



General Assembly

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Fortieth session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWELFTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 27 September 1985, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. DE PINIÉS (Spain)

later: Mr. AL-ZAWARI (Qatar)
(Vice-President)

- Address by His Majesty King Hussein ibn Talal, King of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan
- General debate [9] (continued)

Address by General Wojciech Jaruzelski, Prime Minister of the Polish People's Republic

Statements were made by:

Mr. Fischer (German Democratic Republic)
Mr. Rabetafika (Madagascar)
Mr. Dost (Afghanistan)

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

ADDRESS BY HIS MAJESTY KING HUSSEIN IBN TALAL OF THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Assembly will now hear an address by His Majesty King Hussein ibn Talal of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

His Majesty King Hussein ibn Talal of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Majesty King Hussein ibn Talal of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, and to invite him to address the General Assembly.

King HUSSEIN (interpretation from Arabic): It is a great honour for me to take part in celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. Established as the paramount international organization, its goals were set in the very first words of the Preamble to its Charter, namely:

"...to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war ... and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom ..."

It gives me great pleasure to open my remarks with a word of greeting to this world Organization, to the States which participated in its establishment and to all the eminent persons who were instrumental in formulating its lofty principles. I likewise greet those who contributed, with honour and sincerity, to the growth of this great institution, as well as those who have served its aims and principles. Special recognition is due to the successive Secretary-Generals of the United Nations. In particular, I am pleased to convey, in my own name and on behalf of my country, my warmest greetings and sincerest best wishes to Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar.

I am also happy to convey my sincerest congratulations to Mr. Jaime de Piniés on his election to the presidency of the fortieth session of the General Assembly.

(King Hussein)

I am confident of his able leadership and I wish him success in this task. I would also like to thank Mr. Paul John Lusaka for his worthy efforts in conducting the presidency of the previous session of the General Assembly.

I would also like to take this opportunity to express once again, on my own behalf and on that of the Government and people of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, our deep feelings of sorrow and sympathy for the Government and people of Mexico on the tragedy that befell them as a result of the recent earthquake. I pray that they will overcome this tragedy with perseverance, courage and faith.

In the past 40 years, the world has inevitably undergone a number of developments and changes characterized by unprecedented speed and diversity. Every social or scientific advance has brought with it a new reality, fraught with striking ironies. Great aspirations inspired by a particular development soon collided with apprehensions and negative effects arising from that same development.

During the same period, the world was thrust into the nuclear era with both its destructive devices and its power-generating plants. Mankind enjoyed the fruits of massive progress in science and technology only to live in constant terror of lethal weaponry made possible by that same progress. Similarly, the communications revolution has brought States and nations dramatically closer, but has also enabled international terrorism to prosper. The nations of the world have become more conscious of their common concerns, but at the same time have been forced to face the reality of a world divided into a largely affluent and pioneering North and a largely impoverished and recipient South.

With the growth in numbers of independent States seeking amalgamation within regional organizations has come a trend towards separatism along racial or ideological lines. The swan song of colonialism has been accompanied by attempts, in a different guise, to exercise control over smaller or less affluent States, and South Africa continues to exercise its policy of apartheid. While the world is

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relatively relieved whenever it seems that some form of super-Power détente has been achieved, it is still faced with local wars in which the great Powers take part through their proxies. States spend lavishly on armaments but are stinting in contributions that would save millions from famine, drought and disease. Industry develops only to produce anxiety about the environment. Material wealth increases at the expense of spiritual values. The borders of our world are being extended to outer space, but we have lingering doubts about the future of the Earth.

(King Hussein)

These and other developments have, of course, reflected on the United Nations itself, since this process has influenced and shaped the attitude of each State, or group of States, towards the United Nations and has defined the method of their interaction with it. However, in spite of disparities in attitudes, all States have clung to the United Nations, because mankind, under threat of existing tension and instability, needs the ultimate recourse it represents.

But has the United Nations fulfilled what role? In assessing its work, whether positively or negatively, we are really talking about ourselves, since the United Nations is not a separate entity but represents us all collectively.

During its 40-year existence, the United Nations has achieved a number of spectacular results, either through the specialized agencies, which have rendered invaluable services to the international community at large, or through the General Assembly and its organs. Wherever an armed conflict has broken out, it has been available to mediate between the warring parties, or to separate them. When millions of innocent people have become refugees, it has been there to provide assistance. In a world dominated by the dictates of military power, the United Nations has remained a conscience for peace and a ray of hope in the midst of the dark forces of evil.

On the other hand, as everyone knows, the United Nations has not lived up to all our expectations. For example, its attempts to formulate a new world order based on co-operation, equity, respect for human rights and self-determination have not been entirely successful. Nor has it managed to resolve some vital issues related to international peace and security. Why, we may ask, has the United Nations, viewed by all as a last resort, failed in such endeavours?

The principles of the United Nations and its authority are closely linked to respect for its resolutions and their implementation. Were this link to be severed, the gap between principles and authority would widen, leading to greater

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tensions among the Member States. In today's world, where the walls housing the human family have been pushed to the limit by the deadly weapons they encompass, there is the abiding fear that these tensions would set one of the world's hot spots afire, resulting in the destruction of the entire house.

This truth would seem to take us back to the beginning of the century, when the law of might sparked the First World War. Although established to prevent a recurrence of war, the League of Nations proved ineffective in forestalling the outbreak of the Second World War, out of whose ashes grew the present Organization. Everyone hoped that it would succeed where its predecessor had failed and spare the world a third world war.

A probing look at the disputes raging on our planet with the accompanying arms race can only produce a chill of terror in our souls as long as the force of arms holds sway over the destinies of nations; and relations within the frame of the United Nations are no more than a reflection of existing inequities between the strong and the weak, the rich and the poor, the large and the small. If, God forbid, the United Nations were to crumble and a new world war to erupt, it would leave behind nothing but a massive grave of nations.

From this standpoint, it is the joint responsibility of all nations to address themselves to the hot spots in Asia, Europe, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East, with the aim of preserving mankind, its culture and its achievements. What else but the United Nations - which represents man's hope to live free from the threat and scourge of war - is more qualified to assume this awesome responsibility?

I hope the Assembly will bear with me for confining the remainder of my remarks to the Middle East. I do so because the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan lies at the heart of this troubled region and is directly affected by events there.

In the Middle East today, the tragic war between Iraq and Iran has entered its sixth year, although the rationale behind the confrontation has all but disappeared.

(King Hussein)

International attempts have failed to end the war, or to persuade the Iranian leadership to heed the voice of reason and respond to Iraq's sincere and persistent call for peace, which would enable the two neighbours to live in security and stability.

My country, which stands by Iraq's right to defend itself and by its call for the resolution of the conflict through peaceful means, urges the Iranian leadership to respond to the calls for peace and enter into negotiations with brotherly Iraq in order to put an end to this tragedy.

The other flashpoint in the Middle East is the Arab-Israeli conflict, or the Palestinian problem. This is the fourth occasion I have had of addressing this lofty body on the issue. When I first spoke here in 1960, I sought to draw attention to the dangers inherent in the continued indifference of the international community to the Palestinian legitimate right to live in human dignity. Seven years later, in the wake of the 1967 war, I warned that peace would not be achieved in the Middle East unless it was coupled with justice. In 1979, I faulted the position taken by those who continued to deny recognition to the Palestinians as a people, like all others, a people that had lived on a continuous basis in a distinctly defined territory, namely Palestine, for several long centuries. Today, a quarter of a century after my first address, the denial of Palestinian rights to self-determination, human dignity, justice and freedom in their ancestral homeland continues to constitute the core of the Palestinian problem and the essence of the Middle East dispute. The Arab States and the Palestinian people look to the United Nations to shoulder its responsibilities in accordance with the Charter and the implementation of the resolutions relevant to the question.

In seeking recourse to the United Nations, we are guided by two considerations. First, it was in the United Nations that the Palestinian issue was

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created, through the Palestinian partition plan. Second, from the beginning, the Palestinian issue has been inseparable from the United Nations, since each was influenced by international attitudes prevailing at the time. They were both affected by changing spheres of influence and great-Power rivalry, as well as by the demise of colonialism and the emergence of national movements in developing countries.

(King Hussein)

No issue brought before the United Nations has riveted world attention as acutely as the Palestinian issue. No issue has made as many demands on United Nations responsibilities or posed as great a challenge to its ability to live up to its declared aims as the Palestinian issue. No issue has generated as many United Nations resolutions as the Palestinian issue.

The fact is that the Palestinian issue and the United Nations are twins born out of war, twins which emerged, grew and suffered together.

No one should assume that we are comfortable with that commonality of destiny. On the contrary, it is our hope that it will soon come to an end through the achievement of a just, lasting and comprehensive settlement of the Palestinian problem and related issues. This should be done in accordance with the United Nations Charter and through the implementation of the resolutions of the Organization, particularly the four that constitute the balanced foundation for any just and peaceful settlement. These are General Assembly resolutions 181 (II) of 1947, which stipulated the partition of Palestine, and 194 (III) of 1948 pertaining to the solution of the problem of the Palestinian refugees, Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 1967, which calls on Israel to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories and reaffirms the right of every State to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries, and Security Council resolution 338 (1973) of 1973, which calls for negotiations among the parties to the conflict under appropriate auspices.

This succession of resolutions, along with other similar ones, on one particular issue over a period of four decades, coinciding with the five wars caused by that issue, quite simply highlights the complications created by certain Member States not conforming to the principles of the United Nations. Hence, the problem has persisted as a serious threat to regional and global stability and security.

(King Hussein)

Frankly, Jordan, as a member of both the community of Arab States and the United Nations, striving hard to preserve confidence in this Organization, has suffered greatly from the failure to implement relevant resolutions concerning the Palestinian question.

My remarks are not intended to denigrate or write off the role of the United Nations. Rather, my intention is to urge an intensification of efforts and a greater determination to realize the Organization's aims. As the late President Eisenhower noted shortly after the Suez war of 1956:

"We are approaching a fateful moment when either we must recognize that the United Nations is unable to restore peace in this area, or the United Nations must renew with increased vigour its efforts to bring about Israeli withdrawal.... If [the United Nations] does nothing, if it accepts the ignoring of its repeated resolutions calling for the withdrawal of invading forces, then it will have admitted failure. That failure will be a blow to the authority and influence of the United Nations in the world and to the hopes which humanity placed in the United Nations as the means of achieving peace with justice."

The United Nations is at a similar crossroads today. To my mind, the future standing of this Organization will be decided on the basis of its success or failure in achieving peace in the world, particularly in the Middle East.

Just as the Palestinian issue and the United Nations have had a related history during the past four decades, the Jordanian and Palestinian peoples have shared the closest ties for several centuries, ties manifested through history and destiny. Since the inception of the Palestinian problem, at the end of the First World War, Jordan has been closely connected with it. It has been seriously affected by its vagaries and has interacted vigorously with the people of Palestine. In 1947 the Palestine problem assumed an international dimension, with

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the result that the United Nations took over the responsibility of dealing with the issue. Since then, Jordan, because of its distinctive relationship with the Palestinian people, has co-operated with the United Nations and co-ordinated its efforts with it, along with its Arab and Moslem brethren, in the hope that this problem would find a solution. During the past 40 years, my country has pursued a constant policy of positive engagement with the efforts of the United Nations, as long as they were geared towards a just peace, as stipulated in the Charter.

As is well known, in the wake of the 1967 war, I personally participated in formulating Security Council resolution 242 (1967). Our clear understanding then was that a just and lasting peace in the Middle East depended fully on Israeli withdrawal. Our conviction was strengthened as a result of our contacts with several of the States concerned, including the United States of America. It was further strengthened by the fact that the principle of withdrawal was indivisible, and that aggression should not be rewarded. When our efforts failed, as had our attempts to bring about acceptance by Israel of the principle of withdrawal in return for peace, that failure brought about the war of 1973, when the Security Council adopted its resolution 338 (1973), leading to a cease-fire and emphasizing the need to implement the provisions of Security Council resolution 242 (1967). Again we supported the resolution, and to that end took part in the Geneva peace conference.

Subsequently the United Nations recognized the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, thus paving the way to participation by the Palestinian people, through its legitimate representative, in the peace process. As the foremost party to the conflict, the Palestinian people ought to be the foremost party to peace.

(King Hussein)

In September 1982, during the summit meeting at Fez, the Arabs reaffirmed their collective desire for peace through the adoption of an Arab peace plan formulated with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and accepted by it. The Arab nation, through a seven-member committee, persisted in its efforts. The committee was entrusted with the task of explaining the plan to the five permanent members of the Security Council in the hope that the peace process might be invigorated.

(King Hussein)

His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco headed the Committee during its visit to United Nations Headquarters and to Washington, while I led the visits to the other four capitals, which indicated, along with various international circles, their satisfaction with the Arab move. Yet, the peace process remained dormant.

On the basis of a number of realistic considerations, it became evident to us that the peace efforts required a new approach that would enable the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization in the peace process. In the light of these considerations, we held consultations with the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, leading, on 11 February of this year, to an accord regulating joint political action by the Jordanian Government and the Palestine Liberation Organization. The accord was to serve as a mechanism for the Arab peace plan and part of the joint Arab effort forming one of its links. This accord calls for the implementation of United Nations resolutions relevant to the Palestinian question through an international conference with the participation of the five permanent members of the Security Council, as well as all the parties to the conflict.

Following the conclusion of the accord, Jordan and the Palestine Liberation Organization then proceeded to make contact with a number of great-Power capitals for the purpose of intensifying the peace process. Because of the special relationship between the United States and Israel - the party that has so far blocked the road to peace - Jordan made intensive representations to Washington in the hope that the United States would shoulder its responsibilities as a super-Power with a stake in world peace, a record of human rights and a history of faith in freedom and in the right of peoples to self-determination. It was hoped that the United States would join hands with the many other countries that supported this initiative and bring its influence, coupled with theirs, to bear on rallying the will of the international community in order to achieve stability,

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peace and prosperity, so as to serve the interests of all the nations of the region and beyond.

We are prepared to negotiate, under appropriate auspices, with the Government of Israel, promptly and directly, under the basic tenets of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). These negotiations must result in the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and resolve all aspects of the Palestinian problem.

It is Jordan's position that the appropriate auspices would be an international conference hosted by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, to which the five permanent members of the Security Council and all the parties to the conflict would be invited for the purpose of establishing a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

My country believes that the Palestinian question and the Middle East crisis fall squarely within the responsibility of the United Nations, as well as those countries with a special interest in the conflict. It thus regards any consultation on the Middle East situation between the United States and the Soviet Union as both necessary and positive. Consequently, we look forward with great hope to the forthcoming meeting between the two leaders, Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev, and we wish their meeting every success.

The Arab faith in peace is equalled only by our faith in right. Peace is one of our most sacred creeds. It is our greeting in prayers, and also used by the inhabitants of heaven, as stated in the Holy Koran. To us, peace is an attribute of God and has the connotation of right, as both peace and right have a common meaning. Since 1967, in this spirit, the Arabs proceeded towards peace, without success, while Israel, because of its victory at that time, has allowed its bent for expansion to take precedence over the desire for peace. It proceeded to announce the annexation of Arab Jerusalem and the Syrian Golan Heights, to

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expropriate over half the territory of the West Bank and to plant settlements in every part of the occupied territories. Some leaders in the Israeli Government publicly proclaimed their opposition to giving up those territories and adopted extremist policies geared towards realizing their aggressive objectives and frustrating the peace effort.

If Israel persists in its intransigence and places obstacles in the way of peace or if it succeeds in exercising a negative effect on the United States or other countries, the result will be the collapse of any hope of achieving a peaceful settlement of the Middle East crisis. Together with any country or countries, supporting its negative stance, Israel will have to bear the responsibility for lost opportunities as well as for the growth of extremism, whose consequences are not difficult to predict.

The absence and suppression of justice can only open the way for extremists to exploit such a condition and to perpetrate acts of violence against innocent people. I hereby state before the Assembly Jordan's unwavering position in the condemnation of terrorism, irrespective of its nature and source. In so doing, I am reaffirming the resolution taken by the Arab leaders at the summit meeting held in Casablanca last month. We naturally reject the misleading attempts by those who equate terrorism with movements of national liberation and the right of peoples to resist occupation.

As I have already noted, the Middle East is beset by a ferocious war in the Gulf, which has entered its sixth year, as well as by the Palestinian question, which lies at the heart of the Arab-Israeli conflict, now almost 40 years old. The two conflicts have wreaked havoc on stability in the region, draining its resources and threatening world peace. And both will continue as long as the international will to restrain them remains fragile or missing.

(King Hussein)

The bleak situation in the Middle East is in stark contrast with the region's potential, given normal circumstances. We hardly need to be reminded that this area, which is a crossroads between three continents, was the cradle of civilization which gave direction to man's future progress, or that it was the home of the great religions, of the world's holy books and illustrious prophets, or that it was the original setting for the arts and sciences, or that it was Islam which unified the peoples and the countries of the region under the banner of a single language, homogeneous in character, and a message of love and inspiration for all mankind.

It is time that peace prevailed in this important region, for the good of its own people and for the rest of the world. Now is the time to work together for a brighter future marked by effort, constructive action and positive achievement.

I look forward to a day when the parties to the conflict will till the soil, reap the harvests, plant trees and enjoy the fruits of their labour, in confidence and security. I also look forward to a time when all the children of Abraham can have access to their religious sites in the Holy Land in freedom and peace, guided by a spirit of amity, love and faith in one God.

Much has been said about the Holy City of Jerusalem representing an insurmountable obstacle to peace. I say to you that Jerusalem is rather the key to peace, the gate through which the warm rays of peace will engulf all the people of the entire region. Home of the monotheistic religions, Jerusalem can be none other than a unifying force for the noblest of human aspirations namely the desire for lasting peace.

One of the prophets of Judaism, Christianity and Islam was lost for 40 years in the wilderness. It is my hope that after 40 years of uncertainty in the wilderness of fanaticism, hatred and conflict, there will emerge a future of

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promise, when Palestinian and Jew can live in peace in the land of peace, where hope will replace fear, trust replace suspicion, where amity will edge out bitterness, and understanding will prevail.

A rare, historic opportunity now lies before the United Nations, an opportunity for a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East. This opportunity should not be missed, as has been the case with many previous ones. Without your efforts and support, I am afraid that the budding promise of peace will wither before it has had the chance to grow.

Let us marshal our resources in the cause of peace. Let us make our concern for the future the only constraint in our calculations.

Faith in peace is the cornerstone of the United Nations, just as the United Nations is the cornerstone of peace, which is itself the basis of all progress and prosperity.

Our Organization is now 40 years old - an age in the life of man signalling the start of a new phase, characterized by a growing experience and the emergence of wisdom and vision, a greater sense of responsibility and a flowering of moral courage. We sincerely wish the United Nations a similar progress towards a more determined will, greater co-operation and a renewed commitment to the principles of the Charter - for the good of mankind and civilization, and in the cause of peace.

May God guide our steps, bless our deliberations in this session, and move us towards a resumption of the long march towards co-operation and a spirit of human accomplishment.

Thank you, Mr. President and colleagues, and peace be upon you, and God's mercy and his blessings.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank His Majesty King Hussein ibn Talal of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan for the important statement he has just made.

His Majesty King Hussein ibn Talal of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

AGENDA ITEM 122

SCALE OF ASSESSMENTS FOR THE APPORTIONMENT OF THE EXPENSES OF THE UNITED NATIONS (Art. 19 of the Charter) (A/40/645/Add. 3)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): Before continuing with the general debate, I should like to draw the Assembly's attention to document A/40/645/Add. 3, which contains a letter addressed to me by the Secretary-General informing me that, since the issuance of his communication dated 17 September 1985, the Gambia has made the necessary payment to reduce its arrears below the amount specified in Article 19 of the Charter.

May I take it that the General Assembly duly takes note of this information?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

ADDRESS BY GENERAL WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI, PRIME MINISTER OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Assembly will now hear a statement by the Prime Minister of the Polish People's Republic.

General Wojciech Jaruzelski, Prime Minister of the Polish People's Republic, was escorted to the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I have great pleasure in welcoming the Prime Minister of the Polish People's Republic, His Excellency General Wojciech Jaruzelski, and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

Mr. JARUZELSKI (Poland) (spoke in Polish; English text furnished by the delegation): The idea of the United Nations was taking shape during the life-and-death struggle against fascism. At that time I was a soldier at the battlefield. I remember what great hopes the Poles attached to the founding of the United Nations. We shared them with millions of people of the other oppressed nations threatened with extinction.

The Charter of the United Nations inaugurated a universal international Organization which made its cornerstone the maintenance of peace, progress and the principle of equality in diversity.

International opinion expects the fortieth session of the General Assembly, which is ushering in the fifth decade of our Organization, to write a lasting and creative chapter in the annals of the modern world.

Will you please accept, Mr. President, sincere congratulations on your election to your high office. In your person I also greet warmly the people of Spain.

(Mr. Jaruzelski, Poland)

I salute Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar with esteem and personal satisfaction. It is fortunate indeed that the Secretariat of the United Nations is headed by such a distinguished politician and diplomat.

To tell the representatives of Mexico, the country afflicted by the recent tragedy, I say, "We understand your grief. Please accept our heartfelt condolences."

Today, on the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, the truth to which we must bear resounding witness is the anti-fascist, anti-militarist and democratic inspiration of our Organization, born of the common and, indeed, far-sighted vision of the leaders of the coalition of those days.

The foremost ideal of the United Nations was, is and must remain respect for the equal rights of every people and every State and respect for obligations under treaties and agreements for constructive co-operation. Thus, anyone who now tries to rewrite history, who challenges the indivisible decisions of Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam, is in effect seeking to undo the achievement of San Francisco and is undermining the fabric of international confidence.

The task of the United Nations is to work together towards the creation of a world in which ensuring the security of nations goes hand in hand with a multiplicity and diversity of social forms, political systems and cultures. The fact that world peace has been preserved for the lifetime of nearly two generations - that many conflicts have been put out and their internationalization has been averted - is due in no small measure to the existence and work of our Organization.

Inherent in the Charter of the United Nations is collective acceptance of progress. In that respect, the United Nations has played an important role. It has contributed to the disintegration of colonialism. It has recognized racism in all its manifestations as a criminal doctrine. It has made a tremendous

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contribution to the development and codification of international law. It has stimulated co-operation in the economic field and in the sphere of health protection, education, science and culture.

Those are its fundamental - political and moral - credentials before the peoples of the world.

Poland has been a steadfast advocate of strengthening of the United Nations system, its authority and effectiveness.

Are we going to be the last generation that ensures the continuity of life on Earth? That is not a rhetorical question. Forty years ago mankind entered the nuclear era. Today, it is confronted with the threat of the transfer of the arms race into outer space. Where this path will end is something that no one is in a position to know.

Contrary to binding resolutions, contrary to the universally recognized principle that outer space is the common heritage of mankind, barely a few days before the opening of this session there began the test firing of anti-satellite weapons against targets in the cosmos. That is an alarming example of discrepancy between words and deeds, between words of peace and deeds that threaten it.

Poland has already on several occasions proposed that the General Assembly have recourse to the expertise and conscience of scientists. The result was that at the seventeenth session, in 1962, the General Assembly, on our initiative, recommended the preparation of a report on the economic and social consequences of disarmament. At the twenty-first session, in 1966, Poland was the initiator of a report on the effects of the possible use of nuclear weapons, and at the twenty-third session, in 1968, it initiated a report on chemical and bacteriological weapons and the effects of their possible use.

(Mr. Jaruzelski, Poland)

It would now be desirable for a study to be prepared by eminent experts of different nationalities, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, of the diverse consequences of the militarization of outer space.

We do not intend to oversimplify the question. Space research contributes to advancing various branches of knowledge and to technological progress. Polish scientists also contribute, to the extent possible a share of their own to research, pursued within the framework of the Intercosmos organization. The solution to the problem does not lie in giving up space research. But the point remains to make sure that such research serves peaceful purposes only, that it serves the good of man.

Armed conflicts still continue in different areas of the globe. People are dying. Their property is being destroyed. It is the duty of the international community to support the search for the peaceful and just settlement of those dangerous disputes.

We are living at a fateful point in time. Recent years have made nations feel more insecure about their future and have aggravated fears of nuclear annihilation. Humanity craves a brighter prospect; it wants understanding and peaceful co-operation. Poland is, and will continue to be, a fervent proponent of a return to détente in Europe and the world, which is still a realistic possibility. We consistently declare our readiness for joint co-operative action with every Government, every movement and every social force which wishes to see the world become a safe place for all.

(Mr. Jaruzelski, Poland)

As part of the observances of the International Year of Peace proclaimed by the United Nations, a Congress of Intellectuals in Defence of the Peaceful Future of the World will be held in Warsaw. We expect it to bring together eminent persons in science and culture. Poland will welcome its guests warmly and with the respect they deserve.

Prior to this session I invited the people of my country to comment on the issues they felt the Polish delegation should raise before this Assembly. That consultation has confirmed beyond all doubt that in their aspirations to lasting peace and international co-operation Poles are unanimous.

No one has an exclusive claim to desires for peace. There are, however, nations on which tragic history has conferred a special moral right and an inalienable obligation to refresh memories, to warn and to urge sanity - our people is one of those. Even today, the wounds of the Second World War have not yet wholly healed among us. A woman who then lost her only son wrote to me: "Drum in the message that, basically, what war means is the son of one mother killing the son of another". We in Poland understand that too well. My own office is in a building in the basement of which Hitler's Nazis burned the bodies of nearly 3,000 Warsaw citizens they had shot dead.

Public opinion in my country condemns the waste caused by the arms race. It refuses to reconcile itself with the reality of a world in which thousands of people die of hunger each day and millions have to suffer extreme poverty.

Profound concern is aroused in particular by the fate of children in many countries. Poland, one of the founders of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and initiator of a draft convention on the rights of the child, fervently supports intensification of efforts with a view to saving children and bringing progress in primary health care, including universal immunization.

(Mr. Jaruzelski, Poland)

The state of the natural environment also attracts serious attention. Many of my compatriots are pointing out that pollution is being transferred across State frontiers, without barriers or tariffs. New, more effective forms of international counter-action, on both a global and a regional scale, should, therefore, be established. This would be promoted by the acceptance of a universal principle of unrestricted flow of experience, licences and know-how relating to the protection of the natural environment.

I have also received other interesting letters and suggestions concerning the subject of the ecology. We shall duly transmit them to appropriate United Nations agencies.

The leaders of States and Governments bear an enormous personal responsibility for the fate of nations and the peace of the world. The faster modern military technology becomes sophisticated and the shorter the time in which the final decision has to be made the greater such responsibility becomes. We trust that this extremely important problem will be given proper consideration in the work of the United Nations.

A meeting is due to be held within a few weeks between the leaders of the world's two biggest Powers, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the President of the United States of America. It is universally hoped that it will tackle key issues of security and that a chance will emerge for the arms race to be halted. The premises for this to happen are there. Their significance has been further enhanced by the new, imaginative Soviet initiatives, including in particular the declaration of a unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions and proposals for international co-operation in the peaceful exploitation of outer space under conditions of its non-militarization. These initiatives have Poland's full support. We consider

(Mr. Jaruzelski, Poland)

that all States can and should make a contribution to consolidating world peace and security and promoting awareness of the horrors of nuclear war and its global consequences.

Poland, the initiator of the well-known Rapacki Plan, a country consistently active in the search for avenues of realistic dialogue, will, at the appropriate time, be ready to come forward with proposals serving the peaceful interests of all the peoples of Europe.

The concept of regional nuclear-free zones, already given effect in Latin America, and the intention of establishing a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific, as well as the concepts of similar arrangements elsewhere, cannot but demonstrate that opportunities still exist in the world today for constructive search and action, regardless of a country's size, system or membership in a military grouping. That is particularly apparent in Europe; for the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation was conceivable only because both East and West, having finally confirmed the post-war territorial order, agreed by common consent to proceed from acceptance of the principles of negotiations, non-interference and equal security.

The Polish People's Republic regards the permanence of the post-war European order as the paramount pre-condition of peace. Renewing territorial claims and invoking chapters of the past which have been closed once and for all are a path to nowhere, a path futile and, most of all, dangerous.

Of the 159 Members of the United Nations, more than two thirds are developing countries. Most of them are members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. This has contributed lasting and precious values to the history of this century. It was on its initiative that the United Nations took up the concept of restructuring international economic relations. The full sovereignty of nations

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over their natural resources has been recognized, and plans for a new international economic order have been mapped out. Poland, like other socialist States, has always stood on the side of legitimate aspirations.

This forum has witnessed frequent discussions of the complex economic realities of the present-day world, and this has been demonstrated with unusual emphasis at the current session. The growing disparities in development, the new phase of protectionism and discrimination and the politicization of international economic relations cannot but be gravely disquieting. The economic weapon is more and more often assuming the role which, for different reasons, can no longer be performed by direct military interventions. My country was and continues to be made painfully aware of this. The Polish people, every Polish family, has thus been victimized. Severed agreements and illegal restrictions have aggravated the economic problems; they have resulted in enormous losses to us, equivalent to well over a half of Poland's foreign debt.

The problem of international debt has now come into particularly sharp focus. The world economy has reached a qualitatively new phase. The situation of some developing countries can well be described by saying that they have become the object of a form of financial neo-colonialism. There is, therefore, real danger of the lasting economic decline of many countries, especially the developing countries.

(Mr. Jaruzelski, Poland)

The recent meeting in Havana concerning the debts of Latin American countries aroused much interest. The problems addressed there deserve our attention. They are of concern to other regions as well.

The world debt problem therefore calls for greater attention on the part of the United Nations. In the considered view of the Government of Poland, it would be desirable to establish, under the aegis of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, an international debt and development research centre. We believe that, in addition to eminent experts, representatives of Governments directly concerned could participate in the centre's work. Should this proposal be favourably received, an organizational meeting of the centre might take place in the former capital of Poland, the ancient city of Cracow. Its university, one of Europe's oldest, was attended four centuries ago by Nicolas Copernicus, who was not only a pioneer of modern astronomy but also - what is less well known - the author of the first modern treatise on money.

To us in Poland the anniversary of the founding of the United Nations also reflects our rescue from annihilation. Never, not for so much as a day, did the Polish people stop fighting; never did they stain themselves with a collaborationist government. We owe our salvation to the heroism of the Polish soldier on every battlefield of the war. But, above all, we owe it to the epoch-making victory of the great anti-fascist coalition and to the Soviet Union, whose price paid for the liberation of Poland are the graves of its 600,000 soldiers who fell on our soil.

When the Charter of the United Nations was being signed obstacles of a formal nature precluded the participation of my country's representatives; there was only one empty chair, that with the name-plate "Poland". Yet even then we were there. The great piano virtuoso Arthur Rubinstein, who had been invited by the organizers to grace the memorable occasion with his talent, began his recital by playing the

(Mr. Jaruzelski, Poland)

200-year-old national anthem, whose opening words are: "Poland has not perished as long as we are still alive."

At no time has our country ever betrayed the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. It has always been in the forefront of volunteers for peace. Never, not even in the most difficult moments, has Poland spared its efforts to contribute, to the best of its abilities, to furthering understanding and co-operation. Not for nothing, therefore, has Poland repeatedly been entrusted with an international mandate of confidence. Over 17,000 Poles have served the United Nations loyally and to good effect in its diverse peace-keeping operations. Even as I speak, Polish servicemen are performing the mission with which the United Nations has honoured them in the Middle East.

I should like now to say a few words about Poland as it is today. I address the representatives present here of those many States that have reacted to our difficulties with understanding, recognizing that Polish problems should be solved without any outside interference, by Poles themselves. To those nations and Governments I express our sincere appreciation.

Let me also take this opportunity of turning to those who, out of prejudice and misinformation, ignoring obvious facts, continue to see Poland through a distorting mirror.

Yes, indeed, we have been through a time of trial. Political realism and a sense of responsibility for the fate of the nation have nevertheless prevailed, and so has the awareness that Poland's stability is an extremely important factor for peace in Europe. The ostracism to which Poland has been subjected in certain capitals is one of those great mistakes which are a running theme in history and cast an ugly shadow over its pages.

The right to judge is common usurped by those who in their own land would want law and order to prevail while in Poland they support anarchy and chaos. The

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reluctance, for so many decades, to condemn South Africa's régime, the support for other criminal régimes, the waging of an undeclared war against Nicaragua in defiance of the protests of so many countries - these credentials provide no right to pass moral judgements or deliver instructive lectures. I have not come here to put a gloss on our way of doing things. Contemporary Poland can only be understood by those who have at least taken the trouble to learn something of its history, of its exceptionally complex vicissitudes. My people, stripped of statehood for a long stretch of time, poor and economically backward, ravaged by wars and invasions, was brought by the Nazi occupation to the brink of biological and material extinction. The loss of our national wealth suffered during the war was, relatively speaking, 25 times that of France and 47 times that of Great Britain, let alone the United States.

Yet, despite those inconceivably deterrent circumstances, and in a historically brief period, Poland accomplished an immense task of reconstruction and made tremendous advances in its civilization. The socialist Polish State has sunk roots in the life of our people. Social justice has been elevated to become the cornerstone of the country's system. The law is equal for all. The constitutional guarantees of freedom of worship and diversity of philosophic outlooks are fully respected. The plague of unemployment does not exist. We have a comprehensive system of social security, free schooling at all levels, high standards of education equal to those of many of the most highly developed countries. Our rich national culture has been granted conditions for development and enjoyment by all. Its major achievements have been well known to many nations. For centuries Poles have shared with others the best of what they had to offer in learning and the arts. For centuries, too, they have drawn from the treasury of mankind's heritage. We will remain open, both today and tomorrow, to everything of genuine creativity and value in modern-day ideas and culture.

(Mr. Jaruzelski, Poland)

The past has bequeathed my country its share of uncertainties, traumas and bitterness. But there is surely no country in the world in which all would be of the same mind about all things. We are not shopping for compliments. We do not intend to saddle anyone with the blame for our own mistakes. We do not sweep difficulties under the carpet, be it from our own people or for the international community. But we reject using Poland for the ends of expediency or for vitriolic propaganda campaigns and we reject all forms of interference in our country's internal affairs as practices counter to the Charter of the United Nations, practices that impugn the dignity of our people.

The worst of our difficulties are over. Perseveringly, step by step, we are moving forward. The plane of national accord is broadening; so is public endorsement of the policies of the State.

(Mr. Jaruzelski, Poland)

We are consolidating socialist democracy. We are attempting on original solutions; we make sure that they conform with universal values and, at the same time, with the record of historical experience of our people and the realities of our land.

Poland commands a large intellectual potential, considerable industrial substance and sizeable natural resources. We plan and programme on a long-term basis. We are in the process of reforming industrial management systems as well as that of the performance of the economy and the State. We are banking on growth effectiveness, on scientific and technological progress, on initiative.

This is the course we are following side by side with the entire socialist community. By the same token, we wish to develop good relations with other countries and to expand mutually beneficial co-operation with them. We are and shall always be partners of goodwill in the international community.

Poland threatens no one. Reasonably enough, it expects that it too will be threatened by no one. Our homeland has been raised from the ashes by the arduous toil of the working people. We have secured for it a worthy place in the family of nations, together with guarantees of independence and territorial integrity of a sovereign State. These are gains that no sensible nation would squander.

We look at our past soberly. We look forward with confidence to our future.

It is an honour for me to convey, on behalf of the Polish People's Republic, the assurances of high esteem to the peoples, States and Governments represented in this Assembly.

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

Mr. Jaruzelski, Prime Minister of the Polish People's Republic was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

Mr. FISCHER (German Democratic Republic) (spoke in German; English text furnished by the delegation): Permit me first of all to assure the people and the Government of Mexico of the firm solidarity of the German Democratic Republic; the first relief supplies for the people affected by the earthquakes have arrived in Mexico City. As recommended in the relevant General Assembly resolution, my country will continue to help alleviate the disastrous effects of that catastrophe.

Mr. President, please accept my warm congratulations on your election. I wish you and the Secretary-General success in your work. To the President of the thirty-ninth session, Mr. Paul Lusaka, go my thanks for his judicious work.

It is appropriate, indeed necessary, to recall today at this anniversary session of the United Nations, that 40 years ago the States and peoples allied in the anti-Hitler coalition ended the Second World War with victory over fascism. That victory was possible because those united in the coalition had jointly and resolutely resisted the menace to world civilization.

It was under the influence of that most devastating of all wars that States then established the United Nations Organization. Ever since, the supreme precept of the United Nations Charter "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" has remained valid.

Current international developments demonstrate the utmost relevance of that call, for the danger of war since 1945 has never been as threatening as it is today. In this situation, the peoples look to the United Nations with justified expectations. The Organization's capabilities to forge a new coalition of peace against war are now incomparably greater than they were 40 years ago. This requires, of course, the single-mindedness of all its Members.

(Mr. Fischer, German
Democratic Republic)

The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the Council of State, Erich Honecker, only recently reaffirmed the following on behalf of the German Democratic Republic:

"Peace, which was won at the end of the Second World War at the expense of the heaviest toll of blood, is the supreme guiding principle of our Government's policy and a basic concern of every citizen..."

"We have worked for it on a broad front to this date, and we shall not relent in our search for practical solutions through international co-operation to address those problems on which a secure peace depends."*

The European nations know from their own bitter experience that their security has always been inseparably bound up with the security of frontiers. The same is true today. Respect for political and territorial realities is elementary to living together in peace. Hence the emphasis placed by the German Democratic Republic on this obligatory knowledge, which was incorporated in the joint statement issued on 12 March 1985 on the Moscow meeting of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the German Democratic Republic Council of State, Erich Honecker, with the Federal Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Helmut Kohl.

In full conformity with the principles of the United Nations that document notes that the inviolability of frontiers and respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all European States in their present boundaries are a basic condition of peace. The German Democratic Republic sticks to these principles. It acts true to its supreme maxim to do everything so that never again will war but only peace emanate from German soil.

*Mr. Al-Kawari (Qatar), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Fischer, German
Democratic Republic)

Four decades of post-war development have proved that unqualified recognition of the existence of two sovereign German States independent from each other and normal relations between them, based on international law, are corner-stones of peace in Europe.

The German Democratic Republic supports the assessments made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in regard to the enhancement of the effectiveness and responsibility of the world Organization on the basis of its Charter.

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Democratic Republic)

Like him it is looking for an answer to the question of how most effectively to build on the accomplishments of the United Nations and on the purposes and principles of its Charter and thus how to employ all the Organization's efficacy in order to avert the risk of a nuclear holocaust and to make use of the rich potential of a world at peace.

The vitality and usefulness of the Charter, which represents a significant milestone in the process of the democratization of international relations, have stood the test of time. Of great value has been the world Organization's basic principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members, which, though unequal in size, population or political system, are equal in their rights and duties. Its Members equally share a high responsibility for peace and an equal right to build their future under its protective wing.

That holds good for times of relaxed international relations and especially when a tense or even dangerously aggravated situation calls for prudent, predictable action by all States.

The sovereign equality of all States means equal security for all; it means the non-pursuit of military superiority and domination; it means an equal right to peace and an equal right to life.

The right to peace requires, above all, practical moves for the prevention of nuclear war and the abandonment of doctrines which proclaim that such a war can be fought and won and which stimulate preparatory measures for it.

The right to life calls for co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space and of nuclear energy, rather than for forcing the pace of the arms race or for the militarization of outer space.

The recent initiatives of the Soviet Union concerning international co-operation in the peaceful exploitation of space under conditions of its non-militarization and concerning a moratorium on nuclear explosions are both

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exemplary and encouraging steps. The plans of "Star Wars" and of the militarization of space, as have been recently initiated with the test of an anti-satellite weapon against a target in space, have thus been countered with the concept of "Star Peace". The implementation of the latter plan could unite the efforts of States for the peaceful exploration of space and for the utilization of space technologies for the benefit of all peoples.

Peace on earth and in space: that remains our aim. We are pursuing it with all consistency. The issue cannot and must not be to regulate arms competition in space and on earth, but to end it.

Where the arms race has not yet started it must not be allowed to occur, and where there already exist immense stockpiles of weapons, the arms spiral must be vigorously reversed. This is how the German Democratic Republic sees the aim and object of the Soviet-United States negotiations about nuclear and space weapons.

The German Democratic Republic welcomes and supports the great number of unilateral pledges made by the Soviet Union, the aim of which is to stop the arms race and facilitate the transition to nuclear disarmament. These pledges clearly underscore the Soviet Union's will to contribute to the success of the Geneva talks. The peoples expect that the other side will take a similarly constructive position.

A few weeks ago we observed the fortieth anniversary of the day when atomic bombs were first used to destroy two Japanese cities and their populations. That date marks one of the darkest chapters in the history of human civilization.

In our time, when fewer and fewer people know the horrors of war from their own experience, the memory of that day, 6 August 1945, should be kept alive and remind all of us to redouble our efforts to avert a worldwide nuclear catastrophe. Every State without exception can and must do its part.

(Mr. Fischer, German
Democratic Republic)

We reiterate the demand to pave the way towards ending the nuclear arms race and towards nuclear disarmament through, first, a pledge by all nuclear-weapon States to forgo the first use of nuclear arms, as the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China have already undertaken; secondly, through a freeze on existing nuclear arsenals; and, thirdly, through an immediate, complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests.

The Soviet initiative for the unilateral renunciation of all nuclear explosions and for an extension of the moratorium beyond 1 January 1986, provided the United States joins in, holds out new hopes and vistas for the peoples. The rejection to this date of this Soviet peace move also must not be the last word spoken by the United States.

At the Geneva Conference on Disarmament, negotiations on the prevention of an arms race in outer space, the avoidance of nuclear war, a complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests and nuclear disarmament should commence without delay, and the negotiations on the prohibition of chemical weapons, which have now been going on for over 13 years, should be finally brought to a successful conclusion. For, next to nuclear weapons, chemical weapons are the most dangerous means of mass destruction. The German Democratic Republic wants to see such weapons prohibited throughout the world. Regional accords could expedite this process. The proposals for such a regional accord which the Governments of the German Democratic Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic have addressed to the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany are inspired by their intention to fulfil their responsibility for peace and the relaxation of tensions in Central Europe and to meet the security interests of their own and, indeed, of all European peoples through a joint contribution to arms limitation and disarmament. The response which this initiative has so far found is an encouragement to keep to that path, thus strengthening confidence and security.

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Democratic Republic)

This approach also guides the German Democratic Republic in regard to the continuation of the process ushered in by the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which has become indispensable, especially today.

The German Democratic Republic strongly favours nuclear-weapon-free zones in the Balkans and in Northern Europe. It renews its readiness, recorded in connection with the Swedish initiative concerning the creation of a zone free of battlefield nuclear weapons in Central Europe, to make its entire territory available for inclusion in such a zone.

Efforts made with a view to enhancing security in other regions of the world through effective measures of limiting military activities and promoting disarmament are whole-heartedly backed by my country. This is true, in particular, of the efforts which have been made for years to convene an international conference on the transformation of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. We therefore welcome the agreement recently reached by the States of the South Pacific region to establish a nuclear-weapon-free zone in that area as an expression of the efforts being made to create a world without nuclear weapons.

(Mr. Fischer, German
Democratic Republic)

It is becoming increasingly evident that super-armament is the principal obstacle to social security and economic advance. The relationship between disarmament and development is obvious.

We know that while world arms expenditure is approaching the \$1,000 billion threshold, in many developing countries almost half of the children die, before they reach the age of five, of malnutrition or because of the lack of medical care. A mere fraction of military spending in the world would suffice to reach the objective of health for all.

Permit me to recall that back in 1974 the World Health Organization launched an appeal for an international campaign for immunization of all the children of the world by 1990. The German Democratic Republic, where vaccinations are part and parcel of basic medical schemes, provides substantial assistance to quite a few developing countries in carrying out their respective programmes and other related measures for the preservation of international peace. International economic relations based on equal rights are becoming increasingly important.

They can flourish only in conditions of sovereign equality. That is why the German Democratic Republic stands in solidarity at the side of the developing countries.

Many developing countries are suffering from the disastrous impact of the persistent monetary and financial crisis in the capitalist world, which is due to a policy of high interest rates and the diversion of capital to finance the course of super-armament. We approve of the proposal made by the non-aligned States to convene an international conference on money and finance, with universal participation, within the United Nations framework.

Faithful to its foreign policy principles, the German Democratic Republic continues to offer undiminished solidarity and support to developing countries.

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Democratic Republic)

In 1984, its assistance amounted to some 2 billion marks, which is equivalent to 0.82 per cent of the national income produced in that year and represents an increase of 9.5 per cent over the previous year.

Peace and security are inconceivable without national and social liberation of the peoples. The liberated States and peoples have joined the broad stream of the fighters for peace, disarmament and social progress, as is evident in particular by the Delhi Declaration, which calls for the prevention of nuclear war and a return to détente.

The German Democratic Republic most strongly condemns the State terrorism of the apartheid régime in South Africa, which over the past few weeks has greatly escalated violent repression internally and the use of force externally. We are in favour of effective sanctions which would help to ensure respect for human rights in South Africa. Bogus sanctions do not change anything. Since apartheid cannot be reformed, it must be abolished. The German Democratic Republic reaffirms its unqualified solidarity with the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and with all patriots in South Africa and Namibia. It strongly condemns South Africa's continued policy of aggression pursued against the People's Republic of Angola.

The German Democratic Republic calls for the granting of independence to Namibia on the basis of the relevant United Nations decisions, including Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

There is urgent need for a peaceful settlement in Central America, where the situation is worsening in the wake of policies of military and economic threat and blackmail. A settlement can be achieved provided there is strict respect for the peoples' right to self-determination, for sovereignty and the principles of non-interference and, above all, of the inadmissibility of the threat or use of

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force. The German Democratic Republic endorses the efforts made by the Contadora Group and the policy pursued by Nicaragua, which are aimed at a peaceful settlement of the conflict.

We extend our sympathy and support to Cyprus in its just struggle for national independence and a peaceful, just and lasting solution to the Cyprus problem on the basis of the pertinent United Nations resolutions.

The persistent dangerous situation in the Middle East gives rise to great concern. A just and durable peace in that area can be reached only through the complete withdrawal of the Israeli armed forces from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, by recognition of the legitimate national right of the Palestinian people to create an independent State of its own and by ensuring the sovereignty and security of all the States concerned.

The German Democratic Republic favours the convening of an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

The German Democratic Republic reaffirms its solidarity with the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which seeks a settlement of the existing problems by way of negotiation. The security of that region requires the definitive cessation of interference in internal affairs and the ending of the undeclared war of imperialist reactionary forces.

My country follows with sympathy the efforts made by the States of Indo-China to establish lasting peace and stability in South-East Asia based on dialogue and co-operation. The political and military measures agreed upon last August by the Foreign Ministers of the countries of Indo-China are of far-reaching importance.

The demand of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the withdrawal of

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United States forces from South Korea is considered by the German Democratic Republic to be both justified and an important prerequisite for a peaceful settlement of the contentious issues on the Korean peninsula and the peaceful unification of Korea without outside interference. The pertinent resolution adopted here 10 years ago, of which the German Democratic Republic was a co-sponsor, offers a realistic basis and remains valid.

The preservation of peace is the overriding obligation of the present time, as is borne out by the mounting tensions and conflicts in various regions of the world. The German Democratic Republic has therefore complied whole-heartedly with the United Nations recommendation to declare 1986 the International Year of Peace.

Like other countries, it holds that the alarming trends in international relations can be reversed provided common sense and realism prevail all over the world. When all partisans of peace join together in resolute action, paths will be found along which to proceed to arms limitation and disarmament, political dialogue between States with different social systems will enhance the indispensable confidence among States, businesslike negotiations and compromises will become possible and mutual understanding and co-operation will finally be promoted, leaving no ground for confrontation and arms build-up.

(Mr. Fischer, German
Democratic Republic)

Such action would be a fitting tribute to the more than 50 million dead of the last world war.

Today, the United Nations is faced with decisions which have implications reaching far beyond the year 2000. Never before in history have the living generations had so heavy a responsibility to the generations to come. Either mankind will move ever closer to self-destruction or it will put an end to the stockpiling of ever more destructive weapons systems and dismantle the arsenals of death.

The experience of the past and the challenges of the present demand, in the interests of life, that we carefully preserve and gradually build on what has been so hard to achieve. Let us join together in combating war before the weapons speak. The fortieth anniversary of the United Nations is a worthy occasion for the German Democratic Republic solemnly to renew its commitment to the aims of this forum of world peace.

Mr. RABETAFIKA (Madagascar) (interpretation from French): Owing to professional chance and our convergent interests, I have had the good fortune to know Ambassador de Piniés for many years. It is with rare pleasure that I convey to him the heartfelt congratulations of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its fortieth session. I am certain that his rich experience in international affairs and his qualities as a statesman will help to ensure that our work meets with the success that we all desire.

To our brother, His Excellency Mr. Paul Lusaka, we renew our expressions of pride and satisfaction at the ability, effectiveness and calmness with which he presided over the work of the thirty-ninth session.

(Mr. Rabetafika, Madagascar)

We pay a tribute also to the Secretary-General for the many initiatives he has taken in the cause of peace and on behalf of countries which by nature or fate has not favoured.

I wish also, on behalf of my delegation, to request the delegation of Mexico to convey our sympathy and support to its Government and our condolences to the families which have suffered so greatly as a result of the earthquakes which recently ravaged Mexico.

It has often been said that the vision of the founders of our Organization and their attitude to our collective future were not basically different from our own. Their philosophy was based on two premises: the wisdom of nations and the balanced division of responsibilities in the moral and material reconstruction of a world plunged into indescribable chaos by the ravages of war and fascist totalitarian ideologies. They had to restructure international relations in order to safeguard a peace which had been won through enormous sacrifices, to ensure economic recovery, to promote the social progress of peoples and to guarantee human rights. Finally, to crown it all, an international authority was to see to it that the actions of nations in furtherance of the purposes of the Charter would be co-ordinated and harmonized. That was the scenario for a better world, in which all peoples would feel safe and States would undertake to subordinate the promotion of their own interests to the quest for the common good.

Once the facts had been established, the norms promulgated and the means defined, it was our job to build upon them. But 40 years later we are still wondering whether the vision of our predecessors was not too idealistic, whether our Organization is still relevant and whether we have failed in the mission bequeathed to us. The principles remain valid, while priorities have been rearranged and the perception of our goals has changed in the light of positive and negative developments in the world situation. Nevertheless, our heritage has not

(Mr. Rabetafika, Madagascar)

been excessively compromised, and we must undertake a periodic evaluation, which will form the framework for our discussions as we commemorate the fortieth anniversary of our Organization.

This anniversary coincides with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, to the drafting of which all contributed, in particular the Afro-Asian, Latin American and socialist countries. Since 1960, more than 70 of us have achieved sovereignty or recovered it. Thus, our full participation in international affairs has been directly or indirectly fostered by the adoption of that Declaration, which represents the culmination of the struggle waged by the democratic forces and the expression of the solidarity among peoples.

Some would say that decolonization, which is an inevitable, irreversible historical process, would have come about even had the United Nations not existed. It is sufficient to list the cases of decolonization between the two world wars and recall the insistence with which we invoked the Charter during the anti-colonial struggle to be convinced of the opposite. Certainly, it is in the field of decolonization that the United Nations has succeeded in playing its role as a centre for the co-ordination of efforts, to the extent that pre-conditions, hesitations and ambiguities have given way to reason.

The same could have been said of Namibia, where so many hopes have always been pinned on the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and the joint action of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia and the Special Committee of 24, to all of which we pay a tribute. We have identified the obstacles and they are all the fault of the Pretoria régime: the continued illegal occupation of an international Territory; the absurd linkage between the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and the obligation of a usurper régime to give back what does not belong to it; the

(Mr. Rabetafika, Madagascar)

continued acts of aggression against the front-line States; the installation of a so-called interim administration; and the authorization given to national and transnational corporations to engage in excessive exploitation of the resources of the Territory.

All the means prescribed in Chapter VI of the Charter have been exhausted, and implementation of Article 41 has even begun. It is time for us seriously to consider binding sanctions and recourse to Article 42 if we wish to establish the authority of the Organization and prove to international public opinion and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), which is recognized as the sole authentic and legitimate representative of the Namibian people, that we want, and are able, to fulfil our responsibilities.

Recently there has been talk of the adverse effects of sanctions and reference has been made to history and to economic and humanitarian considerations. Until total independence is won, the Namibian people, like any other struggling people, is ready to make sacrifices.

(Mr. Rabetafika, Madagascar)

It would be scandalous if, through our omissions and procrastination and the absence of true solidarity on the part of some of us, those sacrifices were in vain and the Pretoria régime managed to impose its own solution.

Another act of decolonization to be achieved relates to Western Sahara. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries have recognized that the United Nations can make a major contribution to establishing a process and a mechanism which will make possible the effective exercise by the Sahraoui people of their legitimate sovereign rights. Direct negotiations between the two parties, the Kingdom of Morocco and the POLISARIO Front, would eliminate the threats to peace, stability and security in the region.

The United Nations can be proud of its work in the field of decolonization and can commit itself to continuing that work until the colonial phenomenon has been totally eradicated, but can the same be said about development and the elimination of economic and social inequality? The network of institutions and organizations dealing with international economic, social and cultural co-operation is widespread and interlinked. We agreed, after arduous negotiations, to focus our action on integrated national development, the restructuring of economic relations among nations and the development of world economic security. None of those provisions violates the purposes or principles of the Charter, in particular those set forth in Chapter IX. Yet the results are mixed, not to say disappointing, mainly because of the changes that successive crises have imposed on priorities.

Thus, the idea of world economic security, which logically should have been our prime concern, has not always been supported by some among us. It has sometimes been ill defined, sometimes complex, sometimes controversial, and often, on various pretexts, it has been reduced to some of its aspects that have been wisely referred to as instances of the interdependence of nations and problems. This could lead to excessive subordination or to conflicts of interest; and that,

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when considered from the viewpoint of individual or collective selfishness, is inevitably reflected in a general imbalance and a gradual erosion of international economic co-operation - a phenomenon that in its turn has brought about marginalization, backwardness and the increasing impoverishment of the majority of the nations of the world.

It is therefore natural that the struggle of the third world to reverse this trend continues. It started with our demand for a new international economic order and the adoption of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States. It will go on until we are sure that the international negotiations will lead to acceptance of the idea of economic security for all, because, if we accept the axiom that there is no development without security and no security without development, we must acknowledge that our actions must be simultaneous and not consecutive.

In any case, what security or development, whether integrated or not, can we boast of when we face inextricable, nightmarish debt problems? Is it not true that in the majority of cases the debt was incurred to ensure for our peoples more rapid development, more equitable at the international level and better distributed at the national level? Is it not true that we continue to be the victims of the erratic prices of raw materials, unfavourable terms of trade, fluctuations in interest and exchange rates and, recently, the too high priority accorded by banks and financial institutions to ideas of profitability?

Since the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held in New Delhi 21 years ago, it could be said that we have enjoyed rehashing the same arguments. We could reply that we have not always found the necessary understanding in our partners to remove obstacles in situations whose urgency and acuteness might have escaped them. We do not wish to dwell at length on missed opportunities. We assume it is agreed that the present discussion falls within the framework of a continuing significant consensus that the United Nations cannot

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tolerate any further fragmentation of negotiations and of the decision-making system.

Two major challenges remain to be met: the critical economic situation in Africa and the problems of indebtedness and financing for development.

In Africa, disease, famine, malnutrition and poverty remain widespread. Twenty-one countries and 205 million inhabitants are still affected by drought. Domestic production and rates of growth have continually fallen since 1980. Serious balance-of-payments difficulties still exist and debt servicing alone, evaluated at \$158 billion in 1984, is jeopardizing development and stability.

Over and above emergency assistance, the co-ordination of which is fortunately handled by the United Nations Office for Emergency Operations in Africa, the seriousness of these problems makes joint action by Africa and the international community necessary to revive, inter alia, long-term development and economic growth and to ensure appropriate structural reforms. African Heads of State and Government have made specific proposals in this connection, such as the convening of a United Nations conference on the economic situation in Africa, the organization of a conference on African debt and the establishment of special funds for Africa.

The negative development of the economic situation has compelled us to call for the speedy convening of an international conference on money and finance for development. A process of consultation would be established between debtors and creditors to agree on more flexible measures for rescheduling and the adjustment of modalities for granting official development assistance. But, despite the moratoriums, rescheduling and structural adjustments, questions of development and financing will not be satisfactorily resolved until the problem of indebtedness is resolved.

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We are shocked and overwhelmed by what we do not hesitate to call the scandal of the century - the fact that the net transfer of capital to the developing countries was \$180 billion from 1978 to 1983, but became negative in 1984 and that the world debt amounts to approximately \$900 billion, whereas military expenditures amounted to \$820 billion for 1984 alone.

The figures speak for themselves, and it is difficult to resist simplistic equations, particularly since few nations would agree to sacrifice their security for the development of others. But it would be wrong for us not to stress the link between development and disarmament. The study requested by the United Nations on the allocation to development purposes of funds released by disarmament was published 23 years ago, and where are we now? In times of political crisis, development is relegated to second place and that concept has been overshadowed by the emphasis nations place on strengthening their military security either individually or in the framework of existing alliances, which naturally implies recognition of the failure of the collective security system envisaged in the Charter.

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Development, disarmament and security are for us aspects of the same situation. They must be the concern of us all, not merely of some Powers or of the the two blocs. That is why we have always advocated that the right place for finding a solution to these problems must be the United Nations. According to Article 26 of the Charter:

"... the Security Council shall be responsible for formulating... plans to be submitted to the Members of the United Nations for the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments",

and Article 11 says that:

"The General Assembly may consider... the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments, and may make recommendations with regard to such principles to the Members or to the Security Council or to both".

The constitutional provisions and the relevant machinery exist, but in practice two Powers take care of everything with, from time to time, consultation of the members of the two alliances, and the United Nations is reduced to a marginal role. This marginalization cannot continue because at some point it will challenge the consensus we achieved with regard to the limitation, control, reduction and elimination of nuclear weapons.

We cannot avoid the complexity of the problem, given the conditions inherent to each stage and the transition from one stage to another. As soon as some progress is made in limitation, difficulties arise at the level of verification, research and development bring about a revision of the ceiling of limitation and of the list of types of weapons concerned, and reduction is seen in the context of political criteria and, therefore, subordinated to the evolution of the relationship between the military or nuclear Powers. Uncertainty is the rule, and we cannot blame propaganda alone for the favourable reactions of international

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public opinion when we talk of zones of peace, such as the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean, a freeze in the deployment of new weapons, moratoriums, zones free from chemical or nuclear weapons and the non-militarization of environments considered to be the common heritage of mankind, that is, the sea-bed, the ocean floor and outer space.

Disarmament is too important to be left in the hands of technicians alone. More than ever before, political action is necessary and urgent. It is time for the United Nations to play the role of initiator and prime mover in establishing mutual trust among the nuclear Powers and for it to be included in bilateral discussions, directly and through providing it with appropriate information.

We base ourselves on the same mutual trust when we speak of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Already certain Powers - and major ones at that - are allowed to escape the constraints of that Treaty; but distrust persists vis-à-vis the signatories, who intend to place nuclear energy at the service of development, and no mention is made of article VI of the Treaty, whereby the nuclear Powers have undertaken to conduct negotiations in good faith in order to eliminate nuclear weapons. If everyone fulfilled their obligations, the Treaty would be more fully respected.

In the field of conventional disarmament, what we have just said about the role of the United Nations is valid here too. However, we must bear in mind the new dimensions - namely, the existence and continuation of conflicts and tensions, as well as the responsibility and the ability of the United Nations to prevent them and resolve them. In principle, if the conditions of military, political and economic security were met, and if at all times in all places and at all times there was a spirit of amity, tolerance and good neighbourliness, peaceful coexistence and principles relating to international sovereignty, territorial

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integrity, non-interference, respect and mutual advantage, we could then say that conflicts and tensions would disappear.

But the facts have produced a different situation. National interest has not yet managed to blend with general interest. Our societies, although claiming universality, is still human with all its strengths and weaknesses. The States concerned themselves hesitate to bring their disputes to an international forum, while the United Nations is not sure of its authority and of the adequacy of the means made available to it by the Member States.

We are devoted to the cardinal principle of peaceful negotiated settlement of disputes. Although everything hinges on the kind of dispute and on the readiness of the States concerned, we must provide for a certain measure of flexibility and not stick blindly to the order in which the means are enumerated in the Charter. Hence we continue to believe that, in the context of the development of international law, it is desirable that some categories of conflicts be submitted to binding arbitration.

It is not unreasonable to think that such a procedure would have a positive effect on a peaceful and independent reunification of the Korean homeland, without foreign interference; on the war between Iran and Iraq, which might be settled round a conference table even after all efforts at conciliation and mediation had unfortunately failed; on the search for a political solution to the deadlocks in South-East Asia, Central America, the Caribbean and South America; and on the situation in Cyprus, where a solution entails respect for the relevant United Nations resolutions and for the sovereignty, unity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus. Some seek shelter behind the provisions of the Charter in order to entrust the task of settling some of these conflicts to regional and sub-regional bodies; but sooner or later there will be levelled against us the

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accusation that we are more likely to generate and maintain crises than to defuse them.

The experience of the past 40 years has put us to the test with regard to the question of the Middle East and the situation in South Africa, matters on which world public opinion has judged and continues to judge us rather harshly.

In the Middle East, the context, the conditions and the machinery for a settlement do exist. Despite our efforts, the cycle of violence continues, to such an extent that the very existence of Lebanon is threatened. The rights of a people for which we have a special responsibility are being negotiated at the whim of alliances and of strategic or ideological interests, under the cover of various plans which leave us somewhat sceptical. Are we from now on to understand that the United Nations plan for the final settlement of the Palestinian problem is doomed to oblivion in the Security Council? Are we to be satisfied with expediency which, because of its very nature and its inoperative character, merely strengthens Israeli intransigence? Were this to be so, we would be creating an irreversible situation to the benefit of hegemonism and exclusivism.

The fortieth anniversary of the Organization affords us an opportunity to reconsider the overall question of the Middle East and in particular the question of Palestine, and to relaunch the international conference in which the Palestinians must participate on an equal footing with the other parties, in keeping with resolution 3375 (XXX) of 10 November 1975. We are convinced that a settlement of the question of Palestine founded on the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people is the key element of an overall political settlement of the conflict in the Middle East - the establishment of which cannot be realized without removing the ostracism in which some have placed the Palestine Liberation Organization.

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The situation is no different in South Africa, for we have allowed it to deteriorate through our indecision and our appeasement of the apartheid régime. We are witnessing a real political and social revolution, involving the African National Congress of South Africa, the forces of liberation and of the struggle against apartheid, students, young people, trade unionists and religious circles. Some see foreign intervention there. Others, such as we ourselves, are convinced that it is a revolution above all African-inspired for the advent of a just and democratic society.

It was to be expected that reactionary circles would rush to support certain reforms and half-measures to turn the South African revolution away from its objectives and preserve the established order. It would have been more logical, however little some may be faithful to our principles, to return to the spirit of 1945 and to recognize that the creation of our Organization was also a revolution, born of the determination to put an end for ever to the new order that fascism and nazism wanted to impose upon us.

We have noticed that, as in every general debate, we have been unable to resist the temptation to get out old files, to go through them, add what we believe to be new elements and remove what seems to be no longer relevant. That exercise, which lawyers entrust to their clerks, sometimes allows us to obtain information whose wise and timely use permits us to draw conclusions supporting our argument and then to regard the file as closed. But we have not come here mainly to make demands, argue our case or pass judgement. Our approach continues to be political; our desire is to find solutions, and therefore one can well understand our frustration when at the end of the session, or even during the course of it, the files are put away and closed, only to be reopened for use in other debates.

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However, the current session to some extent lacks the sense of futility to which unfortunately we have become accustomed. Indeed, we are convinced that our thoughts should be devoted to defining the conditions for the creation of a better world for future generations. It might be wondered whether there exists a better world than that in which we live, which, after all, has been free of world war for two generations, a world which, we are told, enjoys globally a prosperity unmatched in human history, a world in which science and technology are at our service - but also unfortunately a world where there are more shadows than rays of light.

However, it is quite natural for a given society at each stage of its development to regard itself as the best. Here it is sufficient to recall the Age of Enlightenment. But, just as a nation is dedicated to striving to develop and flourish, the destiny of the international society is to surpass its previous achievements. In that context, we say: Yes, there will always be a better world than that which it suggested to us, and better than the one we leave behind. That is our vision. It is not merely wishful thinking, but will be the outcome of the dynamic of history. It is our hope that present and future realities will reflect it better.

I wish to conclude by reading out to the Assembly a few extracts from the message sent by Mr. Didier Ratsiraka, President of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, to the Secretary-General on 8 May, as follows:

"When the international community is commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the victory over nazism and fascism at the end of the Second World War, the struggle waged against them, the people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar once again reaffirm their firm adherence to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and recognize the

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need to support and strengthen the United Nations in order to make it an effective instrument which can play its crucial role in the maintenance of international peace and security... The struggle against all forms of injustice, racial discrimination and Fascist ideologies and practices is one of the basic principles of the policy of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar. The people and the Government of Madagascar have always been opposed to fascism and all other forms of totalitarian ideologies and practices based on intolerance, hatred and racial terror, and all forms of domination and hegemony.

"We are convinced that, despite all the difficulties it encounters, the United Nations will develop between nations friendly relations based on respect for the principle of equality of the rights of peoples and their right to self-determination, and will achieve international co-operation by developing and fostering respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and will be able to preserve peace for mankind as a whole."

Mr. DOST (Afghanistan): I wish at the outset to congratulate the President warmly upon his election to preside over the fortieth session of the General Assembly. While offering the full co-operation of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, we sincerely wish him success in the discharge of his responsibilities.

May I also put on record our appreciation of the esteemed Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his devoted efforts to uplift the role and effectiveness of the Organization.

On the grievous and sad occasion of the tragedy that has befallen the people of Mexico, we express our deep sorrow and sympathy to the bereaved families of the deceased and to the people and the Government of Mexico.

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In less than three weeks we shall be celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the founding of our Organization. That provides us with a fitting opportunity for reflection on which of the most important tasks set before the Organization by the signing of its Charter have been accomplished; what have been the causes behind the failures to fulfil certain of its other responsibilities; and what are the prospects for exploring new avenues to make the United Nations fully responsive to those needs and aspirations for which it was initially created.

A glance at the 40 years of service by the United Nations gives us sufficient reasons to assert that it has become an indispensable instrument of international life. Its achievements, although limited and modest, have been of immense importance in reshaping the whole content of international relations.

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The United Nations, which was given the primary role in the maintenance of international peace and security and in furthering international economic co-operation, acquired a very important position in managing international relations through the application of the norms and principles of international law crystallized in its Charter.

Great hopes were attached to the creation of a new world which, despite the divergence of ideologies and socio-economic systems, would be governed by the rule of law and adherence to the principles of the non-use of force and peaceful coexistence. Four decades later we take note with satisfaction that, thanks to this Organization, we have been able to prevent the outbreak of another world war. That cannot, however, diminish our regret at the fact that almost 150 wars and armed conflicts have taken place since then at local and regional level, some of which are still continuing. Although limited in scope and dimension, these conflicts have already claimed more than 20 million lives, which is more than all the military casualties of the Second World War.

The emergence of the community of socialist countries out of the great victory over Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism at the end of the Second World War fortified the central bastion of the forces of peace and progress, and it has served as the main ally and staunch supporter of all national liberation movements throughout the world. This new phenomenon gave an entirely new essence to the nature of international politics, making it impossible for the forces of imperialism and colonialism to dictate the destinies of mankind according to their own selfish interests.

The most outstanding and praiseworthy work of the United Nations was undoubtedly the setting in motion a quarter of a century ago of the process of decolonization, which led to the accession to independence of dozens of Asian, African and Latin American countries. The collapse of the system of colonial

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empires became the inevitable outcome of the long and fierce struggle of the colonial peoples and countries to throw off the shackles of dependence. This historic process ushered in a new era based on the principles of equal sovereignty and equitable co-operation. New spirit and blood were injected into the soul and the veins of the Organization, which made it, with the passage of time, a truly universal body.

The United Nations and more than 35 of its specialized agencies have been engaged in an admirable effort on behalf of the international community to attain the distinct and varied goals that were prescribed for the solution of the most acute problems affecting our world. Although the outcome of these efforts is far short of the initial expectations, what has been achieved could not have been accomplished save through the Organization.

The activities of the United Nations and its specialized agencies in the field of the economic development of developing countries probably constitute one of the salient features of the multilateralism forged by the United Nations. Of great value also is international co-operation in the field of education and health. The progressive development of legal instruments in the field of human rights has had a significant impact on the improvement of the human rights situation in various countries and regions.

Our rejoicing over the successes of the United Nations cannot and should not cause us to lessen the vigour with which we seek to enhance at a more rapid pace the role and effectiveness of this world Organization. Some may assert that the relative inability of the United Nations to consolidate international security and find appropriate solutions to the problems affecting the international political and economic environment emanates from shortcomings in the Charter of the United Nations. It is our belief, however, that the Charter represents the transcendent interests of all Member States. It is, rather, the lack of political will on the

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part of some Member States fully and scrupulously to implement the Charter that has led to the continued failure of efforts to bring about a better life in conformity with the vision of its authors and signatories.

One major example of such unacceptable and deplorable conduct is certainly the misuse of the veto power by the United States and some of its allies. The ever more frequent exercise of this right has resulted in deliberate disruption of the increasingly emerging consensus on some of the topical issues of our times, Palestine, Namibia and South Africa being the more obvious ones.

It is true that the United Nations has had a great impact on the formulation and progressive development of international law affecting almost every aspect of international relations; but at the same time it has been prevented from effectively implementing all these instruments in State-to-State relations.

Despite the many great efforts made, the system of international security is as fragile as ever. The present international political and security climate is characterized by an awesome concentration of potentially explosive situations, each of them fraught with the danger of plunging our world into a terminal nuclear conflagration whose menace is already looming large over mankind. The advent of the atomic age, marked by the first atomic bomb explosions over Hiroshima and Nagasaki, brought about a dramatically different notion of war. Since then the world has witnessed hitherto unknown quantum leaps in the sphere of the means of death and destruction. It is frightening to know that some of the new types of weapons possess more power than all the conventional weapons used in all the wars in history. It is, further, horrifying to learn that thousands upon thousands of such weapons have been stockpiled in the military arsenals of the world.

Yet the arms race seems to have increased in pace, dimensions and magnitude. New types of weapons of mass destruction are continually being developed and manufactured. New and additional grounds are sought for the stationing of these

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weapons in different territories and continents. Together with the unleashing of the arms race, a world-wide campaign has been launched to undermine the process of détente and to promote horrendous military doctrines justifying the concept of "security through strength". This is in fact a well-organized attempt at psychological preparation in the service of imperialist doctrines of "limited" or "protracted" nuclear war..

The hard-won agreements on some major aspects of the curbing of the arms race - for instance, on anti-ballistic missiles - are threatened with being unilaterally sunk in the Lethe. The obstinacy characterizing imperialist positions on other aspects of the arms race has justifiably dispelled hopes that reason will prevail among the imperialists. It becomes more and more evident that the verbal profession of peacefulness by imperialism is grossly at odds with its conduct. These conditions have instilled a pervasive atmosphere of enormous suspicion and fear.

In his annual report this year, the Secretary-General has rightly stated:

"We face today a world of almost infinite promise which is also a world of potentially terminal danger. The choice between these alternatives is ours ...

"The world is still, admittedly, a very imperfect, insecure, unjust, dangerous and, in all too many regions, impoverished place." (A/40/1, pp. 2, 3)

We cannot but lament the fact that some very important issues which could have unacceptable consequences for international peace and security are still being allowed violently to disrupt the political serenity of regions and the world as a whole.

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The question of Palestine, where the situation has led to many destructive wars in the entire region of the Middle East, has been before the United Nations almost since its establishment. One might have argued that the enormity of the death and destruction suffered by the Palestinians and other Arab peoples should have persuaded those responsible for the continuation of this unfortunate situation to embark seriously on the path of peaceful solution. One would have hoped that common sense and realism would have made it clear that there simply cannot be in that region a lasting peace that is both just and comprehensive unless the Palestinians, under the leadership of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, are guaranteed the effective exercise of their inalienable rights and the aggressor is forced to withdraw from the Arab territories it has illegally occupied since 1967.

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The international community owes it to itself to make a determined effort, through the convening of the proposed international conference on peace in the Middle East, to bring tranquillity and harmony to that war-ridden region of the world.

The people of Namibia, who have been longing for their emancipation from more than a century of colonial oppression, are still being denied, by artificially injected, extraneous and irrelevant issues set as pre-conditions, what all of us take for granted as our birthright.

The same evil that has chained Namibia has been responsible for the tears and blood being profusely shed in South Africa. It is still possible for the despicable and abhorrent apartheid system to reign with impunity in the streets and localities, the mines and plantations, of South Africa. In addition, Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Lesotho and Botswana have remained permanent targets of coercion and intimidation by the same racist régime. The peoples of South Africa and Namibia, under the banner of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), are now on their final march towards smashing the ugly face of the colonialist apartheid system and consigning it to the ash-heap of history.

In Latin America a combination of imperialist policies is at work, providing a spectrum of direct military aggression and occupation, as in Grenada and Guantanamo; of mercenarism, armed interference and sabotage, as against heroic revolutionary Nicaragua; of political and economic coercion and blockade, as in Cuba and other countries; of sustaining unpopular oppressive régimes, as in Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala and others; of turning countries into military outposts or launching-pads of aggression, as in Honduras and Costa Rica; and of colonial occupation, as in Puerto Rico, the Malvinas Islands and elsewhere. All sorts of conspiracies are hatched to undermine the genuine and sincere efforts of the

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Government of Nicaragua and the countries of the Contadora Group to restore peace and stability in Central America. One cannot fail to see that the hand of United States imperialism is at work behind all the cases I have enumerated, although in some instances more use is being made of local surrogates.

In the conduct of its international relations the United States imperialism has pursued, and it continues to pursue, a course that flagrantly violates the obligations it assumed under the United Nations Charter and other multilateral and bilateral treaties. It has trampled upon every norm of international behaviour in a lust to achieve its own imperialist ambitions. It has in most instances ignored or acted against the expressed will of the overwhelming majority of nations by misusing the authority vested in it as a permanent member of the Security Council. It has blocked many international efforts to find just solutions to some of the very explosive and dangerous situations in various corners of the world. It has prevented the achievement of understanding on certain important global economic and social issues that have burdened the international community for many decades. It has launched a vicious campaign of vilification against the concept of multilateralism and has already begun to carry out its threats to withdraw from the system of international organizations. It has developed its own narrow-minded concept of national security, which encompasses virtually all regions of the world as so-called areas of vital interest to the United States.

In total contrast with the aspirations and endeavours of the forces of peace and progress, it has effectively prevented the achievement of meaningful accords on curbing the arms race and implementing real and comprehensive measures aimed at nuclear and conventional disarmament. In its quest for world supremacy it has spread its armaments and military presence to most parts of the globe. Its warmongering and aggressive policy finds the planet Earth too limited an area for the full implementation of its militaristic designs, and it has thus launched the

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star wars plan, declaring outer space to be the new environment for its strategic arms spree, despite the strong condemnation of world public opinion and the United Nations.

In this context we hail the new and timely initiative of the Soviet Union on international co-operation in the peaceful exploitation of outer space without its militarization, aimed at the realization of the star peace concept, as well as its declaration of moratoriums on the deployment of nuclear weapons in Europe and on the testing of all nuclear weapons.

For the purpose of building the world's largest and most destructive arsenal of strategic and conventional weapons the United States has recklessly squandered thousands of billions of dollars which are badly needed to fight the numerous economic and social ills of the world. It has engaged in the plunder and exploitation of the human and natural resources of the developing countries through transnational monopolies and has crippled the economies of those countries with the enormous burden of mounting external debt and soaring debt-servicing.

Cynically portraying itself as the champion of human rights, it has by its deeds grossly violated those rights, and not only in its own country; it has closely identified itself with monstrous régimes infamous for their blatant breach of the minimum standards of respect for the dignity of the human person.

Its hallucination concerning a new European and world map drawn to satisfy its long-term policy of aggrandizement and complete world domination has led to the deliberate fomenting of neo-fascist revanchist claims in Europe and unbridled militarism in the Far East.

It has launched direct military aggression against other sovereign countries and master-minded and carried out plots and intrigues to overthrow their national and independent Governments. Upgrading terrorism to the level of State policy, it has designed and implemented many assassination plots against the leaders of other

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countries and has used every opportunity to undermine the social, political and economic fabrics of those countries. Insulting the conscience of entire nations, it has put their national liberation movements on a par with terrorism, while at the same time it has awarded the title "freedom fighter" to some groups of professional killers, terrorists and mercenaries who are bred, nurtured and sustained by its own devilish spy networks. The acquisition of a semblance of legitimacy for all these unlawful deeds constitutes the crux of the incessant activities of the United States aimed at building its information imperialism through unrestricted expansion of its means of propaganda, slander and fabrication and by its rigorous opposition to the efforts of the overwhelming majority of nations to establish a new international information order. In short, United States imperialism has opted for a course of all-out militarization, confrontation, aggression, diktat, interference, exploitation and unilateralism.

The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan vehemently condemns such a course and calls for the increasing and co-ordinated action of all peace-loving countries and forces firmly to reject and oppose imperialist policies which, if allowed to continue, will inevitably lead to the extermination of life on earth. The recent Ministerial Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement held in Luanda has adopted certain action-oriented decisions in regard to these matters which, in our opinion, could become the basis for positive action by the General Assembly.

The continued occupation of parts of Cyprus by foreign troops and the futile attempts to lend legitimacy to an artificially created entity in the northern part of that island have rendered inconclusive the efforts of the Government of the Republic of Cyprus and of the Secretary-General aimed at preserving the unity and independence of that non-aligned country.

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In South-East Asia, where for many years imperialism trampled upon the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of States of the area, a new life has slowly but surely emerged out of the smoke and ashes of the dirty imperialist war against Viet Nam and Laos and the bloody reign of the Pol Pot clique in Kampuchea. The Chinese hegemonists have become a party to the international conspiracies against the three peaceful Indo-Chinese nations, conspiracies which have made it impossible for their peaceful démarche to give effect to the concept of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia.

The Korean people are also denied their legitimate right to peaceful re-unification, because of the presence of United States troops in the southern part of the country.

Over a million people have been reported to have fallen victim to the five-year long war between Iran and Iraq. One wonders how many more will be required before reason can prevail and help to bring this senseless fratricidal war to an end.

The efforts of the international community, particularly the littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean, to turn the area into a zone of peace, are being hindered by the increasing military build-up of the United States. We take this opportunity to express our firm support for the draft resolution submitted by the non-aligned members of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean calling for the convening of the long-due conference in the first half of 1986.

Notwithstanding the great achievements in the field of decolonization, we have yet to clear our conscience by doing all that could be done to help free the people of those dependent territories which constitute the last vestiges of colonialism.

Peoples of the Saharoui Arab Democratic Republic, New Caledonia and Micronesia have yet to be fully assured of their right to self-determination, while

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territories such as the Malagasy Islands, Mayotte, and the Chagos Archipelago still wait to be restored to the sovereignty of their respective countries.

The longest crisis in the economies of capitalist countries, and its devastating impact on the economies of the developing countries, particularly the least developed ones, are posing a serious threat to the economic, social and political stability of those countries. The crisis is undoubtedly no mere cyclical phenomenon, but a symptom of deep-rooted structural imbalances and disequilibrium that characterize international economic relations. Protectionism, interest rates and debt servicing burdens have been on the rise, while commodity prices, official development assistance and reliance on multilateral co-operation continued to decline significantly. The shrinking real value of resources available to multilateral development institutions is in fact tantamount to a deliberate attempt, by the capitalist countries, at a gradual erosion of the multilateral framework for development. For most developing countries, this adverse external environment has meant stagnant or declining growth rates.

Bleaker prospects are to be awaited in 1986. According to some authoritative forecasts, the expected slowdown in world trade will threaten the transition to export-oriented adjustment policies in the developing countries. This would in turn drastically reduce the ability of those countries to adhere to the schedule of repayments of their external debts and debt services. The least developed countries will have to go through even more difficult times. We hope that the mid-term global review of the implementation of the Substantial New Programme of Action for the least developed countries, to be held from 30 September to 11 October this year, will provide an opportunity for adopting measures aimed at specific positive action towards the effective implementation of the Programme.

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It is only logical that more attention should be paid to the problems of those least developed countries whose development efforts are further hampered by their geographical disadvantage as land-locked countries.

We condemn the continuing use of economic measures as a means of political and economic coercion. This alarming trend, which creates tension and distrust in international economic relations, undoubtedly disrupts the world economy and trade and undermines its legal foundations.

We are concerned by the intransigent position of some capitalist countries on the launching of global negotiations, which has led to persistence of an impasse on this issue in spite of the inherent flexibility of the two-phase approach proposed by the New Delhi Summit. In our opinion, more vigorous pressure must be exerted on the developed capitalist countries in order to overcome the present lack of political will on their part and to establish a new international economic order based on justice, equity and co-operation.

The noble and valiant people of Afghanistan had suffered for centuries under the oppressive and despotic régimes which represented the interests of a tiny privileged minority in society.

Favourable changes in the balance of forces at the international level and the gradual maturity of internal conditions provided the material basis for a fundamental change in the nature of Afghan society. An instrumental role in this process was played by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, which through its persistent struggle had become the authoritative vanguard of our people.

In accordance with the laws of history the evolution of socio-economic factors culminated in the creation of the momentum that led to the inevitable victory of the national democratic revolution on 27 April 1978. This constituted the final victory of the beneficial forces of progress and justice over the medieval forces of darkness and reaction.

(Mr. Dost, Afghanistan)

The fundamental and drastic reforms introduced by the young revolutionary Government stand as brilliant and irrefutable proof of the popular and democratic essence of the revolution, a revolution that was launched and carried to success with the support of the people of Afghanistan under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.

Every day that passed strengthens the popular foundation of revolutionary power. The recently held Loya Jirgah, or Grand Assembly of the Peoples, the elections to the local organs of State power and administration and the convening of the High Jirgah - or Council - of Frontier Tribes constitute landmarks in the process of transferring power to the masses.

Imperialism, which had never abandoned its hope of dominating Afghanistan and bringing that country under military-strategic influence, redoubled its efforts to create chaos by provoking anti-government activities.

By pouring hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of weapons and ammunition into the hands of counter-revolutionary mercenaries, imperialism, hegemonism and other reactionary forces had unleashed a dirty undeclared war against the people, the Government and the revolution of Afghanistan.

Faced with the ever-increasing threat of massive armed invasion and direct aggression, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan had no other choice but to take appropriate measures to safeguard the independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country. In conformity with the Afghan-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Good-neighbourliness and Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan requested and received from the Soviet Union friendly military assistance to help the Afghan people and armed forces repel outside interference and aggression.

(Mr. Dost, Afghanistan)

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has made it clear on various occasions, including in the two proposals of May 1980 and August 1981, that the Soviet limited military contingent would return to their peaceful country, by agreement with the Government of the Soviet Union, once the causes for their invitation ceased to exist and valid international guarantees are offered for their non-recurrence.

(Mr. Dost, Afghanistan)

Consistent with its peaceful foreign policy, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has participated, with the utmost sincerity, in the process of the negotiations which are being held through the intermediary of the representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Diego Cordovez. While reaffirming our support for this process, we earnestly hope that Pakistan will abandon its rigid position and agree to the holding of direct negotiations between our two countries. This, in our opinion, is the only viable path to an amicable solution in the interest of all peoples of our region. We wish to address ourselves once again to those who still cherish the illusion of forcing Afghanistan back to its past: no evil power on earth will be able to deter the valorous and free-born people of Afghanistan from following their independent and non-aligned course. As Babrak Karmal, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and President of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, stated at a recent meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party:

"As an independent, non-aligned and peace-loving country, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan firmly and undeviatingly respects and observes the principles of the United Nations Charter, believes in good-neighbourliness and desires the solution of problems in an atmosphere of peace and friendship on the basis of common sense and a logical approach through direct and mutually beneficial negotiations."

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.