



General Assembly

PROVISIONAL

EXEMPLAIRES D'ARCHIVES
FILE COPYA/40/PV.16
1 October 1985

ENGLISH

à retourner / Return to Distribution C. 111

Fortieth session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SIXTEENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 1 October 1985, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. DE PINIÉS (Spain)

later: Mr. SHAH NAWAZ (Vice-President) (Pakistan)

later: Mr. DE PINIÉS (President) (Spain)

later: Mr. OYOUE (Vice-President) (Gabon)

- General debate [9] (continued)Statements were made by:

Prince Al-Saud (Saudi Arabia)
Mr. del Valle (Chile)
Mr. Varkonyi (Hungary)
Mr. Al-Skara (Syrian Arab Republic)
Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi (Algeria)

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

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

The meeting was called to order at 10.30 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Prince AL-SAUD (Saudi Arabia) (interpretation from Arabic): On behalf of His Majesty King Fahd Bin Abdul-Aziz of Saudi Arabia, I have pleasure in beginning my statement before the Assembly by congratulating you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the fortieth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. The confidence shown in you by the Assembly in electing you to that high office is a tribute to your personal qualities and a recognition of the important role played by your friendly country, Spain, in strengthening the bonds of international understanding and laying the foundations of co-operation amongst nations.

I take this opportunity to convey my greetings to the President of the General Assembly at its previous session and to praise his wisdom and good administration.

It also gives me pleasure to express appreciation of the unceasing efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, to enhance the opportunities for peace and reduce the sources of tension that prevail in various parts of the world.

We meet today on an important occasion as our Organization celebrates its fortieth anniversary and this provides a good opportunity to evaluate the role and achievements of the Organization. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is proud of the fact that it was one of the original signatories of the San Francisco Charter and its faith in the importance of this Organization and the objectives it strives to achieve has never been shaken since that time. But that is not the only reason for

(Prince Al-Saud, Saudi Arabia)

our interest in this occasion. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, which adheres to the religion of Islam, plays a significant international role because it follows a foreign policy which conforms with the basic principles on which this Organization is based and the noble objectives laid down in the United Nations Charter, those being in accordance with Islamic law, in matters pertaining to the conduct of inter-State relations. The eternal message of Islam unites and does not divide, establishes justice and does not inflict injustice, equalizes and does not discriminate. It calls for work and co-operation among believers in God everywhere to spread these sublime principles and to bring about security and prosperity for mankind as a whole.

Based on these considerations, we confirm our serious dedication to working to increase support for the United Nations and its specialized agencies, because we believe that the Organization provides a viable framework for co-operation between countries and peoples, an important forum for dialogue and understanding and effective means of settling disputes and defusing crises. We deplore all the trends that hamper its activities and strongly condemn States that continuously violate its resolutions and disregard what this Organization represents in terms of the collective will of the world community.

The world in which we live is overburdened with conflicts, restlessness and trouble. There are complex political problems awaiting solution and acute economic crises threatening security and stability. It is not at all fair to place the burden of responsibility for all this on the shoulders of this Organization alone. Inasmuch as a social community is affected by the behaviour and conduct of its members, the success or failure of this international Organization is tied to the stance of its Member States and the degree of their commitment to implement its resolutions, their belief in its purposes and principles and their determination to fulfil their obligations.

(Prince Al-Saud, Saudi Arabia)

In this context, special responsibilities are borne by the great Powers. The fact that they are great Powers has enabled them to acquire an abundant measure of power and influence. It is the duty of those States to find common ground for fair and just international co-operation and to safeguard the interests of small States and respect their independence. We call upon the great Powers, and particularly the permanent members of the Security Council, to live up to the serious responsibilities that they bear.

We wish to express from this rostrum our satisfaction with the stand taken by the United States in supporting the people of Afghanistan and their right to self-determination. We also express satisfaction with the stand taken by the Soviet Union in supporting the Palestinian people and their right to self-determination. However, the Soviet Union's support for the Arab cause and Arab rights in Palestine does not give it the right to a free hand in Afghanistan or justify its military occupation of that country and its depriving the Afghan people of their independence and dignity. Similarly, the opposition of the United States of America to the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and its call for recognition of the right to self-determination of the Afghan people does not justify its unlimited and unconditional support for Israel and its lack of support for the right of the Palestinian people freely to determine their own destiny and to establish their own State on their own land. The United States should support right, justice and international legitimacy.

While the main objective of the United Nations and the principle on which the philosophy of the Charter was established are those of international security and stability, the fact is that since 1947 Israel has been working actively to undermine that objective and principle in the Middle East, where peace has not prevailed and security has not taken root.

(Prince Al-Saud, Saudi Arabia)

Not long ago we witnessed the criminal Israeli act of aggression against Iraq. Now Israel's aggressive nature has been even more clearly demonstrated by a similar criminal act against the sister country of Tunisia. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia condemns that aggression, declares its unwavering support for Tunisia and calls upon all peace-loving countries and this Organization and all its organs to impose deterrent sanctions against Israel.

(Prince Al-Saud, Saudi Arabia)

This call is addressed in particular to the States members of the Security Council. We ask them to shoulder their responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security and to put an end to aggression.

Israel was created in the Middle East by an act of aggression against Palestine and the Palestinian people. His late Majesty King Abdul-Aziz, in a message to this Assembly that was transmitted at the time by His late Majesty King Faisal Bin Abdul-Aziz, made the following appeal from this rostrum to the representatives of the States gathered together on 26 November 1947, three days before the adoption of the partition resolution:

"In your hands lies the responsibility for achieving peace and security in the Middle East, and in your hands lies also the capacity to fuel conflict and bloodshed".

This message, with all its elements of perception and responsibility, is the basis for the conduct of the policy of His Majesty King Fahd Bin Abdul-Aziz and his Government - a course in favour of the rights of the Palestinian people that has never changed. Until the aspirations of that people are realized, His Majesty Fahd Bin Abdul-Aziz will continue to call for justice and fairness and to work towards achieving them, since, in the view of His Majesty, the problem of the Palestinian people constitutes one of the problems that is most dangerous for international peace and security.

It is truly regrettable that the United Nations did not heed the warnings of His Majesty King Abdul-Aziz, for its attempts during the 38 years of search for a just solution to the Palestinian problem have had no results. This Organization has adopted dozens of resolutions dealing with flagrant Israeli aggression against the Palestinian people. Some of those resolutions have been adopted by the Security Council and by the General Assembly since 11 December 1948, when the resolution was adopted calling for the return of the displaced people of Palestine

(Prince Al-Saud, Saudi Arabia)

to their homeland, if they wished to return, or for compensation for those who did not wish to return. That resolution was followed by dozens adopted by this Organization on this matter; indeed, there are so many of them that it is unnecessary to cite them.

But, so long as the resolutions do not provide for penalties, Israel will continue to ignore them and even to declare its determination to challenge them. Israel has been encouraged in its excesses and in its disregard for United Nations resolutions by the failure of the Security Council, owing to the exercise of the veto, to adopt any resolution to deter Israel. Thus, any resolution condemning Israeli practices that is adopted by the General Assembly will find no positive response from or be heeded by Israel, which was brought into existence by this Organization. Indeed, Israel has even started attacking the United Nations itself and accusing it of bias.

The credibility of this Organization is likely to be shaken if it continues to confine itself to adopting resolutions and recommendations. The United Nations has done enough urging and condemning; yet a comprehensive and just settlement of this problem has not been achieved. We should therefore ask ourselves what choice is left to the United Nations except to move this consensus ahead from the level of condemnation to the level of concrete action to attain that settlement. This Organization has no choice but to regain its credibility and to affirm that credibility by giving a serious character to its resolutions, for they cannot be serious if they are not implemented.

The problems that our region is facing and the complications that appear on the ground there are in fact, and in the final analysis, only repercussions of the Zionist aggression against Palestine, and the actual result of the accumulation of developments in the Palestine problem. The wars and political and military

(Prince Al-Saud, Saudi Arabia)

conflicts through which the area has been living for the past 38 years are but one effect of the failure to solve the basic problem, and are a result of Israeli aggression in the area. The perpetuation of Israeli occupation of Arab territories is living proof of its designs for expansion, its flagrant defiance of United Nations resolutions and its constant disregard for world public opinion and every law and convention.

The painful circumstances and sad situations that Lebanon is suffering today are in reality but one of the serious complications of this problem.

From all that, it is clear and obvious that the establishment of peace in the Middle East requires the solution of the main problem, which is the problem of Palestine, by the recognition of the inalienable and legitimate right of the Palestinian people to self-determination on its territory and in its homeland. This requires the pursuit of firm and resolute steps in order to avoid the complications created by reluctance and hesitation, which hinder the efforts being exerted to achieve peace.

Israel's defiance and its continued attempts to hinder peace efforts in order to gain time to achieve its objectives and designs cannot but provide the opportunity for increased disturbances and cannot but lead to complications that will increase the difficulties of solving the problem, as well as multiply the factors leading to inflammation of and explosions in the area.

Thus, we call upon the big Powers, to which the Zionist entity owes the means of its existence and its continued viability, to refrain from giving the economic, political and military assistance enabling Israel to continue its aggressive policy in the Middle East, and to play a role that is in conformity with the principles of right and justice and the right of peoples to self-determination. Otherwise, they will lose their credibility and their effectiveness in influencing events in the

(Prince Al-Saud, Saudi Arabia)

Middle East. I need not reiterate the obvious fact that no solution will succeed if it does not include the principal and genuine party to the conflict.

On that basis, proposing any means or taking any step to solve the problem of Palestine requires that the Palestine Liberation Organization - the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people - should be one of the parties in the discussion and one of the participants in the dialogue. If peace is to be permanent, it must emanate from the area of the conflict and must be based on a justice through which the legitimate owners will recover their rights.

The Arab States have shouldered their historic responsibilities and have contributed everything within their capabilities for the purpose of establishing peace and stability in the region; they have defined their understanding of the peace process in the Fez resolutions, which reflect the Arab consensus on peace based on justice and international legitimacy and which conform to the international will represented by United Nations resolutions. But peace, according to the creed of our people, does not mean surrender and acceptance of the status quo, for we are a people that seeks justice and upholds rights, while rejecting oppression and refusing submission.

There is no alternative to Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories, because occupation is against all international laws and the principles and purposes of the United Nations as well as against peace and security in the area and in the world at large. It is called for as a primary step on the path to solving the basic problem, to the solution of which peace in the area is tied. The overall perspective, - which is the necessary approach - requires a clear insight into the problem and into the elements of a solution.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, together with the great majority of the world community, demands withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories and considers Al-Quds-Al-Sharif foremost among those territories.

(Prince Al-Saud, Saudi Arabia)

It is regrettable that the use of force has regained a position of prominence in modern international relations.

What is taking place in Afghanistan is a serious indication of what would happen in the world, and the third world in particular, should this trend continue without a firm stand being taken by the world community.

(Prince Al-Saud, Saudi Arabia)

Otherwise, who will defend the peoples of the third world against direct occupation like that experienced by the sister State of Afghanistan? The Soviet presence in Afghanistan has entered its sixth year, and the Afghan mujahideen continue to wage a valiant war, defending their religion, their country and their rights. The Organization of the Islamic Conference has made intensive efforts to help eliminate the oppression and occupation to which the people of Afghanistan have been subjected, so that the wishes of that people may be met and its rights of freedom and independence realized. The United Nations too has made worthy efforts to find a solution to this problem.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, while it supports all these efforts, would like to draw attention to the fact that any efforts exerted in this context should take into consideration the rights and demands of the Afghan mujahideen. Just as it salutes the mujahideen, Saudi Arabia fully supports the demands of the Afghan people for the withdrawal of foreign troops from their land and for the establishment of a government of their choice that will maintain their neutrality and preserve their religion.

The war between Iraq and Iran, which we are following with deep concern and sorrow, has added a new dimension to the tense situation in the Middle East region, quite apart from the bloodshed, destruction and ruin it has brought about in two brotherly nations which are bound to each other, and to us, by the closest of links and the strongest of ties. The Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Co-operation Council of the Arab Gulf States, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and this international Organization have called for and worked towards an end to this bloody tragedy. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has supported and participated in all these efforts. If any positive stand has been taken so far, it is, fortunately, that manifested by what Iraq has shown of a total readiness to forget the past and solve its problems with Iran by peaceful means.

(Prince Al-Saud, Saudi Arabia)

It is high time that Iran responded to Iraq's positive stand by taking a similar position. It is high time that the fighters on both sides laid down their weapons, stopped the bloodshed and turned to reason and wisdom rather than war and destruction, and directed all their efforts to construction rather than destruction, progress rather than regression, and building rather than demolition.

Among the positive achievements of which we are proud in the context of political development in our area is the establishment of the Co-operation Council of Arab Gulf States. This is a model of what regional co-operation should be, and a pillar for strengthening the League of Arab States. Moreover, the Co-operation Council conforms with the principles of the United Nations and the Non-Aligned Movement and is a positive factor for stability in the region.

The policies and conditions imposed by South Africa in Namibia and in South Africa itself are yet another example of the use of force, terror and discrimination to subjugate peoples and to overcome their will. Recent events in South Africa draw attention to the gravity of what is taking place there. The situation will become increasingly explosive as long as the racist régime continues its violence through its system of discrimination and apartheid, a system which is doomed to inevitable failure.

In this context, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia reaffirms its total support for the people of Namibia in its struggle for self-determination and independence and its support for all steps taken by the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity aimed at putting an end to racist practices and foreign occupation.

Experience in the United Nations over the past 40 years has proven the need to reform the world economic order and the importance of urgently implementing the decisions taken at the sixth and seventh second special sessions of the General Assembly, devoted respectively to the new international economic order and to international economic co-operation for development. It has also demonstrated the

(Prince Al-Saud, Saudi Arabia)

viability of starting a new round of comprehensive global economic negotiations aimed at achieving that goal. That experience has shown too the futility of excessive claims and extreme positions and the necessity of reaching a reasonable compromise between wide-ranging aspirations and limited possibilities.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has endeavoured to make a positive contribution to the work of this Organization and has always called for co-operation and the avoidance of confrontation in international economic relations. It has attempted through its contacts with the industrialized countries to enhance interest in the problems of development and developing countries while at the same time urging developing countries to articulate their demands in a spirit of realism and rationality. From this rostrum I wish to call upon the international community to address the issue of international economic co-operation and the establishment of an international economic order in a spirit of positivism and realism, respecting the legitimate interests of all Member States and giving the development dimension its due place in international economic relations, while not infringing upon the authority of the international specialized agencies which, while they have been unable to meet the full aspirations of the international community, have proved beyond any doubt their ability and effectiveness, within the limited means permitted by their resources and mandates, in addressing the difficulties faced by that community.

The economic situation in a great number of developing countries, especially on the African continent, is a very serious situation that urgently requires commensurate concern on our part. The suffering and pain of the African peoples has reached dimensions of which mankind should be ashamed. I am sure that, God willing, our Organization will not disappoint the hopes of those peoples and will seek to address the situation in Africa with the extreme concern and urgency it demands.

(Prince Al-Saud, Saudi Arabia)

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia recognizes the seriousness of the economic conditions in Africa and, within the framework of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, has for some time been taking the initiative to assist the African countries which have been suffering from drought. We have contributed \$100 million to the programme approved by that organization, part of which sum was earmarked for immediate emergency assistance and the larger part of which will be allocated to well drilling and water supply projects.

Recently the Kingdom increased its contribution to this programme by an additional sum of \$30 million. It has also responded to the call of the World Bank and has supported the Bank's special programme to assist African countries suffering from drought with a contribution of \$100 million from the Saudi Development Fund. At the same time, it recognizes the importance of continued public participation in alleviating the pain of the African people suffering from drought and has formed popular committees in various parts of the Kingdom to collect contributions in cash and in kind for the benefit of the drought victims.

The African summit conference has considered the serious economic conditions prevailing on the African continent, and has adopted resolutions and recommendations which are being presented to the General Assembly at its present session. I should like to express the support of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia for the efforts of the African leaders and for their desire to see their resolutions and recommendations considered with seriousness, care and concern in keeping with the magnitude of the problems from which Africa is suffering. I should like also to note the responsibility that falls on the shoulders of the United Nations in mobilizing international efforts in this respect.

(Prince Al-Saud, Saudi Arabia)

The concern of the world community for the problems of the African continent reflects an urgent duty which should be accorded the attention it deserves, but at the same time this should not divert attention from the suffering of a great number of the other least developed countries or from their need for increased assistance in their economic and social development efforts. I wish to declare from this rostrum our continued support for the programmes of the United Nations that are concerned with the least developed of the developing countries.

The grave economic conditions in many parts of the world - which are characterized by widespread unemployment, a decline in world trading conditions, an increasing trend towards economic protectionism and turbulent monetary and financial conditions in many countries, which threaten the international monetary system at its very core - require stronger economic co-operation and renewed confidence in the international economic system and its institutions. I hope that this session will provide the political will and a favourable climate and conditions for the beginning of a new page in the history of our Organization and for working in unison in the service of the human objectives for which the United Nations was established.

(Prince Al-Saud, Saudi Arabia)

The passage of 40 years since the creation of the United Nations is an important occasion requiring us to think urgently about serious and responsible action to fulfil the commitment to the basic principles of our Organization and enhance its noble goals. It is a timely opportunity for all members of the international community to join together in building a world based on goodwill and adherence to principles and morals rather than opting for the use of force and oppression, so that the policies of conflict and war will disappear and peace will prevail thereby solving disputes amicably and conducting relations in a constructive and useful manner. This would lead to harnessing the world's human and material potential to enhance the life of man rather than its being wasted on the arms race and on instruments of death and destruction; and justice would then prevail and relations between States could be based on equality, brotherhood and co-operation. As God Almighty in the Holy Koran instructs us:

"Help ye one another

In righteousness and piety,

But help ye not one another

In sin and rancour;

Fear God; for God

Is strict in punishment."

Mr. del VALLE (Chile) (interpretation from Spanish): On behalf of the Chilean delegation I wish first of all to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of this session of the General Assembly. We are delighted that such an important post should have been entrusted to a diplomat of your vast experience, a person who has faithfully dedicated so many years to the United Nations and who, from a sentimental standpoint, has been closely linked to my country.

(Mr. del Valle, Chile)

It is also fitting to pay a tribute to Ambassador Paul Lusaka, who performed his duties as President of the Assembly at its thirty-ninth session with brilliance, talent and impartiality.

We are likewise indebted to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his tireless efforts to revitalize the Organization and make its presence more effective in all fields of human endeavour, as well as for his special dedication to the cause of peace. We reiterate before the Assembly our firm support of his conduct of United Nations affairs.

Forty years ago the founders of this Organization expressed their unswerving intention to create an integrated international community in which sovereign States could face the present and conceive the future, all united by the essential bond of solidarity.

The tragedy of the Second World War, which in a single generation had subjected humanity to untold suffering and death, had been left behind. Our peoples had manifested their weariness and scepticism as a result of the unsuccessful attempt to maintain peace through power politics and balances based on fragile and ephemeral alliances and counter-alliances.

An international community organized multilaterally appeared to be a suitable response to the aspirations to peace, progress and solidarity: the United Nations, through its mechanisms for security and co-operation, and together with the establishment of an international order based on the majesty of the law, would make of these aspirations a reality. Furthermore, in San Francisco the representatives of our Governments established principles outlawing the use of force and promoting the peaceful settlement of international disputes. On the economic front, the free flow of products, capital and services was emphasized in order to replace extreme economic nationalism.

(Mr. del Valle, Chile)

In its 40 years of existence the Organization has made important contributions and, despite its limitations, we must recognize the fact that it has carried out an essential function. Its universal character assures at all times a channel for communication and dialogue. In periods of crisis it has been able to reduce tensions and the peace-making action of its relevant bodies has proved to be relatively effective on various occasions.

In fact, the United Nations has demonstrated that, if intentions regarding common and higher objectives can be reconciled, it is capable of broadening the frontiers of the human condition. That is the case with regard to decolonization. Our Organization has been the key factor in the process of peaceful transfer of power from the metropolitan centres to the peoples that have recently gained their sovereignty, thereby achieving the full application of the principle of self-determination for peoples. This development takes on added importance as we celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV).

As a member of the Committee on decolonization, my country is committed to these processes of national emancipation, which evoke the glory of our own independence that gave us, and the other Republics of the Western hemisphere, our nationality more than a century and a half ago. We shall continue to co-operate actively with the United Nations in support of this noble cause, just as we have done traditionally in the past.

Through the United Nations system, international co-operation has acquired a dimension and scope unknown at any previous time. Perhaps this is one of the most notable achievements of international coexistence.

The specialized agencies and the subsidiary organs have traditionally been faithful exponents of the ideals that gave rise to their creation. Their effectiveness largely depends on their not diluting their functions towards areas outside of their fields of competence. The interest of certain States in

(Mr. del Valle, Chile)

introducing political problems into these bodies is of particular concern to my Government. We reject these tendencies because we are convinced that the role of international organizations is to eliminate or reduce conflicts and in no way to create, exacerbate or generalize them.

The United Nations can be considered as the most celebrated landmark in the history of the struggle to base international relations on the rule of law. The Charter of the Organization is the focal point, since it has laid down the bases for a true international juridical order.

(Mr. del Valle, Chile)

In the field of the progressive development and codification of international law, the Charter makes these tasks a political aim, and Member States are committed to co-operation in carrying them out. The work of the United Nations in this regard has been notable and productive.

It is of particular interest and satisfaction to my country, which has traditionally based its foreign policy on international law, to support and participate actively in the work of the Organization. We are convinced that there are no reasonable alternatives to the creation of what we could term a genuine and effective legal and international community.

Another principle of the Charter incorporated into the core of Chile's foreign policy is full support for the use of peaceful means for settling international disputes. Chile and Argentina have recently given a new demonstration of the validity of this principle and of the unlimited possibilities for reaching an understanding through peaceful means when the law and the will to negotiate are present. In this endeavour in the cause of peace, the mediating efforts of His Holiness Pope John Paul II were a determining factor. His concern made possible the signing of a Treaty of Peace and Friendship that put an end to a complex and delicate situation. Once overcome, a constructive and integrating stage of great historical implication for these two sister nations became possible.

Throughout seven long years, Chile and Argentina were involved in a serious, profound and transcendental process of negotiation, aimed at bringing an end to a historic controversy. Government officials, technicians, diplomats and jurists of both countries joined forces and talents to overcome difficulties and seek formulas making possible the aforementioned settlement, a process culminating in ratification of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship.

This accord includes four essential elements: solution of the dispute; renunciation of the use of force; a mechanism for compulsory arbitration to solve

(Mr. del Valle, Chile)

any controversy that might arise in the future, and an instrument of co-operation aimed at promoting broader integration between the two countries. The negotiation effort was, therefore, undertaken not only to overcome past problems but also to lay the foundations for building the future together.

That is why the people of Chile take legitimate pride in the fact that these two South American nations have set an example to the world.

This action by Chile and Argentina, designed to consolidate the peace, represents a sound pattern for giving effect to the principles of the Charter, in sharp contrast with the realities of a world full of violence and unsolved conflicts. It is also in sharp contrast with the paralysis which prevents the Security Council from making the contribution to peace which is incumbent upon it. It is similarly in contrast with the impotence with which the international community views the existence of conflicts that become worse and tend to spread.

The realization of the objectives confirmed by the Charter must be effected with complete respect for the principles of the sovereign equality of States and non-intervention in their internal affairs. The history of the first 40 years of the Organization demonstrates that, to the extent that it maintains in its acts due harmony between its goals and these two fundamental principles, the work of the United Nations has been effective and productive for all peoples. When the balance is disrupted the mechanisms of the Organization become, at best, innocuous or turn into a mere scenario for the exacerbation of conflicts and rhetorical outbursts.

The vocation of universality of the United Nations has not weakened the basic idea that the sovereign State continues to be the basic unit of the international community. For that reason, every time the principle of sovereign equality is violated through discriminatory actions, a blow is delivered to one of the premises which enables the Organization to be effective.

Similarly, whenever the United Nations intervenes in the internal affairs of

(Mr. del Valle, Chile)

States, the Charter is being violated and the Organization loses its power of persuasion and the moral authority for achieving its objectives. In fact, the principle of non-intervention and its confirmation as a rule of international law have been regarded as a primordial objective of their international policy by the countries of the Latin American region. My country, which gives a special meaning to this principle, believes it is opportune at the present moment to recall the historic "Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-Operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations (resolution 2625 (XXV)). Among other provisions, it emphasizes that strict compliance by all States with the obligation not to intervene in the affairs of others is an essential condition for assuring peaceful coexistence among nations.

Complete respect for the sovereign attributes of a State constitutes a guarantee, especially for the small or medium-sized nations which, including Chile, represent the great majority of the Members of the Organization. They wish to develop their own political, economic, social and cultural plans with full autonomy and free from threats of foreign interference.

Chile, which in recent years has lived through difficult hours while seeking to consolidate the freedom which was almost completely lost in the political process of 1970 to 1973, has often suffered from blatant interference in its internal affairs. Countries which are unaware of the real situation have always been disposed to take a negative view of our actions. We have also been victims of one of the most subtle forms of interference, namely, the campaign of disinformation which was mounted politically on an international scale, aimed at distorting our image in the eyes of world public opinion.

While acknowledging the accomplishments of the United Nations system in the maintenance of security, the promotion of co-operation, the codification and progressive development of international law, it is also necessary to refer to the

(Mr. del Valle, Chile)

serious problems and obstacles which face our Organization. The fact that we are today attending the fortieth session of the General Assembly makes it even more timely to reflect on the way in which the Organization and its Members have responded to the challenge of history and to the expectations and desires which our predecessors sowed in San Francisco. We observe with consternation that despite the clear and mandatory rules contained in the Charter, the policies of force, aggression and ideological imperialism continue to exist. For its part, the collective security system provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter has not been effective because of the lack of co-operation among the permanent members of the Security Council. That co-operation, a necessary condition for effective action in cases of a breach of the peace, did not succeed in surviving the emergency created by the Second World War. It seems that the international community forgot the lessons of history as soon as the forces of aggression were defeated and before the reconstruction of a devastated world occurred.

(Mr. del Valle, Chile)

Disillusionment with the way the United Nations system has operated since then in maintaining international peace and security has induced many to seek security in the old notions of power politics and increases in armaments. They ignore the fact that such a strategy is futile and illusory, since the unilateral search for security only generates feelings of insecurity in others, thus creating incentives for changing the status quo in the vain hope of achieving the much-desired feeling of security.

My Government is convinced that the challenge of today requires us to strengthen our common action through renewed support for the purposes and principles of the Charter.

In the area of promoting international co-operation we observe that the forms of action accepted as effective and necessary yesterday are today going through a critical period. There is no political will to give a new impetus to co-operation and to deal with the grave problems now confronting us.

This session of the Assembly is taking place at a time of acute international economic crisis that is affecting most countries, and above all the developing countries. Those countries see their prospects of progress fading alarmingly, and they are finding themselves exposed to political upheavals and to economic and social conflicts with unpredictable consequences.

Recovery appears uncertain and fragile, both in pace and distribution, reaching only a small number of nations without reflecting itself significantly in most of the countries.

The outlook is most disturbing. Interest rates remain high, and financial flows to the developing countries are still inadequate. The servicing of foreign debt has become an excessive burden and goes hand in hand with a dramatic deterioration in the terms of trade. More serious, however, is the enormous

(Mr. del Valle, Chile)

discrepancy in the process of adjustment in the world economy: while a far-reaching adjustment, with very high social costs, is being imposed on us as developing countries, other countries with a decisive influence on the international economy have been limiting the inevitable transformation of their own economies by increasingly resorting to protectionism.

International co-operation and obligations and commitments we have undertaken require that all of us, and particularly the developed countries, must take the external effects of our internal economic policies into account.

Chile has made great sacrifices, as have most Latin American countries, in order to adapt its economy to steadily worsening external conditions. The coherent macroeconomic programme we have undertaken to correct the situation provides for a properly adjusted balance of payments and a gradually declining rate of inflation. This national development strategy encourages domestic savings and gives priority to stimulating employment. The main motive force remains the promotion of exports as the source of funds. However, this aim will be unattainable if market access for our products is not improved and stabilized.

There is an urgent need for a comprehensive analysis of the external debt problem of the developing countries based on the existing relationship between trade and financing in order to align the presumed objectives of the monetary and international trade system with the existing political and economic realities.

It has been clearly demonstrated in recent years that none of the debtor countries will be able simultaneously to pay its foreign debts, spur economic growth and maintain the political and social balance in its own society.

When the mere payment of interest forces a country to apply for further loans, a historically unique and politically untenable stage has been reached where the debtor developing countries become net exports of capital to the industrialized countries, as has been the case for some years.

(Mr. del Valle, Chile)

We recognize that annual negotiations have considerably relieved the problem and that their conditions have improved over the years. However, the enormous burden of a constant adjustment, supported exclusively by the developing countries, in conjunction with an obvious deterioration in the world economic situation, makes it clear that that cannot be regarded as the only way of handling this problem.

Responsibility for the debt is shared by the debtor countries, the creditor countries, the international financial institutions and private banks. As already stated, thus far the sacrifice involved in confronting the crisis has fallen exclusively upon the developing countries, together with all the ensuing unemployment, poverty and suffering.

There will be no solution to this situation unless all the actors in the drama assume their share of responsibility. This has been the basis for the statements that the countries participating in the Cartagena Consensus have been making. The Consensus calls urgently for a political dialogue to solve the problem of the foreign indebtedness of the developing countries, in terms not only in its immediate aspects but also of its projections for the future of international economic relations.

Each day the world becomes less safe. In addition to the constant acts of terrorism that oppress us with their widespread harvest of irrational violence and death, there are international situations of conflict that seem to take on a permanent form, testifying to the lack of willingness to seek peaceful solutions that will ensure the rule of law.

We are concerned and distressed by the endless dismembering of Lebanon, a nation to which we are joined by ties of friendship, and a country that was once an outstanding example of prosperity in the region. We await with concern and impatience the restoration of the forms traditional coexistence in that country,

(Mr. del Valle, Chile)

based on the essential conditions of respect for its territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence.

The bonds of friendship that link us to the nations of the Middle East go back a long way. Many sons of those lands have settled in our country. Consequently we look forward with particular anxiety and concern to the achievement of a just and peaceful solution to the problem posed by this long-standing centre of international tension. We trust there will be increasing acceptance of the possibility of peaceful coexistence and collaboration among the States of the region.

Chile continues to maintain that it is essential to ensure, in accordance with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), the right of all the States of the region, including Israel, to live within secure and internationally recognized boundaries, and that that country withdraw from all the occupied territories. It is also essential to ensure the exercise of the right of the Palestine people to self-determination, including the right to found their own State.

My Government wishes again to join ranks with the great majority of States that categorically condemn and reject the Soviet invasions of Afghanistan and of Kampuchea, the latter in association with its vassal régime in Viet Nam. We indignantly denounce the veritable genocide being committed daily against the patriots of those oppressed countries who are fighting for their inalienable right to self-determination. The intransigence of the Soviet Union, which does not hesitate to use military force if that suits its imperial interests, constitutes an act of direct defiance of the international community and is an affront to our Organization, which has demanded the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the aggressors.

(Mr. del Valle, Chile)

By acting as a sponsor of the draft resolutions this Assembly will be considering on these situations, my country joins the international community's condemnation of the brutal repression of the fundamental rights of those peoples. Chile energetically opposes the idea that such acts should be accepted as irreversible, since they are backed by the illegitimate use of force. Aggression confers no rights.

(Mr. del Valle, Chile)

With regard to the situation in Korea, we support the inter-Korean negotiations as the only realistic, peaceful formula, free from outside interference, for harmoniously resolving a situation which has been dragging on for so many years. My country, in keeping with its traditional defence of the principle of universality of this Organization, takes the view that the presence of both Koreas in the United Nations would contribute to a rapprochement of the parties and a negotiated solution of the dispute.

As an active member of the decolonization Committee and of the United Nations Council for Namibia since they were first set up, Chile shares the growing international concern over South Africa's unwillingness to grant the Namibian people their right to independence by peaceful means and in conformity with Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

We note with concern that the continuation of the practice of apartheid, repeatedly condemned by the entire international community, could lead the region of southern Africa to a serious confrontation, creating a new focal point of international tension. There is still time for a peaceful and negotiated way out of this critical situation which otherwise could become unmanageable.

Because they involve sister nations with which Chile is proud to have enjoyed a long-standing relationship, we are deeply disturbed by the slow pace of the negotiations for establishing peace in Central America.

We maintain our support for the Contadora Group's efforts to find a peaceful solution to the Central American crisis, in order to give full effect to the relevant principles of international law, as well as to the values of freedom and human dignity desired by the republics of our continent.

We are most distressed to note once again the absence of progress in disarmament and the consequent increase in the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race. The serious difficulties facing the multilateral negotiations and the

(Mr. del Valle, Chile)

dialogue between the two great Powers are obvious, as well as the lack of effectiveness of the legal instruments we possess to discourage this growing threat to our peoples.

The nuclear danger, undoubtedly the most serious threat, and the increase in military expenditure, which seems to extend throughout the world, present us with a gloomy picture, contrasting dramatically as they do with the poverty, hunger and despair afflicting millions of human beings.

Chile, in keeping with its traditional position, is prepared to support international efforts aimed at the achievement of general and complete disarmament, under effective international control and verification.

My country has throughout its history urged and supported regional initiatives leading to arms control and the reduction of military budgets. In 1902 we signed an agreement with the Argentine Republic whereby both countries committed themselves to limiting their armaments and seeking a balance between their respective navies.

Later, in 1959, the President of Chile, Mr. Jorge Alessandri, proposed a limitation on arms in Latin America, as the General Assembly was duly informed, designed to release funds to be used for the economic and social development of the region. The Organization of American States (OAS) took note of the Chilean concern and proposed the holding of a specialized conference on the subject. Unfortunately, this did not take place. In 1977, we proposed to the Andean countries that they reduce their military budgets, and two meetings were held to consider the proposal.

A few weeks ago the President of Chile, Mr. Augusto Pinochet, gave a clear demonstration of the peace-loving spirit of my country, when he responded to the call of the President of Peru, Mr. Alan Garcia, calling on the South American

(Mr. del Valle, Chile)

nations to abstain from acquiring more weapons. In his reply, the Chilean Head of State indicated his willingness to support the proposal on the basis of regional reciprocity and to have those resources allocated to the material development of our continent.

We trust that this noble proposal will materialize for we are committed to collaborating firmly on this initiative.

One of the most important instruments, and certainly the most successful in this field of disarmament, has been the Antarctic Treaty signed in 1959. The system, created by this international instrument, has established a régime of peace and demilitarization on an entire continent. Military deployment and the introduction of armaments, conventional or nuclear, are prohibited. For the first and only time in the history of disarmament agreements, an effective on-site inspection system was instituted and the dumping of nuclear waste was forbidden.

The benefits of the Antarctic Treaty are not limited, however, to the sphere of disarmament. In reality, it deals with an integral system of broad international co-operation for exclusively peaceful purposes, open to the participation of any interested State. It stands as an example for all nations.

Chile, a country which enjoys and exercises sovereign rights in the Antarctic and linked to it by unquestionable historical and juridical bonds, as well as geographic continuity and a long-standing presence, fully supports the operation of the Antarctic Treaty, which adequately guarantees the interests of all countries, and upholds the maintenance of consensus within our Organization for dealing with the subject.

The international community notes with growing concern an increase in terrorist actions in various parts of the world. It notes with anxiety that in many instances these crimes against mankind remain unpunished because of the protection those responsible find in some States.

(Mr. del Valle, Chile)

The urgent task today is to make a serious effort to discourage this criminal activity which affects innocent human lives and can jeopardize the normal development of relations of friendship and co-operation among peoples.

My country supports efforts to find a global solution for this social evil through the drafting of clear legal rules banning terrorist acts anywhere they occur and curbing those who are involved in any way. We must commit ourselves as States to providing international guarantees for the safety of individuals and their possessions.

Based on a wide and general political consensus, terrorism must be repudiated in all its forms, regardless of its motives. Such behaviour must be treated as a crime against mankind so that justice will not be obstructed for any reason.

Chile's foreign policy gives high priority to our ties with the Pacific Basin and seeks to develop broad and reciprocally beneficial means to co-operate with the coastal and insular States of the Basin. We hope that as a result of these efforts we can create new forms of integration which will encourage greater interchange of all kinds.

We also share with these nations a deep concern with regard to the continued French nuclear explosions taking place at the Muroroa Atoll. The Permanent Commission of the South Pacific, to which we belong together with Peru, Ecuador and Colombia, has repeatedly expressed its condemnation of and protest against these nuclear tests which pose a grave danger to people, to the environment and to natural resources.

(Mr. del Valle, Chile)

With regard to the present state of the exploration of outer space and related research, Chile encourages the development of space law, scientific co-operation and the basic idea that all activity in that sphere must always be carried out for peaceful purposes of benefit to mankind. In this regard we reiterate our initiative to create regional mechanisms in Latin America.

Chile has a long history of active participation in the formulation of the contemporary law of the sea, and its contribution to this subject has been relevant and forward-looking.

In this context I believe it is necessary to call special attention to the recent decision of the Chilean Government, which, supported by the norms of the new law of the sea, recently proclaimed national sovereignty and jurisdiction over the sea-bed around the islands of Pascua, Sala and Gomez in the Central Pacific Ocean for a distance of 350 miles.

In my capacity as Special Envoy to the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, I have the honour to transmit the following special message from the President of Chile, His Excellency Augusto Pinochet Ugarte:

"On this historic occasion, Chile wishes to reiterate the commitment made in 1945 as a signatory country to the Charter of San Francisco, reaffirm its confidence in the principles and objectives of the Organization, and ratify its willingness to collaborate with States prepared to make a reality of the theme 'The United Nations for a better world'.

"During the past four decades the Organization has left its mark on the action taken by its peoples to realize the objectives of peace, security, freedom, justice and development that inspired the founders of the Organization.

(Mr. del Valle, Chile)

"However, despite the efforts made and the successes registered, there is still much to be done to make the principles of the Charter a reality.

"We live in a world distressed by violence and terrorism, which, encouraged and directed by very well defined interests and ideological centres of power, cause death, suffering and chaos in the most varied latitudes.

"Fairness is absent from international economic relations, and the developing countries do not encounter the understanding necessary for the mobilizing of their resources and the benefiting of their peoples through the efforts they have made.

"The Chilean Government has observed with concern the persistent violations of the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States. This principle, the basis of international coexistence, is ignored not only in the unilateral actions of some States, but also, and this is even more serious, in the headquarters of some international organizations.

"In an Organization of sovereign States, in which decisions are applied through conviction rather than coercion, the political willingness of States to apply the mechanisms of the Charter and make its principles operational is essential.

"We have noted a crisis in the collective political will. The goal of understanding is absent. Conflict predominates over consensus, and unilateral decisions prevail to the detriment of co-operation.

"The Chilean Government expresses its fervent desire that this anniversary represent the beginning of a new era in the life of the Organization in which the international community will witness realization of its desires for peace, prosperity and development, the values that constitute the basis of the San Francisco Charter.

(Mr. del Valle, Chile)

"Chile's foreign policy has always been inspired by the principles of the Charter, and my Government, on this solemn occasion, reiterates its permanent commitment to them and to their strengthening."

Mr. VARKONYI (Hungary): Allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the United Nations General Assembly at its fortieth session. In wishing you every success in your honoured and responsible post, I should like to assure you of the Hungarian delegation's active co-operation in the performance of your duties.

May I take this opportunity to express our sincere appreciation to your predecessor, Ambassador Lusaka of Zambia, for his highly competent guidance of our work at the preceding session of the General Assembly.*

In the year 1985 several anniversaries of historic significance are taking place. The world-wide celebrations over the past months have recalled the fact that the years of the Second World War witnessed the forging of broad international co-operation in the struggle for the defence of human civilization and democratic ideas against the common enemy, fascism. The victory of the anti-Fascist coalition is good testimony to the possibility of rising above the differences in ideologies and political endeavours among those fighting for common goals. It was in that spirit that 40 years ago the United Nations was born to promote the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security.

The terrible trials of the Second World War will always be present in the mind of mankind. Everyone of common sense will, however, realize that the appalling devastation of that war would pale by comparison to the horrors that a world

* Mr. Shah Nawaz (Pakistan), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Varkonyi, Hungary)

conflagration in our age, a nuclear exchange, would bring upon the peoples, threatening the inhabitants of our globe with total annihilation. The most important lesson to be drawn from the events of four decades ago is still valid: co-operation between, and joint action by, countries with different social systems is not only necessary but also possible when mankind is in peril. In the world of today, fraught as it is with grave dangers, the common goal must be to avert a thermonuclear catastrophe and, to that end, to conduct a dialogue between States, settling controversial issues by way of negotiations and developing co-operation based on mutual interests.

We are convinced that the cause of the development of Soviet-American relations has a determinant role in maintaining peace in the world. We feel that this year has in addition to long-standing serious problems also seen certain developments that may give cause for hope. The summit meeting of the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States scheduled to take place soon may contribute to the improvement of relations between the two countries and to the relaxation of international tension. We, for our part, welcome that meeting, just as we do the Soviet-American talks at Geneva, where it is possible and also necessary to make progress in the limitation of strategic weapons, keeping in mind - in accordance with the agreement of the parties - the close relationship between space weapons and strategic and medium-range nuclear weapons. We think this calls for substantive measures to prevent the militarization of outer space.

We support the efforts of the Soviet Union to reach agreement and welcome its highly important moves such as the unilateral suspension of the deployment of medium-range missiles and the halting of counter-measures, as well as the moratorium on nuclear explosions for a definite period. Those moves serve to create the more favourable atmosphere necessary for an agreement.

(Mr. Varkonyi, Hungary)

We think that international security would be greatly enhanced by a similar response by the United States to the Soviet initiatives. Many opportunities have already been missed for building mutual confidence and for meaningful progress in solving pressing problems; this new opportunity should not be allowed to slip away.

The Hungarian People's Republic considers that the fundamental goal of its foreign policy is to create favourable international conditions for peaceful national construction. Guided by this spirit, we feel duty-bound to make a contribution, commensurate with our means, to strengthening international security and promoting co-operation in good faith between States.

As a member of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, Hungary takes an active part in the elaboration of proposals seeking to lessen international tension, curb the arms race and reduce the level of military confrontation. We attach particular importance to those endeavours because we believe that the process of détente cannot become definitively irreversible unless it is extended to the military field. The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty based themselves on that premise in their appeal addressed to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) countries in May 1984 in which they proposed the conclusion of a treaty on the mutual renunciation of the use of armed force and on the maintenance of peaceful relations.

With a view to safeguarding peace and further guaranteeing the security of their respective countries, the Warsaw Treaty States prolonged the validity of the Treaty last April. On that occasion we reaffirmed that we upheld our proposal concerning the simultaneous dismantling of the two military-political alliances, the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO, and that we were ready to start substantive negotiations on the subject. We also clearly expressed the intention of our alliance to launch initiatives on removing the danger of a nuclear

(Mr. Varkonyi, Hungary)

catastrophe and preserving détente. An early constructive response by the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance to our initiatives would have a beneficial effect.

In our international endeavours we, as a European nation, devote special attention to questions relating to peace on the continent and co-operation between its countries. The meeting of Foreign Ministers held in Helsinki to mark the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe was another manifestation of the significance of the all-European process and its relevance in international politics.

We maintain that the most effective way of protecting the results of détente and strengthening European co-operation lies in the balanced implementation by all the participating States of the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. The activities carried out by my Government in the spirit of Helsinki during the past 10 years and the development of its relations with all participating States are proof that small countries like Hungary can make a useful contribution to efforts to maintain peace and strengthen security and confidence.

We consider the Stockholm Conference to be an important forum which may have a major role to play in strengthening confidence between States and lowering the level of danger of military confrontation in Europe. We believe that agreement in that forum is possible even in the current complex international situation. In order to achieve it, all participating States must make further significant efforts and summon up the necessary political will.

Cultural co-operation, which creates a link between peoples and countries, occupies an important place in the process of European security and co-operation. We consider it a privilege to host in Budapest the European Cultural Forum scheduled to begin this month. The Forum will be discussing questions of creative activity, the dissemination of cultural values and cultural co-operation. For our

(Mr. Varkonyi, Hungary)

part, we shall make every effort to see that the Forum contributes to strengthening the Helsinki process and improving the general political atmosphere.

During its four decades of activity our world Organization has devoted great attention to timely disarmament issues, elaborated numerous positions of fundamental importance and adopted resolutions to implement them.

But, despite disarmament efforts made in the United Nations and in other forums, the arms race continues, and with increasing intensity. Following the development of new generations of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, the extension of the arms race to outer space emerges as a real danger. We are convinced that there is a real chance, even in the current situation, to curb the arms race and bring about a radical change in the course of events. A reliable path towards the achievement of that goal is the establishment of relations between countries with different social systems on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence and the elaboration and adoption of agreements based on the principles of equality and equal security, with a view to stopping the arms race, particularly the nuclear-arms race, and to avert the threat of a thermonuclear war.

We welcome and support the highly important proposals submitted by the Soviet Union to the General Assembly at its present session concerning the development of broad international co-operation in preventing the militarization of outer space and promoting its peaceful, non-military uses.

The organization called International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War held its fifth Congress in Budapest last summer. The basic theme of the Congress, which was attended by delegates from nearly all parts of the world, was to stress that co-operation, not confrontation, is imperative in a nuclear age. We fully agree with the assertion in the organization's appeal to the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States that

(Mr. Varkonyi, Hungary)

"indeed, there is now a new international consensus - that the only rational response to the threat of nuclear war is to work for its prevention".

The community of socialist countries, including the Hungarian People's Republic, has presented a whole range of concrete proposals in pursuit of that goal. In that context, we deem it of particular importance that every nuclear Power that has not yet done so undertake not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Such a commitment could be instrumental in bringing about an international atmosphere that would offer a more realistic possibility of halting and reversing the nuclear-arms race.

We think that, in addition to bilateral talks, the Geneva Conference on Disarmament, a multilateral forum established to elaborate disarmament accords, also has an essential role to play in this field. Concrete proposals for the elaboration of measures to prevent a nuclear war, as well as for the general and complete prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests, have long been on the table at that Conference. It is to be noted with regret that the negative tendencies generated by the attitude of extremist circles have in fact doomed that important disarmament forum to inaction and lack of success.

In connection with nuclear disarmament, my Government attaches great significance to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, which it was among the first to sign and ratify. The experience of the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, held recently, has confirmed us in our belief that there is a possibility of preventing the further spread of nuclear weapons and the common will to do so. Progress in arms control and disarmament on the European continent, with its stockpiles of destructive weapons, would be of paramount significance for the whole world. We welcome any positive effort aimed at the removal of weapons from that continent.

(Mr. Varkonyi, Hungary)

We support the proposal of Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic for the creation of a zone free of chemical weapons in Europe, a proposal which could make an effective contribution to the elimination of this particularly inhuman type of weapon.

The past year has seen no improvement of the situation in local and regional hotbeds of crisis. Under the prevailing unfavourable international conditions, there are also no signs of actual progress in their settlement.

With the continuing Israeli occupation of territories of several Arab countries, the denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, the lack of any solution to the problem of Lebanon and the long-drawn-out Iraqi-Iranian war, the Middle East continues to be a most explosive region of the world, one that is fraught with the gravest danger of conflict. That situation poses a threat not only to the peoples living in the region but also to the cause of universal peace. My Government deems it necessary therefore for both the countries of the region and the international forums, primarily the United Nations, to undertake the necessary efforts to find a negotiated solution to these conflicts.

We favour a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Middle East crisis and the related question of Palestine that will ensure the legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arab people, including the exercise of its right to establish a State of its own, as well as all the conditions and guarantees necessary for all States of the region to live in peace and security within internationally recognized borders. For a comprehensive settlement of the problems in the region it is necessary to convene an international conference with the participation of all the parties concerned.

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic follows with great attention the developments in the Latin American continent and is sympathetic to the constructive efforts being made to solve the political and economic problems of

(Mr. Varkonyi, Hungary)

the region. We regret that tension is being further exacerbated in Central America and in the Caribbean region, and actions threatening the sovereignty of Cuba and Nicaragua have multiplied and intensified over the past few years. My Government is increasingly concerned at such developments, which endanger the independence and the peaceful constructive efforts of the peoples of the region. It therefore lends its support to all efforts towards the solution of the problems by peaceful, political means, including, in the first place, the internationally commendable proposals made by the countries of the Contadora Group. It is appreciative of the participation of more Latin American countries in the quest for a negotiated solution to help eliminate tension.

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic continues to favour the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and respects its non-aligned status. It supports the efforts of the Secretary-General to secure a peaceful, negotiated settlement of the question of Cyprus in the spirit of the relevant United Nations resolutions with due regard for the interests of both ethnic communities.

South-East Asia continues to be a sensitive spot in the international situation. We believe that the elimination of tension and the strengthening of security and stability in the region would serve the interests of all the peoples concerned and would have a favourable influence on the efforts being made to create a system of Asian security. With this end in view, we support any effort aimed at a political settlement of the confrontation which has emerged in that part of the world concerning, in particular, Kampuchea. Also we follow with sympathy the efforts of the countries of the region to establish a zone of peace, good-neighbourliness and co-operation in South-East Asia.

As regards the situation around Afghanistan, we maintain that what the people of Afghanistan needs more than anything else is peace for the continuation of its

(Mr. Varkonyi, Hungary)

national construction programme. We support the proposals for a settlement made by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which take into account all the essential aspects of the problem. We welcome the activity of the special representative of the Secretary-General and are hopeful that the countries interested in a settlement will find a way to get down to direct negotiations.

The resumption of the inter-Korean dialogue is intended to promote a peaceful settlement, free from external interference, of the contradictory situation prevailing on the Korean peninsula. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic sees promising prospects for further progress, and hopes that the constructive initiatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea will meet with a positive response from the parties concerned.

The policy of the régime in Pretoria, which enjoys the support of influential external forces, continues to pose a grave threat to the peace and security of the African continent. Under the prevailing system of apartheid the black population still lives in conditions of complete subjugation, deprived even of its most elementary human rights. The situation has been further aggravated by the state of emergency recently declared by the authorities. The foreign policy of the South African Government seeks to destabilize the neighbouring countries and, to that end, it resorts to various political and economic measures, not even shrinking from armed intervention. Acting in open defiance of United Nations resolutions and appeals, it continues to prevent the Namibian people from gaining independence. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic most resolutely condemns the actions of the Pretoria régime and calls for concerted and effective international action against it, including coercive measures as provided for in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. It pledges support to and solidarity with the forces

(Mr. Varkonyi, Hungary)

fighting against the system of apartheid and with the countries threatened by the racist régime, and demands an early implementation of the United Nations resolutions on Namibia.

The economic situation is extremely grave in most countries of the African continent. The servicing of accumulated foreign debts absorbs a large part of the national income of those States, while the unparalleled drought in several countries threatens millions of people with starvation. My Government contributes, within its means, to alleviating the consequences of this tragic situation. At the same time, it shares the position of the Organization of African Unity that, in addition to the relief supplies that help to meet immediate needs, a lasting solution of the problems and the creation of conditions for economic progress on the continent call for joint efforts by the countries involved and require the implementation of long-term programmes.

It will be recalled that it was exactly 25 years ago that the General Assembly adopted the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which solemnly called for an early and unconditional elimination of all forms of colonialism. The practical implementation of the purposes and principles laid down in that document has brought about significant changes in this respect. We believe that broad international co-operation and resolute action are needed, on the part of the United Nations, too, in order to do away with the remaining vestiges of the colonial system. We support the just struggle of the national liberation movements and are in solidarity with the peoples fighting for the consolidation of their independence and against dictatorial and racist régimes.

(Mr. Varkonyi, Hungary)

The Hungarian People's Republic lends support to the just aspirations of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. We practice fruitful co-operation and maintain friendly relations with many countries of the movement. We seek to continue strengthening those relations, and that endeavour is facilitated by the fact that our views are identical or similar on most issues of international politics. We are firmly convinced that the Non-Aligned Movement will remain an important and positive factor of international life in the future as well.

These days the world economy is faced with worsening problems in the solution of which the United Nations and its specialized agencies have a significant role to play and a great responsibility to bear. It is our conviction that there is but one way leading to recovery, that of developing co-operation and creating the necessary conditions for it. The expansion and deepening of international co-operation requires recognition of and respect for the legitimate interests of all parties concerned. Several countries, including mine, are confronted with great difficulties as a result of the increasingly widespread policies of discrimination, embargo and protectionism. Their elimination from international practice would be greatly instrumental in coping with the problems of the world economy.

The Hungarian People's Republic continues to favour the development of trade, economic, scientific and technical relations among States based on mutual benefit and free from discrimination.

Joint efforts are similarly required in removing the disorders of the international monetary system, making rational use of raw materials, energy resources and food, and protecting the environment. We wish to be a good partner of States participating in the work of the United Nations and its specialized agencies and to make a contribution, within our means, to the solution of the pressing problems faced by the community of nations.

(Mr. Varkonyi, Hungary)

It derives from the nature of our social system that we attach great importance to co-operation within the framework of the United Nations in promoting the fullest possible exercise of human rights. We regard it indispensable for the international community to take joint and effective action against the mass and gross violations of human rights. We, for our part, contribute our share to the implementation of human rights by developing our society, strengthening the substantive elements of socialist democracy and, in accordance with this, consistently fulfilling our international obligations.

In referring to the difficulties and problems to be met by the international community, it has been my aim to underscore the urgent need for well-considered steps, broad international action, constructive approaches and forward-oriented deeds. We are convinced that mankind has the intellectual and material resources which, if mobilized, will enable it to meet the challenges of our age. However, finding successful and lasting solutions for the global questions and for other pressing problems affecting the future destiny of the world is conditional on exploiting the body of experience accumulated by mankind in the course of centuries, on making use of the almost unlimited potential created by the modern technology of our time for the attainment of those lofty goals and on putting an end to the inordinate squandering on an arms build-up of immense material and intellectual resources.

In establishing international co-operation and co-ordinating joint actions, a major role is reserved for the United Nations, which is celebrating the fortieth anniversary of its foundation. The world Organization set forth in its Charter four decades ago the purposes of maintaining international peace and security, developing relations among nations and achieving international co-operation in solving economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems.

(Mr. Varkonyi, Hungary)

It is a fact that since the United Nations was founded the world has witnessed deeply penetrating changes that have left their mark on our Organization as well. Nevertheless, we maintain that the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter are still valid today. Despite the significant results achieved during its 40 years of existence, the world Organization has not been able, nor has it been enabled by international realities and the divergent endeavours of Member States, to find solutions to all the problems that mankind has to face today. But this does not alter our conviction that the United Nations has an indispensable role to play in moulding the shape of our future. We do believe that the community of nations, including our world Organization, can do a great deal "for a better world", as is also emphasized by the official theme of the United Nations Year. The fulfilment of this role would be greatly facilitated by enhancing the effectiveness of the work of the United Nations system.*

The celebrations of the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations are of particular relevance for Hungary, since it was 30 years ago that our country was admitted to membership in the world Organization. On that occasion, the Hungarian Government pledged that, in its foreign policy directed at safeguarding peace and promoting international co-operation in the spirit of the United Nations Charter, it would use its best efforts at the forums of the United Nations as well for maintaining and strengthening universal peace and security and ensuring peaceful coexistence among States with different social systems.

* The President returned to the Chair.

(Mr. Varkonyi, Hungary)

During the past 30 years, the Hungarian People's Republic has pursued its foreign policy in accordance with that declaration, and it intends to conduct its future international activity in that same spirit. With its foreign policy course aimed at serving the universal cause of peace and progress, my country reaffirms its commitment to the purposes and principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations. This is evidenced by our efforts to improve the international atmosphere and carefully and purposefully to cultivate relations among peoples. I should like to confirm that it is the intention of the Hungarian Government to continue working in pursuit of those goals.

Mr. AL-SHARA (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic): It gives me great pleasure to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the fortieth session of the General Assembly. This session has acquired particular significance since it coincides with the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations.

Bonds of history, culture and civilization have linked your beautiful country, Spain, and its great people to my country, Syria, and the Arab people ever since Damascus was the capital of the first Arab State. It is indeed a source of pride and satisfaction to us to see you assuming this high office. We are fully confident that your distinguished diplomatic experience and your exceptional qualifications are a sure guarantee of the success of this session in yielding the most favourable results, for the benefit of mankind.

I take this opportunity to express our appreciation to Ambassador Paul Lusaka, the outgoing President, whose wisdom enriched the work of the thirty-ninth session and helped it realize significant steps and worthy achievements.

The untiring efforts exerted by Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, the United Nations Secretary-General, to enhance the role of the United Nations in international relations, have earned our great admiration and appreciation. While wishing him further success in his work, we reiterate our full support for him in his major and difficult task of achieving a more effective role for the United Nations in bringing about peace, justice and prosperity in the world.

I take this opportunity to express to the Government and people of Mexico the heartfelt sorrow of the Syrian Government and people over the tragic consequences of the recent disaster, the earthquake in their country.

This session, which coincides with the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of our world Organization, deserves to witness a drastic change, giving the Organization a new impetus to enhance its role as the most effective

(Mr. Al-Shara, Syrian Arab
Republic)

instrument and most appropriate framework for achieving economic and social progress, safeguarding peace in the world and consolidating the principles on which international relations are based.

In the light of the present deteriorating international situation, this anniversary should be regarded as a further incentive to mobilize efforts with the aim of finding solutions to intricate international problems, eliminating all forms of racism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, checking aggression and creating the best circumstances to bring about justice for the oppressed peoples, thus respecting their rights and sovereignty over their territories and sparing the coming generations the scourge of wars and destruction.

Looking back over these 40 years, one cannot but note with appreciation the important and effective role which the United Nations has played in assisting in the decolonization of a great number of countries and peoples victims of colonialism, racism and exploitation. Syria, as a founding Member of our Organization, has unfailingly contributed to the strengthening of the role of the United Nations. Syria has done its utmost in this regard through its active membership in the Committee on decolonization since it was established 25 years ago to implement the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, whose twenty-fifth anniversary our Organization is now celebrating.

We also highly appreciate the significant achievements of the international Organization and its specialized agencies in solving many problems in the fields of economic, cultural, social and scientific development in those countries, which, after being liberated from the yoke of colonialism, have faced a burdensome inheritance of economic difficulties as well as of social and political hotbeds of tension, which have undermined the independence of those countries and forced some

(Mr. Al-Shara, Syrian Arab
Republic)

of them to fall once again under the domination of the forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism.

In the midst of our celebrations of the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations, we owe it to ourselves to pause in humility and to reflect as we remember the victims of the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This event will remain a terrible nightmare and a costly lesson to mankind and must not be repeated in the future in any manner whatsoever.

No one can claim that the lesson of Hiroshima and Nagasaki has been well learned so long as the nuclear-arms race is escalating and the deployment of bases in various parts of the globe is continuing. Likewise, no one can be optimistic and reassured about the future of mankind so long as the leadership of world imperialism rejoices in its nuclear potential and insists on militarizing outer space.

The danger of this new development does not lie only in the increase in the lethal nuclear capabilities, inasmuch as part of those capabilities that already exist on earth are sufficient to destroy all forms of life on it; nor does it lie only in the tremendous expenditures of hundreds of billions of dollars, which could otherwise have been used to combat famine and disease and solve problems of development. Rather, the major danger lies in the fact that the launching of a new nuclear arms race in outer space would divert the attention of both the Governments and the peoples of the world from the serious efforts that should be made for disarmament on our planet. Consequently, it is certain that if the preoccupation of the United Nations with tackling this problem and the debate surrounding it do not succeed in preventing the militarization of outer space, that will undermine the world Organization's capability of dealing with the many regional hotbeds of tension, the most dangerous of which are the Middle East and southern Africa. Such

(Mr. Al-Shara, Syrian Arab
Republic)

a situation would afford appropriate opportunities for exploitation by the racist régimes in Tel Aviv and Pretoria in persisting in their aggressive expansionist policies, their oppressive and brutal practices and their continuous attempts to impose their will and humiliating conditions on the Arabs and Africans.

The 40 years of the life of the United Nations have provided the oppressed peoples with an opportunity to liberate themselves from the yoke of colonialism and achieve their national independence. Empires from which the sun had never set have collapsed; and the number of independent nations has considerably risen, from 51 Member States in 1945 to 159 Member States at present, in 1985, thus paving the way for a more just and equitable era of international relations under the provisions of the United Nations Charter.

No one can doubt that the United Nations has played an effective role in affirming the independence of these States and extending assistance to them whenever their independence has been jeopardized. Regrettably, however, the United Nations has remained unable to solve the problems of the Middle East and southern Africa. We may conclude without hesitation that the Tel Aviv and Pretoria régimes, because of the continuous and unlimited support of world imperialism, have been gradually able over the past four decades to expand their areas of occupation, consolidate their military potentials, escalate their aggression and oppressive practices, strengthen their racist doctrines and forge the history of peoples and the geography of nations - with no end to this appearing to be imminent.

(Mr. Al-Shara, Syrian Arab Republic)

It can also be said without exaggeration that the United Nations has more or less succeeded in its search for solutions to the problems which it has faced since its establishment, with the exception of the problems of the Middle East and of southern Africa, which remain unresolved. The sole reason for this is that racism and Zionism survive only by defying the law and taking the law into their own hands. Their records at the United Nations provide ample proof of this.

A quick review of the figures clearly indicates that the Zionist entity, through a series of wars, occupation, expansion and faits accomplis, has greatly increased in size in terms of both its area and its population. The Israeli objective is clear and may be summarized as follows: to occupy Arab territories, uproot the indigenous population and establish a greater Israel capable of imposing domination and hegemony over the peoples and States of the region.

This morning the news media reported that Israeli military jets had carried out an act of aggression against Tunisia, a sister Arab State and a Member of this Organization, violating its sovereignty and causing huge loss of life and damage to property. The Israeli military jets violated international air space and endangered international aviation.

This is not the first time that Israel has carried out such an act of aggression. It has in the past violated the sovereignty of several Arab States of the region. Israel's objective is clear and although examples and proofs abound it will suffice to recall a statement made by a former Israeli Prime Minister, the present Minister of Defence, in July 1976 during a banquet given by former United States President Gerald Ford on the occasion of the bicentenary of American independence. He said:

"You Americans had a population of 3 million 200 years ago, while today you have become a great Power... The population of Israel today is 3 million, and we want to become a great Power in the future."

(Mr. Al-Shara, Syrian Arab Republic)

In the Israeli concept, peace is virtually synonymous with hegemony and expansion. The Israelis imagine that through direct negotiations and by scrapping the role of the United Nations the Arab side will be compelled to accept the burdensome terms of capitulation which Israel conceives to be peace. That is what happened with Egypt, the largest Arab State, whose foreign policy since the conclusion of the Camp David Accords and the Egyptian-Israeli Treaty has been governed by considerations beyond its control. When the Israelis were shelling Beirut with tons of bombs, Egyptian officials were quoted as saying:

"We suffer and grieve for Lebanon and we wished as a moral stand at least to sever diplomatic relations with Israel, the aggressor. However, we cannot do that. We are unable to do it because the Israeli troops would return to the banks of the Suez Canal on the following day. Moreover, our Egyptian army is no longer prepared to defend Egypt when confronted by the Israelis."

What kind of peace is this between Israel and Egypt? Is it possible for normal relations to be established between the Egyptian people and the Israelis in the light of those Israeli notions of peace?

In Lebanon too the Israelis tried to impose their concept of peace, but this time at gunpoint as Israeli tanks surrounded the Lebanese presidential palace. With the help of their American accomplices, the Israelis imposed on Lebanon the agreement of 17 May 1983, which included terms and conditions no less, and possibly more, unjust and humiliating than those imposed on Egypt. Lebanon would thus have been turned into an Israeli-American protectorate, but for the bold and historic decision taken by the Lebanese people to abrogate the agreement, with the absolute support of Syria under the leadership of President Hafez Al-Assad.

(Mr. Al-Shara, Syrian Arab Republic)

On the abrogation of that humiliating agreement the United States Administration issued direct warnings to the effect that it was for those who scrapped the agreement to get the Israelis out of Lebanon. In other words, the United States was encouraging the Israelis to remain in Lebanon. Once again, a shining landmark in the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict was established when President Assad resolved decisively that

"Syria will extend all-out support to the national resistance until the last Israeli soldier has left Lebanon".

There were successive waves of martyrs, ushering in the defeat of the Israeli troops. Consequently the excuse of "Israeli security" - which means menacing Arab security with impunity - has been completely discredited.

The Israelis are now trying to remain in the border area, which they call a security belt, and are refusing to implement Security Council resolution 425 (1978). Meanwhile, the operations of the heroic national resistance continue; their glory radiates beyond the borders to invigorate resistance in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights and unite all resistance, thus opening a new chapter of heroic struggle against Israeli occupation.

The Israeli occupation forces have inflicted horrible destruction and devastation on Lebanese towns, villages and farms, leaving behind scores of thousands of victims and bereaved families. The objective of the Israeli troops was clearly to destroy Lebanon in order to occupy it, and to tear it apart if they were compelled to withdraw from it.

Israel's claim that it has nothing to do with the current explosions, fighting and anarchy in Lebanon does not change the facts. It is true that the structure of the Lebanese system is not flawless and that the seeds of contradiction exist in its institutions. That is recognized and admitted by the Lebanese themselves, and

(Mr. Al-Shara, Syrian Arab Republic)

that is why they are calling for the reform of that system. But it is also true that the horrible devastation, brutal massacres and tremendous suffering inflicted by the Israeli occupation troops on the Lebanese have generated in the minds and consciousness of the Lebanese people highly explosive feelings of bitterness, hatred and vengeance. Those feelings have had tragic consequences as they have exploded among the Lebanese or between the Lebanese and the Palestinians. On the other hand, those feelings have had a splendid, heroic aspect when embodied in the operations of the national resistance to the Israeli occupiers.

That is how we in Syria perceive this issue and why we are exerting all possible efforts to help our Lebanese brothers put an end to their ordeal, achieve national reconciliation and restore security and stability throughout their country. By the same token we shall assist and back the brave Lebanese national resistance until Lebanon is totally liberated and the phase of reform and reconstruction begins.

(Mr. Al-Shara, Syrian Arab
Republic)

Syria has consistently sought the achievement of a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East. We have strongly supported the United Nations resolutions relevant to the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian question. Along with its sister Arab countries, Syria contributed to the unanimous adoption of an Arab Peace Plan in Fez in 1982. The Plan calls for Israel's withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories and for the restoration of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian Arab people, including their right of return, to self-determination and to establish their independent State on their native soil, with Jerusalem as its capital. We support the call for the convening of an international conference on peace in the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations and with the participation of all the parties to the conflict, as well as the two super-Powers, the Soviet Union and the United States of America.

Because Syria stands firmly against attempts to exclude and circumvent the United Nations, we strongly condemn all separate and partial solutions, such as the Camp David Accords and the Egyptian-Israeli Treaty. Syria regards the current attempts to market the Amman agreement of 11 February 1985 and put it in a public auction as tantamount to denying the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, foremost among which is the right to establish their independent State on their native soil, which has been reaffirmed frequently by United Nations resolutions in the past 40 years. It is axiomatic that the renunciation of an independent Palestinian State would make the concept of self-determination useless and devoid of meaning.

The economic crisis and acute social and political tensions in the world in recent years must prompt the industrialized countries to realize that the maintenance of a one-way course of prosperity and development is no longer possible

(Mr. Al-Shara, Syrian Arab
Republic)

in our time, particularly when all peoples of the world look forward to the establishment of normal, balanced international economic relations based on mutual trust, to the benefit of mankind.

The terrible famine suffered by some African countries, the burdensome debts borne by many countries of the world, particularly in Latin America, and the decline in growth rates in most countries cannot be truly remedied in the absence of an equitable world economic order and with the continuing frenzied arms race on earth and in outer space.

Today the arms race undoubtedly represents the major obstacle in the search for solutions to other problems and the social and economic tensions resulting therefrom. The maintenance of international peace and security can be realized not through the arms race but only through respect for rights, the establishment of justice and the elimination of all aspects and forms of aggression and racism.

Syria backs all efforts designed to lead to the cessation of the production of nuclear weapons and the destruction of stockpiles. It also condemns the current attempts of world imperialism to militarize outer space, which is the common heritage of all mankind. Syria calls for the full implementation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and for new agreements to limit the arms race and ban the production of nuclear weapons and nuclear tests.

The connection between European security and the security of the Mediterranean region is a geographical fact that cannot be ignored. Any security measures which may be adopted in Europe must be accompanied at the same time by similar security measures in the Mediterranean region, along with international guarantees not to use the nuclear installations existing on the territories of some European countries against Mediterranean countries.

(Mr. Al-Shara, Syrian Arab Republic)

The Syrian Arab Republic, which supports the transformation of the Mediterranean region into a zone of peace and a nuclear-weapon-free zone, would like once more to draw the attention of the international community to the fact that Israel's nuclear capabilities and its persistent refusal to ratify the Non-Proliferation Treaty and to place its nuclear installations under international safeguards pose a real threat to the security of both the Mediterranean countries and the Middle East and impede the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in that region. The Syrian Arab Republic fully supports the transformation of the Middle East region into a nuclear-weapon-free zone, in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly, in order to ease tension in the region.

Syria contributed to the establishment of the United Nations and it upholds the purposes and principles of the Charter. Its people is one of the peoples of the third world, whose causes and national liberation movements Syria supports, and it will not yield to aggression or compromise its principles. At the same time, Syria is fully aware of its role and commitments in both the Arab and the international arenas.

Inspired by its principles, Syria contributes with all the means at its disposal to the serious search for a peace that guarantees the restoration of national rights and human dignity, redresses injustices and eliminates aggression. Accordingly, Syria firmly backs the just struggle waged by the African peoples against the racist régime in South Africa. We believe that the courageous uprising of our African brethren in recent months is a shining landmark on the path towards the elimination of racism in southern Africa. The alliance between the South African régime and the racist régime in Tel Aviv and their collaboration in all fields, in particular the military and nuclear fields, as well as the co-ordination

(Mr. Al-Shara, Syrian Arab
Republic)

of their aggressive policies and schemes against the African and the Arab peoples, must be met with better co-ordination and increased co-operation among the Arab and African countries in various domains.

It is no exaggeration to say that the continuing aggressive and racist policies of the Pretoria and Tel Aviv régimes remains the fuse most likely to ignite the international situation and confront the world with a potential nuclear disaster. The continuance of the strategic alliance between the United States of America and those two racist régimes, and the fact that the United States is supplying them with all the means of aggression while obstructing the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against them, constitute the main reason for the isolation of the United States in the international arena and the condemnation of its policies in the world.

The question of Cyprus remains one of the most complex problems causing concern to the international community in general and to the non-aligned Mediterranean States in particular. This is because of its implications for the security and stability of the entire region. The just solution of this question can be achieved only through the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions in such a way as to preserve for the Republic of Cyprus its sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned status and by means of negotiations between the two Cypriot communities. We sincerely hope that the endeavours of the United Nations Secretary-General will be crowned with success.

With regard to the situation in Afghanistan, we reaffirm the need to recognize the right of the legitimate Afghan Government to defend its country's independence and sovereignty against any foreign interference. We are totally committed to ensuring that this country, which is linked to ours by ancient historical ties, remains a member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

(Mr. Al-Shara, Syrian Arab
Republic)

We hope that the countries neighbouring on Afghanistan, with which we have the same close historical ties, will be able to resolve the difficulties among themselves. We are closely following the ongoing negotiations in Geneva, through the representative of the Secretary-General, and we wish him all success.

The reunification of the two parts of Korea has become an urgent necessity in keeping with the interests of international peace and the Korean people. In our view, the implementation of the United Nations resolution relevant to the Korean problem, which calls upon the United States of America to withdraw its forces from South Korea, is the right course for solving the problem.

Current developments in Central America and the Caribbean, which have acquired serious dimensions, cannot be isolated from United States acts of intervention aimed at preventing the peoples of the region, foremost among which is the heroic people of Nicaragua, from exercising their right to self-determination and opting for the systems of their own choice. These are manifested in the threat or use of force, accompanied by pressures, political blackmail, economic blockades and the financing of mercenaries and their use to destabilize régimes that reject subservience and hegemony.

The process of decolonization and the achievements in the scientific and technological fields witnessed during the last 40 years have shortened distances among nations and have considerably narrowed gaps among peoples. Yet numerous problems on our globe have kept growing and seem to remain without solutions in sight. The arms race is spiralling uncontrollably and is apt to reach outer space.

Hotbeds of tension in various parts of the world may still explode at any moment. Hundreds of millions of people in the third world are experiencing difficulties in securing the very minimum of food, clothing, lodging and education. None the less, the presence of the United Nations per se will represent

(Mr. Al-Shara, Syrian Arab Republic)

a major achievement should the leaders of the world resolve to seek appropriate solutions for these problems within the framework of constructive international co-operation in order to create a better world free from all forms of oppression and aggression and where justice and peace prevail.

Mr. TALEB IBRAHIMI (Algeria) (interpretation from Arabic):

Mr. President, at this session which is a high point in the life of the Organization, it is indeed fitting that the United Nations should have honoured and singled out one of its most deserving and energetic servants. Hence I do not know what would be more appropriate: to congratulate you, Sir, on this honour and distinction that has been conferred upon you or to congratulate ourselves on our judicious choice which ensures for our Assembly an invaluable contribution from one of the most dedicated observers of the vicissitudes of the Organization.

At a time when the Organization is reviewing its past, probing the present and wondering about its future, it is extremely comforting to have a man of your commitment, lucidity and selfless dedication guiding us towards what we believe to be best for our turbulent and troubled world. To your country, Spain, we owe a debt of gratitude for having provided us with a citizen of the world dedicated to the ideals of the United Nations.

Your predecessor, Ambassador Paul Lusaka, also deserves an expression of great gratitude. This worthy son of Africa has left you the exemplary legacy of a kind-hearted man. The actions and convictions of a man of his stature and qualities gives hope and strength to those who believe that mankind has the necessary resources to work for justice and a better world for all.

A particular tribute must be paid to our Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar. The excellent report he has given us is in itself sufficient proof of his determination and courage. In his vast undertaking and the

(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

reforms he seeks to be applied collectively, we wish to assure him that we will stand by his side and join forces with him.

The United Nations is currently commemorating its fortieth anniversary. In a human lifetime 40 years is already a generation, just as it is also an appropriate time for taking measures to correct, adapt or redirect actions towards goals, aspirations and ambitions in the light of past experience, and the same holds true for organizations. Forty years ago, in the last smouldering fires of a war which shamed mankind, the United Nations was born in a world which had categorically rejected war and made a wager on peace; at a time when colonialism had tarnished human civilization, it condemned the oppression of man by man and chose freedom; in a world living in poverty and destitution, it promised that progress would be made.

Emerging from total chaos born out of madness, the United Nations sought to restore order and reason - to its credit, its first step towards dignity for all. That the United Nations has brought together the greatest number of peoples and States mankind has ever known is due to the astuteness of its wager and the majesty of its promise. There is no doubt that this wager and this promise is still the order of the day.

The United Nations is an idea as well as an act of hope. It is an idea which will always hold that dialogue offers more than an unbridled exercise of force; that fear, even organized fear, can never replace confidence; that the balance of terror still remains terror; that if freedom can accommodate even one single violation, it is no longer true freedom; and, finally, that no order can be acceptable where the opulence of a few draws on the poverty of the many.

The United Nations, therefore, is an act of hope, because of its faith in the capacity of man to come to grips with problems and to make the right choices - especially when confronted with today's very serious problems and prevailing circumstances.

(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

Indeed, we are daily coming closer to the ultimate choice: prosperity in solidarity or uncontrollable and inevitable turbulence; to consolidate the bases of guaranteed universal destruction and increase the risk of its happening or ensure harmonious coexistence and friendly ties that will enable mankind to survive.

At this period of stocktaking there is no principle of the United Nations that has been altered or made invalid in the 40 years of its existence. Time has not made any of its aims obsolete. Its outlook, its concept and its progress remain as meaningful as ever. The breadth of our ambition has lacked only the power of action and our great dreams have not been made everyday realities.

That the United Nations exists is already a meaningful achievement. If our Organization served only as a means of communication between peoples, that alone would justify its being maintained; if it served only as a forum in which our States could speak and listen to each other, it should still be upheld; if it served only to allow dialogue to prevail over conflict, it would still deserve our every effort to make it strong.

But we expect more than that of the United Nations. If the United Nations is to fulfil our hopes and expectations we must believe in it and make of it a real instrument of peace and co-operation among nations by giving it the necessary means to carry out its universal mission.

None of this can diminish the achievements of the United Nations. Even if it has merely transferred conflicts from one arena to another, it has, for the present generation, exorcised the spectre of world conflict; in their long march towards their destiny, all the oppressed peoples have seen the Organization join them in their struggle and have found in it understanding, solace and support. To a world divided against itself it has pointed out the path of true reconciliation based on a system of peace through collective security and co-operation.

(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

Basically, the United Nations has carried the burden of bringing some semblance of order and justice to international relations. In so doing, it has set forth conditions, formulated guiding principles and outlined a framework. It is most regrettable that the collective effort has not been commensurate with the intentions and that the action taken has not been in line with the new vision of the world. The need for a system of collective security gave way to a stunning accumulation of armaments; true security through disarmament has been replaced by a distorted form of security based on deterrence, as if there were no choice between the imposition of power and collective suicide.

Surely this is an immoral state of affairs at a time when not all the people of our planet are assured of food, health, education and shelter and precious resources are fuelling the forces of destruction. That represents a clear denial of all the things that constitute the essence and spirit of the United Nations.

We must note that the new order of international co-operation announced by the United Nations has not yet been put into practice. The United Nations has not responded to the challenge of a new international economic order, international development strategies or global negotiations. As was the case with disarmament, certain Members lacked the necessary will, conviction and foresight.

We need only look at the horizons of Palestine, Namibia, South Africa, western Sahara and other places to measure the extent to which one of the essential tasks of the United Nations has remained unaccomplished.

The victim of factitious political quarrels, tainted by the preference for selective bilateralism and oriented away from multilateral action or called upon to take sides when in fact it should be acting as judge, the United Nations is but the image of the society that gave it birth; torn between East and West, North and South, and the protagonists in the last enclaves in which the fate of freedom

(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

against oppression is being decided, that society cannot help but transfer its deep divisions to our Organization.

The nature of present-day international relations, which are characterized by conflict, reflects upon the United Nations and saps its effectiveness. The attachment of some to the privileges of a garish opulence acquired through their dominant positions and at the cost of the total deprivation of others has condemned the United Nations to inaction. Even the rights of peoples and the causes of freedom are subjected to obstacles that can be explained or understood only in the light of other calculations, other interests and other goals that have no connection with the work of the United Nations. Because we believe that the vision and action of the United Nations are part of the course of history, we cannot remain silent about its weaknesses.

Algeria cannot forget that it was at the United Nations that its struggle for freedom received one of the most striking manifestations of sympathy. It was here that Algeria found friends, comrades and brothers, and they were many; it was here, finally, that the martyrdom of its people and the justice of its struggle were made known to the world.

The commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of our Organization is taking place in a situation that clearly reveals what remains to be done.

The world climate is disturbed. The reopening of East-West negotiations has occurred in an atmosphere of reciprocal mistrust and amid an escalation of shows of force in all environments, although nature intended them for other purposes.

In an interdependent world everything that can contribute, even in a limited way, to improving international relations should be given consideration. We remain convinced of the need to establish a world order free from the policies of spheres of influence, able to rely upon general and complete disarmament and based on a

(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

system of real collective security. The extension of the reopened East-West negotiations to include regional or local tensions, crises and conflicts is meaningful in this regard.*

* Mr. Oyoué (Gabon), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

There can be no détente unless it is universal, as indeed there can be no security unless it is shared by all.

If the continuation of tension, of crises and regional disputes are of concern to the whole international community, then it is essential that a settlement of disputes should not be tied to the geostrategic interests of any particular Member.

In present-day international economic relations, we see proof of the many tasks that the United Nations has not been able to accomplish. We commemorate these 40 years of the existence of our Organization in a world which has been shaken by acute economic crisis. Whether we speak of international trade, of the monetary system, of the financial system, of agriculture, industrialization or the commodities market, it is the very structures of the world's economic system which has been shaken.

Worse than precarious, the present system of economic international relations is obsolete. It is not adapted to present-day problems or to the new conditions of our times. And this is undeniable. It was able to carry out its historic task when it was devoted to building up the exclusive prosperity of a few, but this system very quickly showed that it was inadequate when faced with the challenge of universal prosperity.

World indebtedness today is the revealing factor which shows up the disruptions and the inadequacies of the system.

The economic situation in Africa is another revealing factor. The drama of survival, which Africa lives through on a daily basis, must awaken our conscience. The United Nations has brought solace to Africa in its distress, but action and assistance at present under way are not commensurate with the scope and the reality of the needs in Africa. A consistent and integrated programme of economic recovery remains essential for Africa. This constitutes a challenge for international

(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

co-operation and development which must be recognized in order to reactivate its original spirit and reconcile us to its original vocation.

The twenty-first Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) showed the way to the rehabilitation of African economies. The African States agreed on the responsibilities they were prepared to shoulder. They also told the international community and the United Nations system what they expected of them.

In so far as it is capable of meeting these expectations, the United Nations will find an ideal occasion to live up to its ideals.

Over and beyond its immediate intervention in areas of critical interest and its response to calls for assistance from certain countries or regions, the United Nations has been faced with an overall problem by reason of the world economic crisis. From that standpoint the establishment of a new international economic order is consistent with the course of history.

In a world of interdependence, where obviously all problems are closely interrelated, there is no real alternative to global negotiations. In taking note of the obstacles which have prevented them from being initiated, and at the same time assessing their ability to bring a true solution to the problems before us, we cannot but maintain our belief that global negotiations constitute the future for a North-South dialogue engaged in loyally and with determination.

The international financial and monetary system is one of the main parameters of the world economic crisis which we have to face. Its present inadequacy restricts growth and development. It must therefore be revised in the common interest.

The world economic crisis is the source of serious instability in international relations. Its continuation will inevitably degenerate into

(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

further aggravations for which one day we will have to pay a very high price. Must that actually happen in order for us to effect, at a cost which we cannot count today, the essential changes and transformations which must be brought about in the world economy? The latter provides sufficient grounds for concern which should encourage us immediately to take collective action capable of reversing the present course of events. The world economic crisis, because of the diversity of its effects and its ramifications in international life, must lead us to seek solutions on the basis of shared political responsibility.

We can tackle that task provided we can draw, with lucidity and courage, from the lessons we have learned in the past.

The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has dedicated itself to that particular task, having always emphasized its importance.

This is the appropriate time to refer to the contribution made by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in identifying itself with the ideals of the United Nations.

The independence of peoples, collective security, disarmament and development, which form the very basis and essence of the United Nations, are also causes to which non-alignment is dedicated.

By the very fact that it stands aside from all blocs, non-alignment has made a contribution to peace which is already a fact of history.

But by placing itself outside blocs, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries does not intend to remain passive. An independent source of reflection and action, it has sought to contribute to an improvement in international relations through proposals and initiatives. The difficulties experienced in carrying them out have not discouraged the Movement from persisting in its efforts.

(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

After a quarter century of existence, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has reason to take pride in having served the United Nations.

We have come here today to share our satisfaction and our frustrations with regard to the United Nations, but we are also here today to express our firm attachment to the ideals of the Organization. There is no better proof of this attachment than the principles which are the basis of my country's policies and action in our region. The principles are mutual respect, good-neighbourliness and co-operation; the action is to mobilize the region's entire potential for the benefit of our stability and the progress of our peoples.

Together with all others displaying goodwill, Algeria is dedicated to the establishment of a united Maghreb achieved through reconciliation between all brotherly peoples and the removal of all obstacles, whatever their nature or scope. The Greater Maghreb can only translate vision into reality through a determined commitment of all those involved.

(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

If those parties are convinced of the inevitability of the establishment of a United Maghreb, they must create the most favourable conditions for it. The only destiny for the peoples of the Maghreb is a common destiny. Their shared history has foreordained that destiny. Divided, we shall have no power and our voice will not be heard: united, we shall become a zone of prosperity and be substantial partners as a result of our combined wills and capacities.

The choice before us is therefore crystal-clear, and so is the right choice. We in Algeria are confident that the right choice will be made.

But the Greater Maghreb cannot be built up through the sacrifice of any one of its peoples - to be specific, the people of Western Sahara - without abandoning our long-held aspirations and without losing our own souls.

The Western Sahara conflict is at the same time a national and an international fact. There is both a national and an international reality in that territory. Consequently any final and peaceful solution of that conflict must ensure that that dual reality will be fully taken into account.

The Organization of African Unity, the United Nations and, more recently, in Luanda, the Non-Aligned Movement have taken a common stand evoking that dual reality, and defining its framework and the appropriate means. The concept is a decolonization process to be concluded by implementing the right of the people of that territory to self-determination and independence. The framework would involve direct negotiations between the parties to the conflict. The means would be a free and fair self-determination referendum without administrative or military constraints, and both parties to the conflict, identified as such, would negotiate the modalities of such a referendum. There is full international consensus on such a step. It is well known where the responsibility lies for the fact that it has not been taken and also for the attempts to pervert the consensus and distort the settlement process which is the subject of that consensus.

(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

In this respect, I would recall three facts. First, that since the conflict in Western Sahara concerns a decolonization process that remains to be completed, there can be no viable and credible settlement that is not concluded by the combatants and guaranteed by them; secondly, formally declaring that it will have no other value than to confirm a fait accompli is not a referendum; and lastly, the Organization of African Unity, together with the United Nations, have full responsibility for a decolonization process described as such by both organizations.

Having exercised all means within its power to put an end to this fratricidal conflict, Algeria reiterates its appeal to reason as well as to the sense of responsibility of those who have still not shown a readiness to enable the peoples of the region to cease using their energies in the service of destruction and to join forces to build their country.

Now that the path to peace has been clearly indicated, we congratulate the Organization of African Unity, the United Nations and the Non-Aligned Movement on what they have achieved. We would encourage the United Nations Secretary-General to collaborate with the authorities of the African organization to ensure strict application of the settlement plan, on which there is a universal consensus.

The United Nations has condemned apartheid as a crime against humanity. The racial oppression suffered by the South African people, the illegal occupation of Namibia and the aggression and intimidation suffered by the front-line countries cannot be described as anything but crimes against humanity.

Some among us here have believed the promises that apartheid would change, while others have actively encouraged those promises. Today that system has revealed itself to the world for what it really is and for what it always has

(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

been. It is within its own logic that its truly evil nature is to be found; it is within that logic, but also because of the toleration it has enjoyed that it has been able to survive for so long.

Since that awareness has taken considerable time to develop in some quarters, collective action is all the more urgent. That awareness can be expressed only through comprehensive mandatory sanctions.

Those who have never abandoned hope in the United Nations and those who have worked for the establishment of justice and peace in southern Africa will draw hope and faith from such action. The peoples of southern Africa and Namibia will be able to draw solace from it in their just struggle. The international community owes the African National Congress, the South West Africa People's Organization and the front-line countries - and through them the whole of Africa - this expression of support in their struggle for their freedom.

The crimes of apartheid in southern Africa recall those of Zionism in Palestine and in the Middle East.

In speaking here today on this subject I am forced to recall that it was a United Nations concept that led to the present martyrdom of the Palestinian people. In order to ease the conscience of some, a whole people was condemned to exile.

The unjust fate of that people, and its unfulfilled destiny, are at the heart of the Middle East crisis, with all its regional and international repercussions.

This Assembly has recognized the inalienable national rights of the people of Palestine. From henceforth those rights cannot be prejudged or predetermined against the will of that people.

(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

Similarly, the General Assembly has bestowed international recognition on the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as the sole, legitimate and authentic representative of the Palestinian people. This shows the imperative need for the PLO's participation in any negotiations on the future of the Palestinian people and therefore peace in the Middle East.

Since inalienable national rights are expressed through the natural right to self-determination of all peoples, without exception, it is only logical that the Palestinian people should enjoy those rights without hindrance, particularly through the creation of its independent State in Palestine, its historical homeland. Therefore, any change in the PLO's representative status or its status as a participant in negotiations on the Middle East and Palestine would be totally unacceptable.

Finally, in view of the regional and international dimensions of the Middle East crisis and the question of Palestine, it is clear that an international peace conference under United Nations auspices is the only valid framework for a lasting solution.

Algeria, which has always believed that Zionist practices are a denial of peace, sees in the brutal aggression against our brother and neighbour, Tunisia, further justification for that belief. The genocide against the Palestinian people, which is a constant goal of Zionism, is being carried to the furthestmost corners of the host countries in which the Palestinian people have found refuge. Algeria strongly condemns that new act of aggression and calls on the international community to shoulder its responsibilities and ensure that it does not go unpunished.

(Mr. Taleb Ibrahimi, Algeria)

In acknowledging the wisdom of the purposes and principles of the Charter, we can hope for nothing better than their observance in solving the conflict between Iraq and Iran. Nothing concerns and saddens Algeria more than the persistence of that conflict between two countries with which we maintain brotherly relations. Convinced that the interests of their two peoples lie in an end to the bloodshed and that the waste of energy and strength in the conflict is very damaging to their plans for development and progress, Algeria hopes that Iraq and Iran will finally, with faith and courage, prove able to rise above their differences and take up the challenge of peace.

Those same purposes and principles of the United Nations must prevail in Central America, where the peoples must together take up that same challenge of peace. The Contadora Group is persevering in a responsible manner to that end. In view of the importance of its task, it deserves broad support and merits our encouragement and our confidence.

During its 40 years of existence the United Nations has been the setting for hidden and declared differences, compounded by conflicts of conscience that have increased uncertainty. The United Nations and its multilateral work for peace and development are as valid as they ever were, but while that work has resulted in some worth-while achievements, much remains to be done.

The problems of our age demand respect for the ideals on which the United Nations was founded. Any strength that the United Nations possesses can come only from our strength; its rationality can come only from our reason; it can be effective only to the extent that we make the necessary means available to it. Having proclaimed the theme "United Nations for a better world", we must remember that that world will be only what we collectively make it.

The meeting rose at 1.40 p.m.