitants.

(Mr. Mangwende, Zimbabwe)

The international community has an obligation to respond, and to do so urgently and decisively. Namibia is not free because Pretoria continues to occupy it illegally in order to protect apartheid in South Africa. Namibia's independence is delayed because the United States has linked the achievement of independence by Namibia to the removal of Cuban troops from Angola. Namibia's independence is therefore now a hostage to the interests of the United States. The responsibility of all of us is to try to convince the United States that blackmail and hostage-taking are wrong, no matter the victim or the perpetrator. We should consider taking a series of direct steps to fulfil our obligations to the people of Namibia. First, we should expose and condemn the reign of terror in Namibia both through the media and by appropriate action in the General Assembly and the Security Council, as need be. Secondly, we should now trigger the process of implementing resolution 435 (1978) through the Security Council. And finally, should that fail, we should consider other, alternative approaches within the provisions of the Charter - and there are many - to bring Namibia to independence.

The front-line States and States neighbouring Pretoria have suffered much of late as a result of Pretoria's increased destabilization activities. We therefore call on the international community to render increased material assistance to those States, in order to help them to resist Pretoria's aggression. In this connection, we appeal for increased support for the AFRICA Fund (Action for Resisting Invasion, Colonialism and Apartheid Fund), established by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries at Harare last year for the purpose of assisting those States.

(Mr. Mangwende, Zimbabwe)

Focal points of tension are, unfortunately, found in many other parts of the world. The independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-aligned status of Cyprus need our full support. That beautiful island and its warm and wonderful people can never know peace while foreign troops are on the island and continue to increase in number. The present stalemate is fraught with danger. It is important for the international community to examine, if need be in a more formal setting, what further actions it could take to bring peace to Cyprus.

We are likewise concerned that the aspirations of the Korean people for the peaceful reunification of their country remain unfulfilled. It is our belief that this objective can best be realized through dialogue and consultations between North and South, without any foreign interference, and in conformity with the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity set forth in the North-South Joint Statement of 4 July 1972. For this purpose, it is essential that all foreign troops be withdrawn from the area.

The situations prevailing in Afghanistan and Kampuchea are sources of serious concern to the international community. With regard to these conflicts, we stress the importance of the principles of non-interference and non-intervention in the affairs of sovereign States and the inadmissibility of the use of force against sovereign States. The people of Afghanistan and Kampuchea have the right to determine their own destiny, free from foreign interference or coercion. There can be no justification, in any circumstances whatsoever, for foreign interference or intervention in the internal affairs of these or any other States. These are sacred principles on which the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries can never compromise. We commend the Secretary-General's efforts to find a peaceful settlement of these conflicts, and call upon all concerned to co-operate with him in this regard.

(Mr. Mangwende, Zimbabwe)

The right of all peoples to self-determination and independence is a sacred tenet of our Organization, enshrined in resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960. When we look at the 159 members of our body and recall that the overwhelming majority of them were formerly colonies, we can be justifiably proud of our record. This success should not, however, distract us from the imperative need to complete the task we set for ourselves through the resolution. The broad surge towards freedom and independence, which began before 1960 and carried on through the 1970s, seems to have ebbed, and we appear to be at a stage at which the forces of resurgent colonialism and imperialism are gathering strength and retrenching themselves to oppose humanity's impulse towards freedom. The cases of Namibia, Sahraoui, New Caledonia, Puerto Rico, Micronesia and other dependent Territories are a constant reminder that our battle for the self-determination and national independence of peoples is still unfinished. We demand the immediate implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) and other relevant United Nations resolutions in all these cases.

The importance of the United Nations can hardly be overemphasized. It is the one truly universal body representing the free association of States on the basis of sovereign equality and reflecting the hopes and aspirations of all peoples all over the world. We cannot therefore accept the undermining of its role. By circumventing it, by blocking its capacity to function and, recently, by trying to manipulate it through the withholding of funds, certain States have sought to erode the authority of the United Nations. If there is waste in the running of the Organization, we would be glad to see it corrected and the resultant savings put to better use. If the United Nations can be run more efficiently, all the better. But what we will not countenance are attempts to hijack the Organizaton and subvert

(Mr. Mangwende, Zimbabwe)

its democratic character through the withholding of assessed contributions - itself a delinquent act and a violation of obligations under the Charter.

This is our Organization. As a universal Organization, it must hearken to a kaleidoscopic constituency. Misguided attempts to make it monochromatic and serve special interests can only detract from its noble goals and eventually lead to its demise. For the United Nations addresses a complex reality, and that reality will not become simpler merely through pretence that it is so.

A very real tragedy that has befallen our Organization is the view of certain States that they can reduce it to a mere rubber-stamp for their individual policies through the buying of votes. Some have even pursued the strategem of keeping registers of those who vote "with them" or "against them" in this forum, with the object of using that information as a yardstick by which to judge to whom they shall give or refuse aid. We deprecate this debasement of the United Nations through attempts to turn it into an auction floor where votes go to the highest bidder. We are here, not to vote for or against any country, but to take decisions on issues - based on principles, for that matter. Therefore, if judge we must, then let us judge each other by the degree of faithfulness to the principles of the Charter. If a register be kept, then by all means let it be kept right here at the United Nations, controlled by non-governmental people, comprising the best legal, political and social scientists of the day. Let them judge each one of us according to how often the votes we cast are in accordance with, and seek to uphold, the principles of the Charter. Yes, let us get stars and incentives for our loyalty to the Charter, the instrument by which we have bound ourselves.

(Mr. Mangwende, Zimbabwe)

This Organization can never be "our" United Nations as opposed to "theirs"; nor can it be "theirs" as opposed to "ours". Once we see it as "ours", it will not serve "them", nor will it really serve "us". As "theirs", it will not serve "us" or "them". Only as the United Nations, meeting everybody's views in part and forcing compromise from all, will it serve anyone at all.

Mr. ABDULLAH (Oman) (interpretation from Arabic): I should like at the outset, Sir, to congratulate you on your assumption of the office of President of the General Assembly. I am confident that your experience and skill in various fields will be positive factors that will help to ensure the success of this session. I emphasize the readiness of my Government and delegation to co-operate with you and with the other members of the General Committee.

I take this opportunity to congratulate your predecessor, Mr. Humayun Rasheed Choudhury, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bangladesh, on the exemplary manner in which he conducted the business of the forty-first session.

I wish also to express our pleasure at the re-election of the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, to a second term of office. That election demonstrates the extent of the international community's confidence in the Secretary-General as he administers the affairs of this world Organization.

Since its inception the United Nations has not ceased to make every effort to contain each crisis as soon as it has arisen. If the United Nations has not yet been able to establish an international order free of the scourges of war, hunger and disease, as desired by the nations and peoples, that is not because of any lack of resolutions or instruments that have received the approval of States, any defect in the legal framework of the Organization or any lack of clarity in its purposes and principles. The most pressing need of the Organization is for faith in those purposes and principles and beneficial co-operation among peoples in the interest

(Mr. Abdullah, Oman)

of all. The United Nations represents the best means through which to ensure peace, security and international co-operation. In the light of the heightened tension at both the regional and the international level, there is an increasingly urgent need for the United Nations to continue to play a leading role in the resolution of disputes and in arriving at peaceful solutions and settlements.

We are encouraged by the emerging signs of a possible historic agreement between the nuclear-weapon States to banish the spectre of the nuclear threat that has haunted our international community for decades. Liberation from the nuclear arms race would release enormous facilities and resources with which the international community could arm itself in its campaign against disease, hunger and poverty. It would also reduce existing tensions and restore tranquillity to international relations.

As positive signs emerge which promise the establishment of a better climate in relations between the two super-Powers, we hope that advantage will be taken of this climate to give greater, more vigorous and more effective momentum to efforts to solve problems that continue to threaten security and peace.

The international community has expressed its hope that a solution will be found to the war between Iraq and Iran, which has consumed more material and human resources than either of those States can afford. Security Council resolution 598 (1987), which received the approval of all the members of the Council, indicates that the right kind of action is being taken to address that conflict. The aim of that Security Council resolution, as we see it, is to bring about peace, harmony and co-operation between Iraq and Iran. Any subsequent steps taken by the Security Council to achieve that aim must be fully justifiable and must not take the form of measures that do not provide an appropriate climate for the achievement of lasting peace. We believe that the United Nations must take measures that

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inspire a sense of justice and fairness on the part of both parties to the conflict, as that would encourage all concerned to co-operate with the Secretary-General in his peace-making efforts. We in the Gulf are experiencing an extremely difficult and dangerous crisis and we are anxious to see practical solutions to this problem - not solutions designed to complicate and escalate the crisis, but solutions designed to calm the situation and bring about peace.

The Sultanate of Oman appreciates and understands the anxiety and concern of the international community regarding the safety of shipping in the Gulf. It recognizes the right of all the Gulf States to ensure the freedom and safety of shipping to and from their ports. Attacks on shipping in the Gulf cannot be justified; they constitute a danger to the interests of all the Gulf States.

(Mr. Abdullah, Oman)

They also undermine the most basic principles and laws of international shipping. The Sultanate of Oman, affirms once again that in fulfilling its national and international responsibilities in regulating shipping in the waterways of the Strait of Hormuz, it adheres to the regulations laid down in the Convention on the Law of the Sea and the rules and regulations on maritime safety adopted by the International Maritime Organization (IMO). It calls on all States whose ships pass through the Strait of Hormuz to abide by those rules and regulations.

The Western States are making every effort to clear the mines which threaten the safety of shipping in the Gulf. Those efforts will be helpful so long as their action remains within a peaceful context and outside the regional conflict. In the long term, the protection of shipping in the Gulf's international waters must be regulated in accordance with United Nations principles and within a framework of joint action and international legality, since this will prevent the extremely sensitive Gulf region from being converted into an arena of conflict between international Powers with opposing interests.

The Sultanate of Oman's position on the question of the conflict between Iraq and Iran is clear and unequivocal. Our objective is peace and stability in the region as a whole. Ours is a State which has close ties to and shared interests with all States in the region. We cannot play a positive role in finding a solution to the current dispute in such a way as to serve the overall interests of the region other than through co-operation with both parties to the conflict. The ties which link us to both the Republic of Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran are ties of religion, good-neighbourliness, history and shared interests; the promotion of those ties would cement co-operation and stability in the region. In view of our close links with both sister States and by virtue of our location in

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the Gulf, we have to make every effort to find appropriate solutions with a view to bringing about and ensuring peace and stability, restoring the spirit of co-operation between the Iraqi and Iranian peoples and involving them in the co-operation between all the peoples of the Gulf.

Among the issues which continue to threaten security and cause concern to the international community is the question of Palestine, which is the core of the Middle East problem. We welcome the trends and signs that herald the convening of an international conference on peace in the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations and to be attended by all the parties concerned. Once again we urge those States which have close ties with Israel to use their influence to eliminate all the obstacles that still prevent the convening of the desired conference. In so urging and in giving our support to the convening of the international conference, we express the hope that it will provide an effective means through which to attain positive results.

The Palestinian people, whose homeland continues to be subject to Israeli occupation, continues to have great hope that this conference will enable them to regain its legitimate rights, including its right to self-determination in its own homeland and territory. All the peoples of the region want that conference to lead to a just, honourable and lasting peace. The present circumstances, in which all the parties to the Middle East conflict recognize the importance of peace, provide a significant opportunity which must not be missed. This is the first such opportunity since the conflict began. If it is not seized, the future may not afford any further opportunities for peace in the Middle East, which is one of the most sensitive and dangerous areas in the world. Any future move to abandon the realms of peace would expose the security of the whole world to the dangers of a destructive war.

(Mr. Abdullah, Oman)

We support the efforts of the Secretary-General, through his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, to find a peaceful solution to the problem of Afghanistan and express our support for the position of the Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan on this issue. We urge that further, rapid progress be made in the ongoing talks between the parties concerned, under the auspices of the United Nations, in order that the Muslim people of Afghanistan may attain their right to live in peace in their homeland under a system of government of their own choice, without any interference in their internal affairs.

We believe that the eight-point proposal adopted by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea on 17 March 1986 may serve as a basis for the solution of the Kampuchean problem. In this connection, we cannot fail to commend the efforts to solve it made by the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), particularly the praiseworthy efforts of Mr. Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, on behalf of the States of the Association, to promote the peace process with regard to this problem. It is our hope that these efforts will be heeded by Viet Nam and all the other parties directly concerned so that the Kampuchean people may themselves choose the system of government which they consider appropriate.

The unstable state of the relations between North and South Korea is a factor which creates instability in the Korean peninsula. Peaceful dialogue between the two Koreas is the only means whereby the points of view of the two States may be reconciled. The admission of both North and South Korea as Members of the United Nations would provide a better climate in which to strengthen and expand peaceful dialogue between the two countries, leading to a reduction in the level of tension in the region. The Sultanate of Oman, believing as it does in the international character of the United Nations, would welcome any international effort to admit the two Korean States to membership of the Organization.

(Mr. Abdullah, Oman)

The fact that economic, political and social justice has not been achieved in South Africa is a threat to peace and stability in the whole region of southern Africa and, furthermore, a major challenge to the will of the international community. The deterioration of the political and social situation in southern Africa is an inevitable and direct result of the policy pursued by the Government of South Africa, which casts aside the most basic rules of human behaviour.

(Mr. Abdullah, Oman)

We condemn the arbitrary measures taken by the Government of South Africa against the black majority and cannot help but join with those who call for the immediate independence of Namibia through the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). South Africa's prolongation of its military occupation of Namibia and its stubborn adherence to the system of racial discrimination will only lead to the shedding of more blood and the undermining of security and stability in that important part of the world.

The Sultanate of Oman, in an effort to maintain equilibrium in the region in which we live and to keep that region free from super-Power rivalry, has repeatedly called for the speedy implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI), of 1971. Developments in that region show that implementation of the Declaration would be a major step towards the establishment of international peace and security. There can be no doubt that the convening of the Conference on the Indian Ocean is long overdue and that it must take place in order that the essence of the Declaration may become the practice. We regret that the Conference has been postponed once again and hope that the resolution of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean, adopted by consensus at its last session and calling for the Conference to be convened not later than 1990, will constitute a final decision.

The crisis in Central America has an effect on the harmony among, and the security and stability of, all the peoples in the region. The peace plan adopted by the Central American Heads of State is an appropriate and significant step in the region's peace process. It strengthens and complements the continuing peace efforts of the Contadora Group. We hope that the agreement will mean the beginning of peace and stability for the peoples of the region.

Encouraging signs of accord are emerging. It appears that the two super-Powers are about to take decisions to eliminate categories of medium-range

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nuclear weapons from Europe. This agreement will certainly be of major importance, since it will lead to the mutual withdrawal and destruction, for the first time, of operational weapons systems. Another of the most significant results of the agreement is the mutual feeling of emerging trust between the two States and of the need for such an agreement. We hope that any agreement on medium-range nuclear weapons will constitute not an end in itself but a step towards a comprehensive programme of disarmament and the total elimination of all nuclear weapons.

We take advantage of this opportunity to express our satisfaction at and support for the results of the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, held in New York from 24 August to 11 September 1987. We believe that the convening of this Conference - the first such under United Nations auspices - strengthens the confidence of the international community in this Organization, increases integration among nations and boosts solidarity in the solution of international problems.

During the 1980s the world economy has undergone structural changes which have had long-term effects on the economies of all States, industrialized and developing alike. Among the main reasons for these numerous changes we cite technological advances, the increasing internationalization of commercial and financial markets, and the overall economic policies of the major industrialized States, in particular. These changes have had negative effects on growth and development performance in the world in general and developing countries in particular.

The world is at present passing through a severe economic crisis, the most evident manifestations of which are the collapse of prices of commodities; the deterioration in the terms of trade, to the detriment of the interests of those States which produce such commodities; the worsening of the debt crisis; the further proliferation of protectionist tendencies; the instability of exchange rates for major currencies; and a marked reduction in the flows of finance to

(Mr. Abdullah, Oman)

the developing countries. All this is accompanied by a slowing down of world economic growth and a decline in the average real per capita income in developing countries. If the affluent countries permit these policies to continue it will mean the developing countries will return to a state of backwardness and poverty and be denied the opportunity to achieve higher levels of growth and revive their economies.

Opposition to increasing commodity prices, including the price of oil, on an equitable basis with the prices of industrial products will undoubtedly have negative consequences for the economic performance of developing countries and create new complications in the problem of the third-world debt. We call for a genuine reform of the balance of payments and terms of trade, on the basis of justice and balance, to serve the interests of both sides. We reaffirm the importance of the resumption of a serious and constructive dialogue between the nations of the North and the South in order to achieve this objective.

The need for a world in which justice and peace prevail among all nations, regardless of size or economic, military or political strength, is today greater than ever. We firmly believe that the United Nations is the structure within which that objective must be achieved. For that reason we must make greater efforts to strengthen the functioning of the United Nations and increase its effectiveness in maintaining international peace and security. This can be done only if Member States play the role they are called upon to play in promoting the Organization by adhering to its Charter, in order that the Organization may attain its noble purposes and preserve its achievements.

Mr. MLADENOV (Bulgaria) (interpretation from Russian): Comrade

President, allow me to congratulate you cordially upon your election to the high office of President of the United Nations General Assembly at its forty-second session. We are confident that under your able guidance the world Organization will adopt important decisions in the name of peace and the well-being of peoples.

I should like to express the confidence of my country in the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, and our readiness to extend to him, as we have done in the past, our fullest support in the discharge of his highly responsible mission.

Each session of the General Assembly brings us closer to the twenty-first century. The age in which we live and the issues which we debate have no parallel in the history of mankind. The discovery of the secrets of the atom and the conquest of outer space are the most remarkable characteristics of the unprecedented revolution sweeping science and technology today. However, to our regret, the opportunities presented by the achievements of man's genius and talents have also been used for the needs of destruction. Mankind is now simultaneously faced with the prospect of great material and spiritual progress, and with the prospect of self-destruction. Such is the tragic paradox of our nuclear and space age.

A distinguishing feature of the present phase is the scope and complexity of the problems confronting nations and States, as well as their interrelated and sometimes conflicting interests. But for all its contradictions the present-day world is becoming ever more interconnected and unified. The threat of a nuclear catastrophe that looms over us binds States and social systems together by a common fate. Radioactive death and "nuclear winter" know no boundaries, be they geographical, State or ideological. This reality, as well as a number of other

(Mr. Mladenov, Bulgaria)

social, economic and ecological factors of global scope, have brought to the fore the necessity for new thinking and a new approach to international affairs.

Security for all, mutual trust, and common efforts to build a world free of violence and war, hunger and poverty, a world of harmony between man and nature - this is the essence of the comprehensive system of international peace and security proposed by the socialist countries. Only in this way can the problem confronting mankind today be resolved. Of course, no single State or group of States can claim to offer us a faultless model for the future. My delegation is of the view, however, that the question is one of a principled approach to the problem of the survival of mankind and the continuation of civilization. By promoting and building upon a dialogue on this question which affects all peoples and States on our planet, the General Assembly could, at the current session, fulfil an important obligation to succeeding generations.

The core of the problem of security in the nuclear age is undoubtedly to be found in the need to eliminate the material base for waging a war of destruction. Forty-two years after the explosions of two primitive - by today's standards - nuclear bombs, there are now over 50,000 nuclear warheads stockpiled in the world. New and even more lethal weapons of mass destruction are being developed. With each new round of the arms race, world security is being critically eroded, instead of strengthened. The spectre of an annihilating nuclear apocalypse, lurking in the agony of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, has increasingly haunted the conscience and consciousness of modern man.

At a time when close to a trillion dollars are being squandered on the production of means of destruction annually, 13 million people die of malnutrition every year. Let me recall the words of the great daughter of India, the late

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Indira Gandhi:

"Independence and development are inseparable from disarmament and peace."

My country is deeply convinced that the implementation of real disarmament measures will not only lessen the threat to human life, but will also allow more resources to be released for its betterment.

Common sense and the striving for good and creativity have never been in harmony with the philosophy and policy of violence. In keeping with the law of dialectics, the growing nuclear danger has been accompanied by a steep rise in the activity and impact of those forces that recognize the inadmissibility, absurdity and criminal nature of nuclear war, as well as the damage done by the arms race. For a number of years now, peace and disarmament forums have been active, and talks on arms reduction and strategic stability have been under way. A turning-point in this difficult and sometimes painful process was the programme for the elimination of all weapons of mass destruction by the year 2000, put forward by the Soviet Union. It set forth a direct and realistic way towards a nuclear-free world. It was on this basis that the Reykjavik summit meeting became possible, creating opportunities for the first time to achieve truly significant progress in the field of disarmament.

The first major breakthrough could come with the removal of the medium- and shorter-range missiles of the United States and the Soviet Union. Everyone knows what a long road has been traversed. The "global double-zero" proposal has in fact cleared the road ahead of all obstacles. A few days ago the world learned with great satisfaction that the two great Powers had come to an agreement in principle to do away with these types of weapons. The peoples welcome this step as a prelude to further improvement in the international climate.

As the President of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov, said on this occasion:

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"We sincerely believe that the forthcoming signing of this treaty will not only result in the elimination of two classes of nuclear weapons for the first time in history, but will become an incentive to achieving even greater goals, ... it will have a positive effect on relations between the two States, on the East-West dialogue, on the whole international atmosphere".

The elimination of the missiles of these classes would have a major political significance for the further progress of efforts in the field of real disarmament. At the same time, we should not forget that these missiles constitute only one of the components of the overall military-strategic confrontation. The next step, one of far-reaching implications, could be a 50 per cent reduction of the strategic offensive arms under conditions of strict observance of the anti-ballistic missile Treaty.

In this connection, I should like to express our firm opinion that the development and deployment of space-strike weapons offer no way out of the universally unacceptable situation of "mutual assured destruction". Not only will the work on the strategic defence initiative fail to slow the pace of nuclear rearmament, but it will start the development of qualitatively new arms, including third-generation nuclear weapons.

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It is obvious that such a system will be another extremely destabilizing addition to the already existing arsenals of offensive weapons. Its role is that of a trump card in efforts to obtain military superiority. That is why my country supports a universal ban on the deployment of weapons in outer space.

The Geneva Conference is called upon to play an important role in reaching agreements on the entire spectrum of key disarmament issues. A positive element in its recent work is the progress made on the question of banning chemical weapons. There are increasingly real prospects for agreement on the text of a relevant convention. The People's Republic of Bulgaria will do its utmost to assure the successful conclusion of this work. We sincerely hope that the positive resolution of this extremely important problem will not be blocked by unilateral actions aimed at chemical rearmament.

It has long been recognized that the complete cessation of nuclear-weapons tests is both an urgent need and a prerequisite for closing other channels of the arms race. Through its unilateral moratorium, which lasted for more than a year and a half, the Soviet Union has demonstrated in practice that it is ready to take immediate practical steps in this field. There is certain cause for optimism in the agreement reached at the meeting between the Foreign Ministers of the USSR and the USA, Mr. Shevardnadze and Mr. Shultz, to start bilateral talks, the final goal of which would be to achieve a general and complete prohibition of nuclear-weapons testing.

Ensuring security through disarmament is not confined only to the elimination of nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction. It also implies the reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces to the minimum level required for defence. The Declaration of the member States of the Warsaw Treaty,

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adopted at Budapest, contains a realistic programme of radical measures on conventional disarmament and on the reduction of military confrontation "from the Atlantic to the Urals". We believe that the informal consultations between the members of the Warsaw Treaty and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which began at Vienna, will develop into serious negotiations to resolve major long-term issues.

The socialist countries do not limit the system of security to the military-political area alone, but view it also as a complex of relationships encompassing the economic, social, humanitarian and ecological fields. In the final analysis, the goal of our peace initiatives is to furnish genuinely humane living conditions for nations and individuals, to preserve man as the greatest value of life and as the creator of wealth and progress.

The universal efforts designed to guarantee human rights and to promote international co-operation in the social and humanitarian fields should, as a whole, be aimed at the "humanization" of international relations, at their democratization, and at providing moral and social guarantees for the maintenance of peace. To pave the way for all this, concerted and enduring efforts will obviously be needed to reaffirm the ideas of peace, disarmament and international security, to increase the scope of mutual knowledge and understanding and to translate the natural right of every human being to live in conditions of peace and freedom into a fundamental norm of international life.

An indispensable condition for the "humanization" of international relations and the protection of human rights as an element of international security is to ensure the right of every nation freely and without outside interference to determine its own future, to select its social system, to manage its natural resources and to participate in the international division of labour on an equal and just basis.

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It is equally evident that in order to build a more humane and safer world, it is imperative that we eradicate apartheid, racism, aggressive chauvinism, racial discrimination and religious intolerance. It is necessary to eliminate those deep-rooted social and political factors which generate massive violations of human rights.

In other words, international co-operation in the humanitarian and social sphere is feasible, necessary and useful on the basis of an integrated approach to the question of human rights - collective and individual, political and socio-economic alike. We support the proposal to convene in Moscow a representative conference of the States parties to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) which would consider the full range of humanitarian questions as a unified whole, including the issues of human contacts, information, culture and education.

It is impossible to imagine a stable international system without equitable and mutually advantageous economic co-operation. It is necessary to eliminate all kinds of discrimination, to alleviate the debt burden of developing countries as much as possible and to restructure the international monetary system.

There is a universal need for concerted action to deal with the aftermath of natural disasters, to protect the environment and natural resources and to fight disease and the spread of the acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) pandemic.

No less urgent is the need for wide-ranging international co-operation to combat crime and particularly international terrorism. The People's Republic of Bulgaria reaffirms its readiness to contribute towards the co-ordination of effective measures, including those within the framework of the United Nations, to stem this ugly and dangerous phenomenon.

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We should further strengthen effective measures against the illicit production, trafficking in and abuse of narcotic drugs on a global scale. In this respect too, Bulgaria, which is located at a busy international crossroads, has been working diligently and unswervingly, endeavouring to protect the physical and mental health of its own citizens and of foreign nationals endangered by this scourge of modern-day civilization.

We need not mention all the spheres in which co-operation is possible. It is important to emphasize that such opportunities do exist, however, and that our use of them depends, first and foremost, on our overall readiness to take a fresh look at problems and to give up worn-out stereotypes. The question before us today is not "Who benefits from co-operation?", for the answer to that question is clear: everyone does, the whole world benefits from co-operation. The question that we must ask is "What shall we lose if we do not undertake such co-operation?" Perhaps some still delude themselves, but the answer to this question is no less unequivocal: we all risk losing everything.

Inspired by its positions of principle on the cardinal basic issues of peace, security and co-operation, the People's Republic of Bulgaria has been actively engaged in the all-European process. My country has put forward a number of specific initiatives at the Vienna meeting of the States parties to the Helsinki Conference. At this stage, the principal task of that meeting remains the transition from deliberations to the elaboration of the concrete elements of a future final document.

I should like to recall that a remarkable anniversary is soon to be commemorated by all of mankind - the seventieth anniversary of the great October socialist revolution - for it was that event which brought about a revolution in international affairs and established for the first time practical conditions for the democratization of international relations and for peaceful coexistence.

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The new political thinking that is steadily gaining support today means approaching each international problem from the standpoint of finding a generally acceptable solution to it and not viewing it only through the prism of dogma and military-strategic interests. No single State, no matter how powerful, has the right to make unilaterally decisions upon which the fate of entire countries and peoples depends. Existing conflicts should not be settled by the dictate of force. As Mikhail Gorbachev noted in his article devoted to the opening of the current session of the United Nations General Assembly:

"new rules of coexistence on our unique planet are called for, in keeping with the new requirements and the changed circumstances".

Only through dialogue, responsible behaviour, sincere collective efforts and co-operation can problems be resolved wherever conflicts exist and wherever there is danger to peace and security in a particular region and throughout the world.

The situation in the Persian Gulf region is of particular concern. The bloody war between Iraq and Iran has already been raging for almost seven years and has brought untold suffering to those peoples, with both of which we have ties of friendship. The position of Bulgaria is one of principle and is consistent. The war conflicts with the interests of both countries; it provides conditions for selfish interference from outside and threatens unpredictable escalation of the crisis. As a non-permanent member of the Security Council, Bulgaria was involved in the preparation and adoption of resolution 598 (1987). The complete implementation of this resolution would be the best guarantee of a peaceful political settlement of the contentious issues. We support the Secretary-General of the United Nations in his responsible mission to find a just solution to the problem.

A comprehensive and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict should not be delayed any longer. Reaffirming our well-known position on this question, we

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express our hope for the removal of the obstacles to the convening of an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

The hotbed of tensions in Central America persists. That is why we consider the procedure for establishing lasting peace in Central America adopted by the Presidents of the five Central American countries to be timely and necessary. The series of peace initiatives by the Contadora Group and the Support Group also play an important role in efforts to eliminate this hotbed of tension.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria calls for the immediate elimination of the disgraceful system of apartheid and the illegal occupation of Namibia, for strict implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and for the ending of the brutal aggression by Pretoria against the African States.

In close proximity to the borders of Bulgaria, the situation in Cyprus remains a source of danger to peace and security in the region. This is a classic example of aggression against and occupation and annexation of part of a sovereign country. As a Balkan State, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is keenly interested in the attainment of a just and lasting settlement of the question of Cyprus. The way out of the existing situation is offered by the proposal to convene an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations. The internal aspects of the problem must obviously be dealt with by peaceful means, including negotiations, taking into account the legitimate interests of the indigenous population of Cyprus and the integrity, sovereignty and non-aligned status of the Republic of Cyprus.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria supports the constructive policy of the Afghan Government, which is aimed at restoring peace in the interests of an independent, non-aligned Afghanistan.

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We believe that the policy of national reconciliation in Kampuchea is in the best interests of the people of that country.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria supports the initiatives in favour of the peaceful and democratic reunification of Korea, as well as the proposal of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to declare the Korean peninsula a nuclear-weapon-free zone.

It is stated in the Charter of the United Nations and confirmed by practice in international affairs that regional security is an important ingredient of overall international security. In this connection I should like to emphasize the particular importance we attach to the situation in the Balkans. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is working with determination to strengthen the positive trends in relations among the Balkan States and to establish confidence and good-neighbourly relations in our region. The proposal of the People's Republic of Bulgaria that bilateral agreements be concluded containing a code of good-neighbourly relations, renunciation of territorial claims and provisions concerning the non-use of the territory of one country for hostile purposes against another and its other initiatives in the area of bilateral and multilateral co-operation are all well known. Equally well known is our idea that, as a first step in that direction, bilateral agreements on the non-use of force and the peaceful settlement of disputes that endanger peace and security should be concluded.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria is a principled and steadfast proponent of the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones. We are profoundly and firmly convinced that the transformation of the Balkan peninsula into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons would contribute to improving the climate in the region, in Europe and in the world, and that it would be fully in the interests of the Balkan peoples. We are making every practical effort to this end. We have

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also proposed that the Balkan States conclude an agreement on the ecological protection of the peninsula and are ready to take practical steps in that direction.

The United Nations has been entrusted with the unique mission of maintaining peace and security. We cannot conceive of the present-day structure of international relations and their peaceful development without the crucial contribution of the United Nations. Nor can we imagine that the major global problems, ranging from disarmament to humanitarian issues, could be resolved without its involvement. Bulgaria has always supported and will continue to support the activities of the world Organization and strive to contribute to the best of its ability to the strengthening of its effectiveness.

The foreign policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, which is shaped by the highest national interests of our people and the nature of our socialist system, fully reflects the dynamic processes of thorough restructuring and accelerated growth which are under way in our country today. I have in mind the increasing effectiveness of our national economy, the growing democratization of our social and political life and the radical improvement in the living and cultural standards of our people. We openly discuss our concerns and problems with the rest of the world. We offer our sincere help wherever we can help, and we welcome the co-operation of those more experienced and advanced than we are.

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Our internal reforms provide new, propitious opportunities for the international activities of our country and facilitate more active co-operation with our partners at all levels and in all fields. As I have already mentioned, the principal aim of that co-operation is to promote in every possible way friendly ties with all countries, in the name of peace, security and the free and independent development of peoples, and of the prosperity and progress of mankind.

I reaffirm that the People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue to pursue its policy unwaveringly, a policy which is in harmony with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.