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GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWENTY-FIRST MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 3 October 1985, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. DE PINIÉS (Spain)

later: Mr. MAKEKA (Vice-President) (Lesotho)

- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements were made by:

Mr. Asamoah (Ghana)
Mr. Filali (Morocco)
Mr. Andrade Díaz Duran (Guatemala)
Mr. Barrow (Barbados)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.30 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. ASAMOAH (Ghana): It is a great pleasure, Sir, for my delegation to see you preside over the deliberations of the General Assembly at this historic session marking the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. The Assembly could not have been more fortunate than to be under your leadership at this time. Your personal association with the United Nations in the service of your esteemed Government spans over three decades and your wisdom and diplomatic skills are qualities that are well known to and revered by all. We extend our sincere congratulations to you personally and to your country and its people.

To your immediate predecessor, Ambassador Paul Lusaka of Zambia, we also wish to express our thanks and appreciation for the excellent and skilful manner in which he managed the affairs of the last session. He deserves particular commendation for the arduous and extensive consultations that he conducted, within the framework of the Preparatory Committee in successfully planning the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations.

We should like to take this opportunity to express our sincere sympathy and condolences to the Government and people of Mexico on the devastation caused by the recent earthquakes in that country. We hope that the international community, through the United Nations system and otherwise, will offer adequate assistance to Mexico to enable it to recover quickly from the disaster.

(Mr. Asamoah, Ghana)

Forty years ago, out of the ruins and ashes of the Second World War was rekindled a new hope for mankind in the birth at San Francisco of the United Nations. The founding fathers, chastened by the experience of the most traumatic and devastating war in the history of mankind, were determined to prevent its recurrence. They vowed to seek a more peaceful and harmonious world through international co-operation. The Charter that they fashioned was the product of experience, wisdom and the international co-operative effort.

In many respects, this unique Organization has proved in the last four decades more responsive and adaptable to the challenges that have confronted the world than could have been envisaged 40 years ago. With all the limitations placed on it by Member States, it is to our common credit that there has not been another world-wide conflagration in the 40 years the Organization has been in existence. Some would of course contend that the relative peace the world has enjoyed over the period has been due more to the so-called nuclear balance of terror than to the ministrations of the United Nations. But, no matter what the reasons, there is evidence of our ability as an Organization to maintain relative peace between the super-Powers and among countries of different ideological persuasions.

True, the threat of nuclear war and the certainty that once unleashed it will lead to the annihilation of mankind, has also had its sobering effects on the nuclear Powers. We will not deny the role played by the nuclear balance of terror in contributing to the relative peace enjoyed by the world over the past 40 years. But let no one deny that, but for the involvement of the United Nations, some of the disputes and conflicts that have at times put various Member States at odds with one another might have engulfed the whole world in a conflagration that would have had unpredictable consequences. The United Nations must be duly recognized

(Mr. Asamoah, Ghana)

and commended, therefore, for the generally effective and successful role it has played in keeping the peace and maintaining international security.

To those who are quick to deride the world Organization, let me recall but a few contributions that it has made in altering the course of history for the better. In the political and humanitarian fields especially, the United Nations must count among its landmarks or achievements: the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted in 1948, which has inspired two major binding Covenants, one on civil and political rights and the other on economic, social and cultural rights, both of which were adopted in 1966; the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted in 1960; the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, adopted in 1965; the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, adopted in 1979; the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief, adopted in 1981; and the Convention against torture, adopted in 1984.

In addition, the United Nations must be credited with the overwhelming social and economic improvement and benefits it has brought to the lives of millions of people all over the world through the activities and programmes of such bodies as the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), and the various other organs created in response to human needs and development.

None of us can, of course, claim to be completely satisfied with the United Nations record in all fields, but we must remember that the Organization only mirrors the difficulties that we encounter in global co-operation. We cannot create obstacles within the Organization and then stand outside it to point an accusatorial finger at it. We are either internationalists or we are not.

(Mr. Asamoah, Ghana)

In many such instances the United Nations has been frustrated in its peace efforts either by parties directly or indirectly concerned in a particular dispute or by some Member States which simply refuse, for instance, to bear their share of the financial burden arising from the Organization's peace-keeping operations. Yet the Organization continues to soldier on in its efforts to keep the peace in flashpoints of conflict and generally to assure regional and international security. Our efforts in the Congo and Cyprus, to name but two, are proof of the moderate successes to the credit of the United Nations.

It is clearly evident that it is the internecine character of the disputes between countries more than any failing of the United Nations that has prevented durable solutions over the years. Such seemingly intractable disputes that continue to plague and haunt our Organization are legion, but I shall limit my remarks to a few only.

The Palestinian people continue to be deprived, because of Israeli intransigence, of their legitimate right to their homeland and to establish a sovereign and independent State of their own. Israel persists to this day in refusing to surrender Palestinian and Arab territories it has illegally occupied and annexed through acts of aggression and terrorist intimidation, in spite of resolutions of the General Assembly. For nearly as long as the United Nations has been in existence the Palestinian people have been denied their right to self-determination, independence and national sovereignty - goals that are in principle very dear to all of us.

Even now that, at great cost to itself, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) has softened its position and accepted United Nations resolutions which implicitly commit it to recognition of Israel's right to exist, there is still a baffling unwillingness to deal with its representatives as acceptable

(Mr. Asamoah, Ghana)

interlocutors. It is obvious that those who are obstinately refusing to take part in dialogue with the PLO are interested in achieving not a peaceful settlement but rather the abject humiliation of the Palestinian people. What is greater testimony to this than Tuesday's brutal Israeli raid against the PLO headquarters in Tunisia. In one stroke, Israelis have caused the death of many, including innocent Tunisians, and have jeopardized the momentum towards a peaceful settlement of the Palestinian question. Let me once again repeat the view of my Government that there can be no surer prescription for continued tension and instability in the Middle East than the injustices and sufferings to which the Palestinian people are still subjected.

The situation in Lebanon, as we know, has worsened considerably because of Israel's determination to maintain the so-called security zone in southern Lebanon after giving the world the impression that it was withdrawing its occupation troops from Lebanon. Israel's continued support for its surrogate force, the South Lebanon Army, which is active in south Lebanon, can only weaken the efforts of the Lebanese Government and the United Nations to restore the territorial integrity of the country.

This is contrary to the purpose of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL). The mandate of UNIFIL, to which Ghana is proud to be a modest troop contributor, is to assist the Lebanese Government to establish its authority and secure its control over the entire territorial boundaries of Lebanon. Israel's establishment of a security zone inside Lebanese territory in the south is therefore in breach of Security Council resolutions and of international law.

(Mr. Asamoah, Ghana)

It is also distressing to see Iran and Iraq still locked in a costly, destructive and utterly futile war. The only beneficiaries of this harrowing conflict are those who sell arms to both sides. The cost in human lives and physical destruction to both sides is heartrending. We condemn the novel use of chemical weapons in the conflict as well as the resort to wanton military attacks on civilian populations. We appeal once again to Iran and Iraq to co-operate with the Secretary-General and to help turn the present lull or relative stalemate in the conflict into a cease-fire that would lead to an early and permanent cessation of hostilities and the eventual peaceful settlement of the conflict.

In his report to the Security Council in June on the Cyprus question, the Secretary-General expressed his belief that agreement was within reach. He had come to that conclusion after almost a year of intensive consultations culminating in a high-level joint meeting between the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot sides. It is, therefore, disappointing to note that the expected agreement has still not materialized.

On the one hand, the Greek Cypriots have accepted the draft agreement drawn up by the Secretary-General as a basis for negotiations. On the other hand, the Turkish Cypriots, while committing themselves to the pursuit of a federal solution, have turned away from further substantive discussions and proceeded with a referendum and elections of their own. The Turkish Cypriots' actions in this regard are obviously in breach of United Nations resolutions, particularly Security Council resolutions 541 (1983) and 550 (1984) and cannot be condoned if their ultimate objective is to transform the northern part of Cyprus occupied by the Turkish community into a separate entity.

The unity and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus must remain the fundamental basis for an honourable and peaceful solution to the Cyprus question. The process of balkanization will only deepen division and animosity between Greek

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and Turkish communities, which, willy-nilly, have to live together. We urge both sides to work for a lasting solution on the basis of the establishment of a federal State, as proposed by the Secretary-General, without further delay.

There has been no let-up in the barrage of intimidation, vilification and open threats of invasion against the people of Nicaragua, in spite of their commitment to a peaceful solution to the dispute with their neighbours in Central America. The free elections conducted by the Government of Nicaragua have been spurned and denounced for no apparent reason by the very people who insist that there should be a return to democratic process in that country. It seems to us very strange logic indeed that the victims of the so-called contras, those whose ports have been mined and their economic installations sabotaged, should now be called terrorists.

On this fortieth anniversary of the United Nations we owe it to international peace and friendly relations to point out to the United States without fear or favour that its conduct towards Nicaragua is in violation of the Charter and needlessly sacrifices human lives in favour of parochial interests. Our ethical and legal values prevent us from condoning the injustices being perpetuated daily against the Nicaraguan people with such blatant cynicism. The elements and basis for a peaceful solution are still available in the Contadora process, which enjoys the blessing of the Security Council and the international community as a whole. We urge the international community to persuade the United States that might is not always right, certainly not in the case of Nicaragua.

In spite of the strenuous diplomatic efforts deployed within the framework of the United Nations and outside it, the conflict in Kampuchea still eludes solution. The continued military conflict has only accentuated the regional and international geopolitical dimension of the conflict.

The withdrawal of all foreign troops as well as of support for guerrilla activity, is also central to a peaceful settlement in Afghanistan. The principle

(Mr. Asamoah, Ghana)

of non-interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan must be respected by all concerned in the dispute. We urge the Secretary-General to continue his efforts towards this end through the proximity talks conducted by his special representative.

It is a happy coincidence that this year, the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, also marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted by the General Assembly as resolution 1514 (XV) on 14 December 1960. The historic significance of this Declaration is evident in the greatly enlarged membership of the United Nations today. The vast majority of Member States present here today owe their freedom and independence to the firm and decisive assault launched by the United Nations to eradicate the evil of colonialism from the face of the earth. We recall that many Member States at the time were not in favour of the Declaration but, once adopted, it quickly gained international support and proved to be a turning point in modern history for us all. Regrettably, however, we must record on this otherwise happy anniversary that the process of decolonization is still not complete in several cases, such as New Caledonia and, principally, in southern Africa.

Namibia and its long-suffering people are still held under the oppressive and illegal colonial yoke of racist South Africa. It is clear that underlying South Africa's actions on Namibia has always been an all-pervasive pattern of duplicity and bad faith. However, now even South Africa itself seems to have run out of tricks and has had to come into the open with its real intention of continuing to hold Namibia firmly in its colonial grip by installing the so-called interim government. That act confirms South Africa's determination to set up a puppet régime in Namibia.

(Mr. Asamoah, Ghana)

That racist régime has clearly no interest in the United Nations independence plan for Namibia and has drummed up every irrelevant excuse for delaying its implementation. The real purpose of South Africa is to circumvent Security Council resolution 435 (1978) altogether; but the United Nations should not permit the charade to continue any longer and should ensure that South Africa tackles the only real outstanding issue in the United Nations plan for Namibia, which is South Africa's choice of the electoral system to be used in ushering the Territory to independence.

South Africa is obviously trying to buy time in its latest actions. Even the proponents of "constructive engagement" have been dismayed by it and have joined the international community in roundly condemning the illegal move and in declaring it null and void. The United Nations should exert pressure on the South African Government to proceed to the independence of Namibia without any further delay.

By dint of repetitive propaganda, the so-called policy of linkage has been elevated to the status of a full-fledged precondition for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Thus the independence of Namibia has been hijacked and taken hostage apparently to secure the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola - an issue which is totally irrelevant to the United Nations independence plan for Namibia.

It cannot be repeated too often and too strongly that Angola, in the exercise of its national sovereignty, has every right to station on its soil whatever troops it chooses to assist in the defence of its territorial integrity. Was South Africa not responsible in the first place, through its aggression, for the introduction of Cuban troops into Angola? Is South Africa not still persisting in its support of bandits and counterrevolutionaries operating in Angola? Is it not South Africa which carried out an abortive commando attempt in May to blow up oil installations in the Cabinda province of Angola? The racist régime only wants the Cuban troops

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out of the way so that it can have the unfettered freedom to undermine the independence and sovereignty of Angola and of other front-line States on the false pretext that they harbour African National Congress freedom fighters.

It is significant that South Africa and its supporters have conveniently ignored Angola's offer of a phased withdrawal of Cuban troops included in the Lusaka Accords. Angola has been perfectly reasonable and gone out of its way to seek a compromise on the issue. We therefore cannot allow the freedom and independence of the people of Namibia to be sacrificed on the altar of the so-called linkage and constructive engagement.

(Mr. Asamoah, Ghana)

Security Council resolution 566 (1985), unanimously adopted at the end of the Council's debate in June, did not go far enough. The request of the non-aligned countries for the imposition of mandatory sanctions was opposed by the usual quarters and the resolutions did no more than merely urge selective voluntary measures against South Africa.

The world was promised that it would see more severe action, including possibly the taking of measures under Chapter VII of the Charter, if South Africa did not mend its ways and failed to co-operate fully in the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia by September 1985. Since no such compliance has been forthcoming from South Africa the world is entitled to see the measures promised against it made good.

We urge that effective action, in particular comprehensive, mandatory sanctions, should be invoked by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter since South Africa persists in obstructing the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). No other choice is left to the Security Council if it is not to lose all of its credibility and authority in this matter.

Racist South Africa's repeated military attacks and terrorist aggression against neighbouring States are matched only by the violence and brutality it routinely metes out to its black majority population, living under the inhuman conditions of the so-called bantustans. The events that have unfolded in that country in the last year have been enough to stir even the most conservative and heartless Governments and peoples into action against the racist régime. Even then, the situation has deteriorated, leading to a considerable loss of life.

The state of emergency imposed on 36 districts in July has been futile, and desperate attempts by the racist South African régime to shore up apartheid in the face of the mounting tide of resistance by the black population is failing. The

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writing is clearly on the wall. The oppressed people of South Africa have run out of patience and are no longer willing to suffer the indignities and injustices of their condition in silence. They are no longer willing to put up with police harassment and the denial to them of basic rights; nor are they willing any longer to forgo their right to participate in the political process of their country on the basis of "one man, one vote".

The struggle for freedom and for the destruction of apartheid in South Africa has reached a critical stage, and it behooves the international community to intensify its support for the freedom fighters in order to hasten the final demise of apartheid. This is why the people of South Africa felt painfully let down when, in response to Botha's state of emergency, the Security Council for the second time this year could not muster enough political will to impose mandatory economic sanctions on the racist South African régime.

On the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations it is entirely appropriate and imperative that the General Assembly should rededicate itself to launching a final assault on the citadel of apartheid in South Africa and on the last major stronghold of colonialism in Namibia. We must act to hasten the tide of history, even though its march in the direction of larger freedom, dignity and justice for the people of South Africa as a whole, without distinction of race or colour, is indeed inevitable.

In addition to its political problems, the continent of Africa continues to be caught in the throes of an economic crisis, with very little prospect of relief. The nature of this catastrophe and the consequential actions so far taken to deal with it are too well known to bear repetition.

Africa's crisis requires that the international community address itself urgently to the short-, medium- and long-term development needs of the region,

(Mr. Asamoah, Ghana)

while continuing its commendable efforts to meet the remaining emergency requirements of the countries most seriously affected by severe food shortages. African leaders, at the summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in mid-July in Addis Ababa, again committed themselves to intensified efforts to overcome the economic crisis and rehabilitate their shattered economies. It is therefore time for developed countries to translate their statements of support and concern into actual commitments of resources and the implementation of the Declaration on the Critical Economic Situation in Africa, adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session in resolution 39/29, and the resolution on the same subject adopted by the Economic and Social Council at its second regular session, held in July 1985 in Geneva.

In this context, developed countries, in view of their economic development and predominance in international trade, bear a special responsibility to complement the adjustment efforts already made by African and other developing countries through measures to facilitate a restoration of financial flows, the alleviation of the debt burden and the improvement of commodity prices.

In a situation fraught with so many dangers, we believe that this fortieth anniversary of the United Nations provides a good opportunity for all States to engage in a serious discussion of the urgent steps needed to restore the world economy to sustained growth. Interdependence has little meaning if we cannot act together to solve economic problems confronting both developed and developing countries.

Permit me now to say a few words about Ghana's recent experience. We have made strenuous efforts to put our own economic house in order by implementing policy adjustments to restore incentives to producers, to rehabilitate the infrastructure, and to improve the overall management of the national economy.

(Mr. Asamoah, Ghana)

While some international support has been forthcoming, which we acknowledge with appreciation, this falls far short of the levels required and has still not been commensurate with the sacrifices of the Ghanaian people. Unless the international community seriously complements our efforts, the statements of support we have heard will have a painful and bitter ring, not only in our ears, but also in the ears of all those who are also striving to improve their economic lot.

May I conclude my comments in this regard by restating our view that piecemeal and ad hoc solutions will not resolve the deep-seated, complex economic problems confronting the world today. At best, they will postpone the time when circumstances will force the developed countries to face up to the need for structural reform - for a fundamental restructuring of international economic relations to enable developing countries to achieve sustained growth and development. Today, a significant proportion of the international trade of developed countries is with developing countries; many millions of jobs in the industrialized countries depend on exports to the developing countries. Whether acknowledged or not, our fates are linked, and therefore over-abundance and deprivation cannot indefinitely continue to live peacefully side by side. Let us hope that this fortieth anniversary will bring leaders of the developed countries to a deeper understanding of these important issues.

On this fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, the eyes of the whole world are riveted on this Assembly for unequivocal solutions to the serious problems of international security, colonialism in southern Africa and feeding the world's increasing number of the hungry. Such solutions are indeed within our grasp if only we can summon the necessary political will to achieve them. Let us work together for a better future, for failure would be too costly to contemplate.

Mr. FILALI (Morocco) (interpretation from French): The United Nations is celebrating this year its fortieth anniversary, strengthened by experience which has no precedent in international relations, although this is accompanied by some apprehension in the face of the need to adapt to a world in which changes are accelerating at an unprecedented rate. In these circumstances, my country is pleased to see you, Sir, presiding over the destiny of our Assembly, since it is convinced that your great experience and your human qualities will prove an asset in ensuring the success of our work during this crucial session. Our satisfaction is all the greater in that you represent a country with which the Kingdom of Morocco has for centuries maintained relations in all spheres of political, economic, social and cultural life which have created deep affinities between our two peoples and afforded a model of fruitful and enriching dialogue between two civilizations.

We take this opportunity to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Paul Lusaka, who demonstrated a great sense of responsibility and readiness to be available at all times in the discharge of his duties.

We wish, moreover, to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General of our Organization, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for the untiring efforts he is making, with selflessness, courage and tenacity, to prevent tensions and conflicts in all parts of the world and to promote a peaceful outcome of the many crises that trouble international relations.

We are profoundly shocked by the tragedy which has struck the great and friendly people of Mexico and deeply distressed and grieved by the sufferings now endured by so many families. From this rostrum, I offer my most sincere condolences to the Mexican people and assure it of our full solidarity and our will to work within the international community to bring it the necessary assistance and aid.

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

Our Organization has been subjected to frequent and often exaggerated criticism of its effectiveness and its ability to face up to the increasingly complex problems of the modern world. Yet it has never been so close to its goal of universality, for it now comprises 159 States, whereas only some 50 of us were present at San Francisco when the Charter was adopted. This can be seen as the clearest proof of our Organization's significant contribution to the liberation of peoples from the yoke of colonialism and foreign occupation. The equal representation of all Members within our Assembly, regardless of size and power, and the constant protection of human rights without distinction as to colour, race, religion or political opinion have made the United Nations a symbol of the democratization of international relations. It is a unique and privileged forum for meetings and dialogue among all States, which can discuss bilateral relations as well as major issues of general interest and thus seek to create a climate conducive to progress and peace.

Despite these important achievements, our Organization has naturally experienced certain difficulties in adapting to the great upheavals which have taken place over the past 40 years - be it the access to national sovereignty of peoples representing almost two thirds of mankind and suffering from the consequences of colonialism and exploitation or the technological revolution and the perfection of nuclear weapons in the hands of a limited number of Powers. To place its credibility and its viability on a sounder footing, our Organization must meet the challenges of the modern world by rationalizing its procedures and equipping itself with appropriate mechanisms. We cannot but admit that to date it has proved ineffective in providing an adequate solution to the questions of international security and disarmament, establishing a just and equitable new international order and, finally, the situations prevailing in the Middle East and in southern Africa.

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

At the time when we are celebrating the fortieth anniversary of our Organization we must all be mindful of the founding fathers' firm will to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". Throughout these past 40 years our Organization has made praiseworthy and often innovative efforts, such as the establishment of emergency forces, to attain its primary objective, namely, the maintenance of international peace and security. The planet has indeed been spared a global conflagration, which, in the age of weapons of mass destruction, would assume the proportions of true mass suicide, but the fact remains that local conflicts have abounded, especially in the underprivileged regions of the world, thus counteracting the efforts and sacrifices made by the peoples concerned for their economic development.

Ideological considerations and the difficulties inherent in the decision-making machinery have very often prevented the Organization from performing with the desired efficiency its functions in the settlement of such conflicts, which are maintained and exacerbated by outside intervention, the recruitment and financing of mercenaries and the granting of transit facilities to them. The Kingdom of Morocco, in line with the recommendation of the non-aligned summit in New Delhi in March 1983, supports all efforts made within the United Nations towards the adoption of an international convention to prohibit such activities. It has also become a matter of urgency to develop the preventive function exercised by the Security Council and the Secretary-General, as an impartial third party, in defusing conflict situations in time by making use of all available procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes, such as inquiry, mediation, good offices or the sending of observer missions.

As a State bordering on the most important channel of maritime communications, the Strait of Gibraltar, which links the Atlantic to the Mediterranean, the Kingdom of Morocco has worked constantly within both the General Assembly and the

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Disarmament Commission in Geneva for the establishment of conditions conducive to peace and security in the Mediterranean. By virtue of our situation at the junction of Europe and Africa, we have maintained a constant interest in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe in which the Mediterranean and its southern shores are one of the essential factors.

The search for collective security based on co-operation risks being no more than a pious wish unless the international community succeeds in putting an end to the unbridled arms race and the accumulation by the major Powers of increasingly improved and sophisticated means of mass destruction.

The first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament raised many hopes through the Final Document and the important measures set out therein. It must nevertheless be admitted, after seven years of negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, that the progress achieved is far from being significant and that the Conference has become bogged down in procedural debates or sterile polemics. But the size of the stakes, involving the fate of mankind as a whole, makes it incumbent on us to persevere unremittingly in our efforts. As a member of the Geneva Conference, the Kingdom of Morocco will work, as it has in the past, inter alia, within the Group of 21, to promote concrete and constructive proposals designed to limit and freeze the ruinous arms race.

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

More than \$800 billion has been spent this year on armaments, at a time when the greatest part of the world's population is struggling with the endemic evil of underdevelopment. If we are to resolve this contradiction we must make an effort to ensure the success of the forthcoming International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, in particular by inviting all the countries directly concerned to participate actively in the preparatory work.

The problem of development in today's world, the need for transformation of the structures of the world economy and the demand for a new international economic order are problems which certainly exceed in complexity the original concerns of those who drafted the Charter of the United Nations.

The current disarray in the international economy, which is characterized by a decline in world production, increased unemployment, the deterioration of the terms of trade, the resurgence of protectionism, monetary instability and the chronic imbalance of payments, the explosive level of foreign indebtedness, the reverse transfer of resources and the decrease in real terms in international co-operation mean that the economic crisis has never given rise to so many disturbances in the world since the Second World War. This crisis is not uniform in its effects. Whereas the countries of the South are suffering from an enormous technological handicap and witnessing the reappearance of the scourges of famine and epidemics that were thought to have vanished, the countries of the North, thanks to their technical, financial and human resources, are not only withstanding the crisis, but are even experiencing a certain upswing in economic activity. At the same time, the prospects for the International Development Strategy adopted by our Assembly after a great deal of effort are largely compromised.

Faced with a situation that is likely to get worse, we have reached the conclusion that international assistance, necessary though it may be, can be neither equivalent to nor a replacement for the establishment of more just and

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equitable economic rules. This fact alone should encourage the developed world, setting aside all national egoism, to recognize the need for a radical change in the institutional framework of international economic relations.

Where obligations are concerned, however, Morocco asserts with all the strength at its command that our development is the primordial responsibility of our Governments, while remaining at the same time this Organization's priority objective and the main focus of international co-operation.

In this context we sincerely hope that the fortieth session of this Assembly will see substantial progress in the finalization of the codes of conduct on the transfer of technology and on transnational corporations, in the implementation of the Integrated Programme for Commodities and in the launching of global negotiations. For the time being, however, three problems of crucial importance demand our attention. These are the external debt and the reform of the international monetary system, the critical economic situation in Africa and South-South co-operation in its regional and bilateral aspects.

Indebtedness world-wide lies at the very heart of the great changes that are taking place and the external debt of the developing countries, by virtue of its new structure and the enormous cost of servicing it, now exceeds the ability of national economies to repay, is beyond the control of Government authorities and threatens the political and social stability of the debtor countries while at the same time endangering the international banking system and undermining the foundations of economic and social development policy.

Consequently we believe that the external debt has to a great extent ceased to be a banking and accounting phenomenon and become a problem that is essentially political and social and that the adjustment policies applied by many countries often lead to a vicious circle of impoverishment and instability.

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

The Kingdom of Morocco considers in this respect that the convening of an international conference on the African debt, the provisions of the Cartagena Consensus of June 1984 and the resolution on external debt recently adopted by the Ministerial Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries in Luanda are complementary initiatives in that they afford an excellent basis for finding a frame of reference with a view to seeking a just and lasting solution to the problem of external indebtedness based on mutual agreement and the shared responsibility of debtors and creditors and on the essential link that exists between the external debt, development finance and the expansion of international trade.

Moreover, since the world has changed, a redefinition of the international monetary system and of the role of the International Monetary Fund are vitally and urgently needed. It is our firm hope that the fortieth session of the General Assembly will promote the convening in the near future of an international conference on money and finance, with world-wide participation, as proposed by the seventh non-aligned Summit, held in New Delhi in March 1983. The results of that Conference should form an integral part of the process of global negotiations, which themselves have been rightly described as a "major political objective" of the international community as a whole.

Where the situation in Africa is concerned Morocco, as an African country, considers it essential that a special session of the United Nations General Assembly be convened to discuss the critical economic situation in Africa.

Our Assembly did indeed adopt by consensus at its thirty-ninth session an important declaration recognizing that, despite its considerable economic potential, Africa remains not only the weakest in infrastructure and the least industrialized, but also the least developed continent on the planet. Africa has, indeed, two thirds of the developing land-locked countries and three quarters

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of the least developed countries, while four fifths of the countries in this region are currently suffering from drought and desertification.

For this reason the Kingdom of Morocco is convinced that the international community cannot incur the guilt of failing to assist this endangered continent, and declares that it is a basic duty to demonstrate solidarity towards the African countries in their struggle for survival, development and dignity.

The South-South co-operation and its tremendous prospects are an illustration of the third world's commitment to assume its own destiny. We are convinced that, at a time when the outlines of a new structure in the world economy are being drawn, the establishment of a new international economic order cannot be brought about without significant progress in co-operation among developing countries. This co-operation, while aiming at collective autonomy, is in no way inspired by an autarchic turning inward, and hence constitutes neither a prerequisite for nor an alternative to North-South dialogue.

The co-operation my country is engaging in with the countries of Africa at the bilateral and regional level is an outstanding manifestation of this spirit. It has taken on different forms: financial contributions to the plan of action of the Non-Aligned Movement to deal with the critical economic situation in Africa, grants to the Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel, loans for the financing of infrastructural work, donations of equipment and transport facilities, participation in mining projects, staff training, technical assistance, provision of medical and veterinary supplies, food aid consignments, fertilizer shipments and debt moratoriums.

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While we are calling on the developed countries to show firm political will in their solidarity and interdependence with the developing world, my country considers that by strengthening South-South co-operation the Group of 77 will signal to the international community our determination and common will to assume responsibility for our own destiny in the face of the challenges of the twenty-first century.

In spite of all the Arab and international efforts and initiatives, the Palestinian people continue to undergo exile and foreign occupation, with all the suffering and privations entailed by that tragic situation. Israeli practices of collective oppression and the denial of fundamental rights of the Palestinian people are continuing, in total disregard of all the resolutions of both the General Assembly and the Security Council.

Moreover, Israel has made State terrorism a preferred instrument of its policy of aggression, a fact attested to by the criminal attack just made on the fraternal people of Tunisia and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) headquarters, in violation of basic principles of international law.

The responsibility of our Organization in the matter is primordial, since it was this Organization which decided at the outset on the creation of two States in Palestine. Nearly 40 years later, we note, however, that the Palestinian people is still denied its right to self-determination and to existence as an independent State, without the achievement of which it is not possible to arrive at a peaceful and lasting solution to the Middle East question as a whole.

The Arab world, meeting at the 1982 Fez Summit, showed a realistic and rational spirit and a sense of compromise by proposing a peace plan that has been well received by the international community as a whole. In the face of that

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conciliatory move for peace, what was Israel's response but the multiplication of acts of repression and expulsion and the establishment of new settler colonies.

In view of the escalation of violence, His Majesty King Hassan II, as incumbent President of the Arab Summit, insisted on convening an extraordinary session of that body, in order to deal with the dangerous evolution of the situation. The Casablanca Summit was thus able to reconfirm on that occasion its support of the Fez Peace Plan, the implementation of which would entail Israel's prior withdrawal from the Palestinian and Arab territories occupied since 1967, including the Holy City of Jerusalem.

Within this framework, the Arab countries called upon the United Nations to assume an essential role in the initiation of the peace process, in particular by the convening of an international conference, with the participation of all the parties concerned, the great Powers and permanent members of the Security Council. Lastly, the Arab leaders showed at the extraordinary Summit their keen sense of responsibility and their desire for peace by vigourously denouncing terrorism in all its forms and whatever its origins, while reiterating their dedication to the principles of law and justice in defence of the legitimate cause of the Palestinian people. In this context, the Kingdom of Morocco will continue its support for the struggle of that people, under the leadership of the PLO, its sole, legitimate representative, for the recovery of its territories and the establishment of an independent and sovereign State.

My country, which has always maintained fraternal relations with the Lebanese people, is grievously affected by the tragic events befalling it, with the almost daily quota of innocent victims and destruction. We reaffirm our support for respect of the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country, and we shall continue to work in all international forums to ensure that it recovers its

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stability and security and becomes once again the symbol of coexistence among the different communities concerned.

The region is being wracked by another fratricidal war between Iran and Iraq, setting two neighbouring Moslem countries against each other and continuing in spite of many attempts at conciliation and mediation at the regional and global levels. Unfortunately, in spite of the hand held out many times by Iraq, Iran is showing great intransigence, frustrating the efforts made by the international community for the restoration of peaceful and good-neighbourly relations between the two countries. We sincerely hope that for the sake of a common future inscribed in the facts of geography and history Iran will adopt a more flexible position and commit itself resolutely to the peace process.

The situation in southern Africa lies at the center of the concerns of the international community as a whole. The irresponsible and short-sighted policy of the South African Government might bring about a real conflagration throughout the African continent and jeopardize international peace and security. We are faced here with a real challenge to the conscience of mankind since, in spite of numerous resolutions of our Organization and incessant appeals from humanitarian associations, the South African authorities persist in their illegal occupation of Namibia, maintain and strengthen their policy of apartheid, in violation of the most elementary rights of the human person, and engage periodically in acts of armed aggression against neighbouring States.

The fraternal Namibian people still live under the terror of a colonial and racist régime, eight years after the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), providing for a peaceful and democratic settlement, including the organization of free elections under the auspices of the United Nations. South Africa has contrived to confuse the issue and create new obstacles

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to Namibia's independence, while intensifying its military effort and oppressing the population.

The Kingdom of Morocco, which has consistently lent its unreserved support to the struggle of the fraternal Namibian people, believes that we must redouble our efforts, at a time when we are commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, in order to achieve the total emancipation of the Namibian people, with respect for their country's territorial integrity.

Our full solidarity goes also, as in the past, to the population of South Africa which is suffering under the yoke of racial discrimination, set up as a system of government, and which suffers the most shameless exploitation. At a time when we are witnessing an unprecedented intensification of the struggle of international public opinion, our Organization should mobilize all the means at its disposal in order to eliminate the anachronistic system of apartheid and put an end to one of the gravest sources of instability in Africa. Instead of taking cognizance of the inevitable evolution towards respect for the dignity of the human person and for democratic values, South Africa has, unfortunately, chosen to plunge ahead by directing its war machine against peaceful neighbouring States.

The Kingdom of Morocco condemns the external interventions, violations of sovereignty and State terrorism practised by South Africa against Lesotho, Botswana, Mozambique and the People's Republic of Angola. The United Nations must apply the necessary sanctions under the appropriate provisions of the Charter.

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Similarly, we have constantly upheld the right of all countries freely to choose their political, economic and social systems, without external interference, whether in Afghanistan or in Kampuchea.

The peoples of Central America are experiencing the difficulties of underdevelopment and facing the hazards of instability and foreign interference. The Kingdom of Morocco supports the efforts of the countries concerned to establish regional co-operation and eliminate any intervention in their internal affairs.

The initiative in this regard of the Contadora Group, supported at Lima by other Latin American countries, deserves to be taken into consideration and to be encouraged by the international community, in order to achieve a normalization of relations between the Central American States concerned, on the basis of mutual respect, national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

With regard to the region of North-West Africa, I beg the attention of our Assembly to touch on a problem of paramount importance for my country. Allow me to recall briefly the genesis of the so-called question of Western Sahara and to clarify the situation as it stands today.

As everyone knows, it was on the initiative of Morocco that the United Nations was first seized of this question, as well as the question of Ifni, in 1963. The General Assembly, on 20 December 1965, first of all requested:

"the Government of Spain, as the administering Power, immediately to take the necessary measures for the liberation of the Territories of Ifni and the Spanish Sahara from colonial domination, and to this end to enter into negotiations on the problems relating to sovereignty presented by these two Territories". (resolution 2072 (XX))

While negotiations actually took place in the case of Ifni, which was reintegrated with the motherland in 1969, it was necessary to await the Madrid Agreement of 14 November 1975 in order to organize the definitive decolonization of Western Sahara.

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In order to frustrate that process, some parties called, in this very forum, for the holding of a referendum on self-determination, arguing that the consultation, on 28 February 1976, of the Sahara representative assembly, the Jema'a, was insufficient.

The Kingdom of Morocco anticipated that demand, and His Majesty the King proposed to his African peers the holding of a referendum on self-determination, for the purpose of consulting the population of the Sahara under international supervision, and undertook to respect the results.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) was thus able to adopt unanimously, at its eighteenth summit meeting at Nairobi, resolution AHG/103 (XVIII) which noted with appreciation the solemn commitment made by His Majesty King Hassan II to accept the holding of a referendum in the territory of Western Sahara; decided to set up an Implementation Committee with full powers; urged the parties to the conflict to observe an immediate cease-fire; and requested the Implementation Committee to work out all the details relevant to the conduct and administration of the referendum.

The Committee indeed carried out its task and finalized all the modalities at the two sessions in Nairobi, in August 1981 and February 1982, with the assistance of United Nations experts delegated by the Secretary-General.

In order to hasten the carrying out of the referendum operation, only the date remaining to be established, the Moroccan Sovereign came before this Assembly, at its thirty-eighth session in 1983, to reiterate solemnly our Nairobi commitment and the readiness of the Kingdom of Morocco to collaborate, unconditionally and at any time, in the implementation of the African decisions.

Why is it, then, that the Organization of African Unity should have opted, in violation of its Charter, for the admission of a fictitious republic, in disregard,

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moreover, of all its previous positions and the wishes of the international community? In the circumstances, the Kingdom of Morocco had no choice but to withdraw from an Organization in which it had placed all its confidence and which had gone back on its decision by anticipating the population of the Sahara, thereby substituting itself for the expression of that people's authentic will.

The Kingdom of Morocco is fully aware of the dangers that lie in wait for our African continent, in view of the many attempts at subversion and secession which have been promoted and which might be promoted in the future, by emphasis on the ethnic diversity and the fragility of most of the States. Our withdrawal from the OAU was, in fact, in the interest of Africa itself. We withdrew so as not to sanction a procedure the destabilizing effects of which might be of extreme gravity for a large number of African countries.

In so doing, the Kingdom of Morocco, which was one of the sponsors of resolution 1514 (XV) on the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the twenty-fifth anniversary of which we are celebrating this year, only expressed thereby its fidelity to the principle of self-determination.

I should like to address myself here to our African brothers to tell them that it was not light-heartedly nor in a spirit of hostility and rupture with regard to Africa that Morocco was obliged to take the sad decision to withdraw from the Organization of African Unity. Furthermore, in a farewell message to the twentieth summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity in November 1984, the Moroccan Sovereign Hassan II expressed himself as follows:

"Morocco is African, and African it will remain. All we Moroccans will remain in the service of Africa, in the Arab League for Arab-African

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co-operation, in the Non-Aligned Movement in order to defend the sovereignty of Africa, in the Organization of Islamic Conference in order to promote co-operation and mutual assistance in the revealed religions, and in the United Nations, where we shall be in the forefront to preserve the dignity of the African citizens and respect of our continent."

However, it is with regret that we are obliged to note today the failure of all the efforts made by the Organization of African Unity to settle definitively this question of the Sahara which is henceforth at an impasse, as was pointed out by the Secretary-General himself in the report which he has just presented on this subject to our Assembly.

We are even more comforted in this objective analysis of the situation by the statement made to the press by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Algeria, in this very building, last Tuesday:

"What brought us to imagine the Maghrebian framework and to work on the Morocco-Algerian dialogue started when we became convinced that the African framework was no longer adequate, but Africa, faced with the fact that Morocco refused to implement the resolution, was forced, out of weariness - I repeat, weariness - to accept the Sahraoui Republic, even if Morocco stepped out of the room. But once again, we agree in saying that the admission of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic to the Organization of African Unity does not solve the problem."

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On this point, I ask the Assembly at least to take note of the Algerian agreement regarding the impasse at the African level, and to take into consideration the need to come back to the only forum which can help in solving the problem: the United Nations.

The persistence of the present deadlock could lead to an aggravation of tension in the region and even to a conflict situation between two neighbouring countries belonging to the same sphere of civilization and culture and united by centuries of common life and struggle. Whether they wish it or not, their fate, too, is a common one and can be realized only in the construction of a Maghreb community, based on solidarity and brought into being by the will of the people of the region.

It is thus high time for the United Nations, which is still seized of this case and has experience of the appropriate logistics, to regain the initiative in order to ensure that the referendum on self-determination is held as soon as possible. We have full confidence in the ability of the Secretary-General, who has already on several occasions assumed the role of mediator in order to bring parties together and defuse crisis situations. In our view, the Secretary-General should be encouraged in any initiative which he sees fit to take, in particular in co-operation with the incumbent President and the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and with all the parties concerned with the definitive settlement of this question. The Kingdom of Morocco reaffirms its complete readiness to assist the Secretary-General and collaborate fully in the holding of a free and democratic referendum, under the auspices of the United Nations, and its commitment to respect the result of such referendum.

Let us hope that this session, which commemorates the fortieth anniversary of our Organization and is one of balance-sheets and hopes, will open the way to

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a definitive and just solution of this question and to the creation of a new climate of appeasement in the region.

In conclusion, at the time when we are celebrating the fortieth anniversary of our Organization we must clearly recognize that our world continues to be prey to selfishness and intolerance.

In the face of the nuclear peril, the frantic arms race, the increasing rigidity of ideological blocks, the demographic explosion, the squandering of the natural resources of the planet and, above all, the absence of any clear prospects for the development of large sections of disinherited humanity, how can one be surprised at the anxiety of today's youth, its despair in the face of the uncertainties of the future and its recourse to extreme positions, whether on the religious level or with regard to political and economic allegiance.

As we examine the balance-sheet, we must note with regret that our Organization, during its 40 years of existence, has failed to take account in its work of the spiritual dimension of man. How can one fail to recognize that types of materialism of all shades have been unable to coexist peacefully or to resolve the human equation on a lasting basis?

Our universe is immersed in models of consumption that are impossible to universalize, whereas the revealed religions remind us that the life of human communities must not be reduced to the satisfaction of economic needs alone. When receiving His Holiness the Pope recently, His Majesty the King of Morocco and the Moroccan people presented to the world an Islam open and modern, tolerant, opposed to fanaticism and intolerance. We have a profound conviction that the reconciliation of spiritual beliefs and the dialogue between religions constitute factors of peace capable of transcending present conflicts and laying the foundations of a better world for future generations.

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It is therefore urgently necessary for the United Nations to assume a more dynamic role in the restoration of the essential values of humanity, in order to personify, at the dawn of the twenty-first century, the hope of a new human order that reconciles man with himself.

Mr. ANDRADE DIAZ DURAN (Guatemala) (interpretation from Spanish):

Mr. President, I am pleased on behalf of the people and the Government of Guatemala to offer you our most cordial congratulations on your election as President of the fortieth session of the General Assembly. We are convinced that your personal qualifications as well as your full knowledge of international problems will guarantee the success of our deliberations and the progress which will no doubt be achieved in the work of this session. I am pleased to extend to you the full co-operation of my delegation in the difficult and important tasks which have been entrusted to you.

I should also like to express the gratitude of my delegation for the excellent work carried out by Ambassador Paul Lusaka in his capacity as President of the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session.

May I also, on behalf of the people and the Government of Guatemala, and on behalf of the delegation over which I preside, offer a most cordial greeting to His Excellency, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, the Secretary-General of this Organization, and renew to him our support for the efforts he has been making to achieve peace and progress for the peoples.

I should also like to greet the representatives to this Assembly, whose task it is to share in the efforts and responsibilities during this session of the General Assembly in order to make a positive contribution to the strengthening of the principles which inspire the Charter of the United Nations.

(Mr. Andrade Diaz Duran, Guatemala)

In addition to the official condolences conveyed by my Government, I avail myself of this opportunity to renew our sympathy to the people and the Government of Mexico on the natural disaster suffered recently by that country, and to make an appeal to the Members of this Organization to lend their support to the extent possible to Mexico, as they did for Guatemala when an earthquake devastated our territory in 1976. Guatemala feels very close to the brotherly people of Mexico in this time of sorrow.

On 26 June of this year we commemorated the fortieth anniversary of the signing of the Charter of the United Nations in San Francisco. As a founding member of this Organization, Guatemala has taken part in, encouraged and followed always very closely and with great interest the work of the Organization in the last 40 years. There is no doubt that the United Nations to some extent is the reflection of the problems and realities of the countries which make it up and therefore it can solve those problems in the extent to which States display a genuine political will to do so. We must therefore look back on the work of the most representative international Organization of our contemporary world and not only discuss with objectivity its achievements and failures but most importantly look at future possibilities to strengthen it so that it may eventually comply fully with the lofty goals for which it was established.

The United Nations constitutes a body which enables peoples and Governments by means of ongoing dialogue and relations to know each other better and also to share experiences and efforts in order better to deal with the complex problems which affect the international community in all fields.*

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

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Clearly, this most important world political body is an arena for the promotion of an open dialogue, and despite the differences between countries in ideology and in economic and social conditions, it may, within a framework of understanding and respect, provide the channels for co-operation which will benefit mankind as a whole.

Despite its considerable limitations, this Organization still offers real hope for international coexistence and solidarity. Nevertheless, we must recognize that the expectations which went into the making of this multinational body have not always in practice been translated into tangible responses to the great challenge of maintaining international peace and security.

While it is true that mankind has succeeded in avoiding a third world conflagration, which could lead to chaos and total destruction, we must also say that violence is still spreading and intensifying in many countries, regions and continents, leaving an increasing number of victims in its wake. These conflicts, unfortunately, have not been halted despite the constant appeals by our Organization.

But in another order of ideas, the achievements of the Organization are also quite clear and meaningful: in the scientific, humanitarian, technological, social, economic, cultural, conceptual and practical fields.

We must admit to the fact that the United Nations, which is made up of different States, very often acts slowly in responding to crisis situations, and it is frustrating to see its inability speedily to arrive at the compromise formulas which are required by circumstances. There is no doubt that the creation of the United Nations is the expression of an act of faith by those countries which had suffered from the terrible scourge of the Second World War. It stems from the shared purpose of establishing a collective security system and a system of collective international co-operation.

International relations at present are very different from those which existed

in 1945. The number of States which have become independent has grown tremendously, and the Organization now has 159 members. At the same time different kinds of organizations have emerged over the years, not only regional or sub-regional organizations, but also organizations at the multilateral level, dealing with co-operation.

Thus, in this complex context this international body has contributed in the last four decades to the quest for peace, co-operation, justice and development. No doubt, we are better prepared today to deal with various kinds of realities, because while it is true that poverty continues mercilessly to strike in all corners of the world, we have also witnessed the incredible and constant miracle of the progress of science and technology, the free and creative product of the human mind. And while it is true that man seems unable to forgo and rid himself of the germ of self-destruction, it is also true that man is capable of achieving the highest values which ennoble him and make him special, exceptional and unique. Therefore, we reaffirm our faith in man, so that man may freely and responsibly seek greater achievements and regain spiritual values, thus achieving the greatest benefits through his full development.

It is that same man who constitutes the key element in the organization of States, and the sole and ultimate party responsible for coexistence and solidarity among peoples to which the United Nations contributes to some extent. We are aware of the fact that many factors aggravate the international crisis, particularly economic and financial factors, coupled with social and natural issues of dramatic proportions. But while we understand the complexity of the solutions required, we must not be discouraged but rather prepared to make whatever sacrifice may be required by circumstances.

I would like to appeal to all Member States of the United Nations jointly to contribute to the achievement of the goals and objectives and put into effect fully the principles so clearly defined in the Charter signed in 1945.

(Mr. Andrade Diaz Duran, Guatemala)

I should like now briefly to refer to the most salient aspects of the national and international policy of Guatemala. It is with great satisfaction that I venture to state before this Assembly that the promises made by the provisional and temporary Government of Guatemala two years ago have been carried out to the letter without any changes. We can reaffirm today that the process of democratization in Guatemala and the bringing about of a more open society is now becoming a reality. The new constitution was solemnly enacted on 31 May last, after 10 months of hard work by the National Constituent Assembly, which was elected on 1 July last year in free exemplary elections, where all citizens without any pressures came to the polls in unprecedented numbers in the political history of our country, thus demonstrating the true democratic ideals of our people.

This electoral event, whose purity cannot be in doubt, made it possible for the 18 political parties and civilian committees to elect deputies representing various sectors and ethnic groups making up our society.

The new constitution, which will come into effect on 14 January 1986, is in keeping with the most modern theories and trends of constitutional political law and regulates, with the proper checks and balances, the exercise of public power, as well as the administration and management of the business of state. It places special emphasis on the defence of our constitutional order and guarantees the establishment and functioning of political organizations so as to ensure the exercise of democracy by means of pluralism and the greatest possible participation.

The new constitution recognizes and guarantees fully human rights and incorporates the texts of international treaties and conventions to which Guatemala is a party. We must also emphasize social rights which include the promotion of all issues relating to ethnic groups, thus stimulating and promoting their associations and organizations in order to ensure their full development.

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Our Constitution also includes the establishment of a Guatemalan equivalent of an office of defender of human rights through the setting up of a commission and an attorney-general for human rights, enjoying broad powers not only to promote and facilitate governmental action in this area, but also to counter improper administrative conduct and publicly to condemn actions which run counter to constitutional rights.

The National Assembly continues to function and has been mandated by the people to decree permanent electoral laws, as well as the law of "amparo", the habeas corpus law and constitutional law, which we hope will be issued at the end of this year. In early June the Government called for general elections which will take place on 3 November and, as was done last year, we have invited observers of international organizations, of friendly countries, as well as journalists and political and academic figures, to witness the event in which the President and Vice-President of the Republic will be elected, as well as deputies to the National Congress, mayors and members of all municipal entities in the country.

If no presidential candidate obtains an absolute majority, there will be a second electoral round, on 8 December, between the two candidates that will have received the largest number of votes.

After the deadline for registration of candidates has been reached, the people of Guatemala will have clear choices of a wide range of ideologies.

For the first time in the political history of Guatemala, we have eight presidential candidates, all of them civilians. The Government of Guatemala maintains absolute neutrality in the electoral process and has granted all the necessary facilities for this purpose, so that the political parties may conduct their campaigns in an appropriate climate without any kinds of limitations.

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All this leads us to believe that in November there will be a larger number of voters than those that came to the polls last July, when 73 per cent of our citizens voted. The Supreme Electoral Tribunal, which is independent from other State bodies, will be collecting and counting the votes and issuing the results.

All of the above summarizes the situation in Guatemala as it obtains now and the decisive steps which we have taken for a return to democratic institutions. Our Government takes this opportunity to express its profound recognition to the friendly countries which have constantly demonstrated to us not only their interest but also their solidarity and support for the process in which we are engaged.

(Mr. Andrade Diaz Duran,
Guatemala)

The people of Guatemala wants to exercise its legitimate right to choose freely its future leaders in peace and tranquillity without outside interference. Therefore my people wishes its right to self-determination respected and thus it strongly and energetically rejects and denounces any attempt by purely minority totalitarian sectors, supported and encouraged from the outside, to obstruct the voting procedure by means of destabilization, violence, intimidation and terrorism. We have not the slightest doubt that these actions are repudiated by an overwhelming majority of Guatemalans, who, like other Latin Americans, are determined to consolidate their democratic institutions on the continent.

In the period 1980 to 1982 Guatemala experienced a resurgence of subversive violence, which compelled thousands of Guatemalans to abandon their communities of origin and move to safer areas. Many of them chose to cross the border into Mexico, where they settled in camps. The solution of this problem in an overall and definitive fashion is a major concern of the present government. Along these lines we have held talks with the Government of Mexico and contacted the Mexican Red Cross, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the League of Red Cross Societies, in co-operation with the Guatemalan Red Cross, so as to implement agreed procedures to facilitate the return of our compatriots to Guatemala in a voluntary and orderly fashion, not only giving them the protection they require but also creating the conditions to enable them to return to their usual occupations and, if possible, to their communities of origin, so that they could be incorporated in productive activity, thus actively participating in the development of our country.

I am pleased to report that thousands of refugees in recent years have voluntarily returned to Guatemala by their own means. However, according to the figures supplied by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the

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authorities of the Mexican Government, there still remain approximately 46,000 refugees, mostly women and children, in Mexico.

The pacification of what was earlier called "areas of conflict" at present makes it possible to give the displaced Guatemalans the services and infrastructure necessary for their personal well-being, including among other things food assistance, housing, health assistance and training for productive activities particularly in agriculture, and thus we hope that in the near future consultations will make it possible for them finally to return, so that they may exercise their legitimate right to live in peace in the land in which they were born.

The respect and full implementation of human rights must remain one of the main concerns of Governments, since their observance is fundamental to the achievement of the well-being and security of peoples. Hence it is essential to create the necessary conditions and take the necessary measures to protect and guarantee the exercise of individual as well as social human rights recognized by the international community. Unfortunately, in the recent past my country has been in one way or another the victim of violence and terrorism promoted from outside, with the ensuing negative effects in regard to human rights. Despite all the difficulties and adverse factors, considerable improvement has taken place in Guatemala in this area and the level of violence has considerably decreased.

Guatemala is continuing its "open door" policy, a policy of unconditional co-operation with all governmental and non-governmental humanitarian agencies interested in the promotion of human rights, and therefore we have provided to them all the necessary facilities so that their representatives may visit our country and ascertain directly and personally the true situation there. A special reference should be made to the visit of the Special Rapporteur of the United Nations Commission of Human Rights, Viscount Colville de Culross, who has received every co-operation and has been able to interview leaders and representatives of

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all social sectors, including, among others, politicians, trade unionists, religious leaders, academics and government authorities. Thus he has been able, without any limitation, to go through our territory and gain first-hand information and knowledge about the true situation. We have also received a visit from the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and many delegations from private entities, which, like any Guatemalan citizen, have enjoyed every possible freedom of action and movement to carry out their mandates. We are truly interested in ensuring that the realities in Guatemala are known world-wide so as to thwart the systematic campaigns of dogmatic political groups interested in presenting a negative image of our country. In a gesture of goodwill, Guatemala accepted the renewal of the mandate of the Special Rapporteur of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, who has been dealing with the realities in our country for three years. We want it to be known that our Government has a positive attitude in this regard and this I feel is the right time to appeal to the international community for its full co-operation towards our new Government which will take power next year, and we hope it will not be necessary to renew at that time the mandate of a Special Rapporteur of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights for Guatemala.

We also take this opportunity to call upon the world Organization to depoliticize debate on human rights and to abandon the practice of selective treatment in this matter. In its unacceptable to treat States with different yardsticks regarding human rights. It is absurd to single out for censure some small countries while others which are engaged in flagrant violations and are involved in military or economic alliances with powerful nations are left alone. The latter are not even mentioned in this forum, much less criticized.

The Government of Guatemala, presided over by General Oscar Humberto Mejia Victores, has maintained a steadfast policy of respect for the

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principles and norms of international law and the principles and purposes of the Charter of the world Organization, particularly with regard to the sovereign equality of States, the territorial integrity, independence and self-determination of peoples, non-intervention, the maintenance of international peace and security, the promotion of and full respect for human rights and the strengthening of co-operation among nations. In keeping with these tenets, we have always had our own dynamic international policy based on moderation, acting in solidarity with just causes.

The Central American region has for some time been suffering from a profound crisis which has affected it at all levels and which stems from different factors, internal as well as external. Never before in our history have we had to deal with a combination of so many adverse elements. There are serious political, economic and social problems which lead to tensions and confrontations and affect all the countries of Central America. Peace and security are seriously threatened by a worsening of internal conflicts which generate friction between countries, with the danger of generalized confrontation whose consequences cannot be foreseen. It would seem ironic that Central America, this great homeland of ours, united through history and with a common destiny which seemed quite promising, with integration systems that have functioned in an exemplary manner for the past quarter of a century creating development and trust, has in the past few years been afflicted by a climate of uncertainty, misunderstanding and distrust.

Nevertheless, hope for understanding and reconciliation is emerging. Indeed dialogue and communication are maintained, and it is with renewed efforts that the Contadora group continues to provide its most valuable mediation services. This truly Latin American peace plan, which enjoys the full support of the international community, has made it possible for Central Americans to maintain negotiations with

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a view to finding formulas for the alleviation of tension and to bring about lasting peace in the region. Guatemala firmly believes in the process of the Contadora group, which, with the greatest objectivity and a clear vision of the potential scope of the crisis in Central America, has proposed formulas based on norms and principles of international law, taking into account the specific conditions prevailing in the area. We must mention, as one of the major achievements of this negotiation process, in which there has always existed frank and open dialogue, the consensus of Central American Governments and the adoption of the Document of Objectives, with 21 points, fully covering principles and commitments which could ensure peace in Central America.

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Recently we have been given a revised version of this Act for Peace and Co-operation in Central America to be considered and discussed by plenipotentiaries in a period of 45 days. This document, which has been revised and perfected in the light of contributions by the Central American Governments, is, in my opinion, a document which could become a binding juridical instrument. The Central American Governments and the Contadora Group must know that Guatemala will maintain its constructive attitude and that it will continue to lend its support so that the Act may enter into force as soon as possible.

Guatemala has welcomed the creation of a group for the political support of the Contadora Group consisting of Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Uruguay which, during the meeting held by their respective Ministers for Foreign Affairs at the invitation of the President of Colombia, Mr. Belisario Betancur, in Cartagena on 24 and 25 August of this year, outlined the important tasks which will be carried out for the purpose of seeking formulas for substantive and definitive solutions for the problems of Central America.

The contribution of the countries forming the support group is of supreme importance for the peace process promoted by the Contadora Group because it introduces into the negotiations a new dynamic factor, a very authoritative, credible and well-respected factor, namely the support of Latin America in the efforts for the establishment and consolidation of peace, democracy and economic and social development in Central America.

Finally, with regard to Contadora, Guatemala would like to express its recognition for the admirable efforts made by the Group on behalf of Central America for almost three years.

Guatemala's determination to see Central America achieve integration is well known. This has been the traditional policy of my country in the region, for we

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remain convinced that fraternal peoples sharing the same historical destiny cannot live separated from each other. We have much in common and have achieved much together. Despite the political crisis, the scheme for Central American integration is still alive. We are convinced that, even in the context of the existing structural problems in the region, this process is a proper strategy to promote the joint development of the Central American countries within the framework of mutual respect and recognition of the specific characteristics of each and every one of its members. In other words, we accept and recognize unity in diversity.

The regional institutions have been working properly; the ministers of the five countries involved meet often to discuss and solve common problems; and, recently, following difficult negotiations, we have signed an agreement establishing common tariffs in Central America. This will be a most important instrument of development within the policy of regional integration.

I would like to point out that, in light of the profound crisis confronting Central America, the co-ordination and harmonization of the actions of the five Central American countries with respect to the rest of the world is becoming increasingly relevant.

The historic meeting which we held one year ago in San José de Costa Rica with the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the European Communities, Spain and Portugal, together with the Ministers of the Contadora Group, has been a major contribution in this effort and has opened new options for our peoples. We hope that the next meeting, which will be held in November in Luxembourg, will be not only one more step forward in this historical encounter with the members of the European Communities but will also be an opportunity to reaffirm the integrationist bent and

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political will of the participants to give effect to the purposes and principles of the Joint Declaration of San José.

Like all the developing countries, Guatemala has also been affected by the current international economic crisis to which references have been made by the personalities and delegations who have spoken in this General Assembly. There can be no doubt that, in order to overcome this situation, which seems to be a chronic one, it is indispensable further to strengthen multilateral co-operation, particularly in those areas which are interrelated, such as finance, debt and trade. Only through political will on the part of the developed countries in this multilateral effort will we be able to reach a solution of this crisis, which gives rise to so many difficulties and affects the well-being of our peoples.

For Guatemala the crisis is acute indeed. External debt, the drop in the prices of our exports, the investment retrenchment, the flight of capital, the progressive erosion of the external value of our money, the negative growth rate, and unemployment create political and social tensions which threaten the current process of democratization and endanger the stability and future of my country.

Hence, Guatemala, in addition to the internal efforts which it is making, is following attentively and taking part in the multilateral initiatives which are being taken for the purpose of finding viable solutions to these problems. We therefore support the Cartagena consensus to hold a multilateral meeting with the industrialized countries to eliminate those factors which give rise to the monetary, financial and trade crisis which besets us.

Latin America is confronting a very complex crisis in a very confusing world. To face up to this crisis we cannot fail to emphasize the importance of the problem of external debt. That is why there must be reasonable negotiations between

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debtors and creditors, which would take all factors into account. In this connection, Latin America calls for a political dialogue, because we feel that it is not right to sacrifice the development of its peoples to service the debt under such rigid conditions. We hope that the industrialized nations will adopt a realistic and understanding attitude because a Latin America in which economic problems are out of control is a political problem for the rest of the world. We therefore repeat our concern at this grave situation, which is serious also for the entire international community.

I should like now to refer to the still unsettled question of Belize. Guatemala in all good faith has held informal exploratory talks with the United Kingdom with the participation of representatives of Belize in order to find a just and honourable solution which will satisfy and safeguard the legitimate interests and rights of the parties involved. Guatemala, as has been done earlier, reiterates its firm will to continue such negotiations with an open mind and a constructive attitude in order to achieve points of agreement which will make it possible to lay the foundations for a definitive settlement. We are convinced that a sincere dialogue must be pursued to promote understanding between the parties. We expect that our positive and realistic attitude will be reciprocated, and we expect that the other party will unequivocally display the political will necessary for a solution.

Nevertheless, the Government of Guatemala wishes once again to state that it reserves its rights over the territory of Belize as long as the dispute has not been resolved. Consequently, we do not recognize either the independence of Belize, or the State of Belize, or its alleged sea or land frontiers. We also wish to repeat that we intend to promote and strengthen economic, social and cultural

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relations with the people of Belize in order to promote better understanding and mutually beneficial co-operation.

In connection with the question of the Malvinas, we support the Latin American position on this problem. We note that talks between the United Kingdom and the Republic of Argentina have not led to any final result on the dispute between the two parties. We again appeal for a renewed dialogue between them in compliance with the principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations so as to give effect to Security Council resolution 502 (1982).

With regard to the situation in Kampuchea, we repeat that the people of the country themselves have the exclusive right freely to determine their destiny and that there must be an unconditional withdrawal of all foreign forces, to guarantee the country's effective independence, territorial integrity and the exercise of its sovereignty.

The Government of Guatemala is gratified by the renewal of talks between the Red Cross of South Korea and North Korea, the economic talks seeking bilateral co-operation and cultural, artistic and other exchanges which have been taking place. These and other developments will promote a dialogue with a view to the eventual reunification of Korea, an outcome which should definitely be supported by the international community.

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My Government believes that South Korea and North Korea should be admitted as Members of the United Nations, if they so request, so that they also may take part in United Nations efforts to maintain international peace and security and strengthen international co-operation.

The war which is still being waged between Iran and Iraq is a source of grave concern to the international community. The protracted and intensified conflict places the peace and stability of the region in grave jeopardy. We therefore insist that the parties involved bring about a cessation of hostilities so that a satisfactory solution can be found. Guatemala also regrets the great losses of human life and material damage caused by the war.

In relation to the Middle East, Guatemala expresses solidarity with the people of Lebanon suffering from the painful impact of violence and fratricidal confrontation. We believe that to restore a climate of concord and peace it is necessary immediately to withdraw all foreign forces from the occupied territory. Also, we believe that peace in the region must be based on mutual respect and that there must be recognition of and respect for the independence of the State of Israel, without denying the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to settle in their own territory.

The General Assembly and the Security Council have devoted more than 20 years in a quest for a solution to the problem of Namibia, on which several resolutions have been adopted demanding independence for the Territory. Guatemala believes that sufficient time has elapsed and that all ways have been explored for an orderly and peaceful transition of Namibia to independent life, within a united and integral territory. We believe that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) represents the only acceptable basis for the peaceful and final solution of the question of Namibia.

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Guatemala categorically condemns the racist policy of apartheid practised by the Government of South Africa, which is an attack on human dignity and fundamental human rights. We believe that the situation which prevails in southern Africa is intolerable, and the international community cannot permit it to continue. We are at one with those who are suffering from the effects of that reprehensible system. We expect good results from the efforts undertaken by the United Nations in implementation of the Programme of Action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

Guatemala is a profoundly peaceful country and expresses its concern and alarm in this international forum at the escalation of the arms race.

My country is a party to the Treaty of Tlatelolco, which proscribes the introduction and use of nuclear arms in Latin America. Thus we support all the initiatives to declare nuclear-weapon-free zones in other regions of the world and understand the fears of those countries which have denounced nuclear tests in places from which they can be seriously affected.

Guatemala addresses an appeal to the nuclear Powers to limit and avail themselves of the research of nuclear technology solely for peaceful purposes, for the benefit of mankind, and abstain from the production, stockpiling and use of any type of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction.

Disarmament talks between the super-Powers are crucial and we hope for positive results.

Also, we believe it is absurd and nonsensical to invest fabulous sums in arms when millions of human beings are suffering from hunger and poverty. This shows in dramatic terms the reality of a world in which some nations believe that peace must be achieved by means of a balance of forces or nuclear terror. The developing

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countries cannot fail to speak out most resolutely against such policies and demand that these huge sums of money be invested in assistance and support programmes and development projects, with a clear sense of international justice.

I also express my Government's profound concern at the resurgence of terrorism which has become international practice. I express most energetically our condemnation and repudiation of such acts of cruelty which are completely inhumane and absolutely unjustifiable. No Government, organization, association, entity or individual can morally invoke any pretext whatsoever to justify the commission of such acts. In the course of this year we have seen with horror repetitions of acts of this nature that have affected many countries and have been denounced by the international community. Unfortunately, the Central American region has not been spared such irrational acts, and a sister country - El Salvador - which has suffered from them deserves our special solidarity in connection with the kidnapping of President Duarte's daughter by a terrorist group.

We repeat before this General Assembly our profound concern at the fact that the question of Afghanistan has not yet been resolved. We believe that the presence of foreign occupation forces in that country is in violation of the most elementary principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter and international law and endangers the peace and security of that region. A solution of the problem of Afghanistan requires respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned status of that country. We support General Assembly resolutions 37/37, 38/29 and 39/13 which reaffirm that the Afghan people has the right to decide its own form of Government and choose its own political, economic and social systems, without foreign interference, coercion or limitation of any kind, and that the interested parties should co-operate with the United Nations to

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achieve a political solution that will respect the will of the Afghan people and achieve an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory of that country.

Guatemala supported the decision to declare 1985 "International Youth Year: Participation, Development and Peace", recognizing the importance for all of us to focus world-wide attention on the needs of young people throughout the world owing to the vital role that they are called upon to play in the quest for a more just, equitable and peaceful world. We believe that the principles and tenets which inspire the Charter of the United Nations are a guide for youth to become aware of their responsibilities and the role that they will have to play in the world of tomorrow.

Likewise, Guatemala supports the recent resolution of the Executive Board of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) which decided on the goal of universal immunization of children by 1990, by accelerated action in accordance with objectives already established by the World Health Assembly.

We cannot ignore the terrible problem of drugs which affects, to a greater or lesser extent, almost all countries of the world. Trafficking in narcotic drugs, which has increased in recent years, constitutes a serious threat to the international community which it must confront with courage and determination. There is no doubt that that terrible scourge which affects particularly the young must be controlled by joint efforts of those countries where it is produced, distributed and consumed. It is a common task that requires a commitment. The developed countries, where there is the greatest consumption of the drugs, must give special support and assistance to countries which are working for their eradication and crop substitution so as not to affect their development.

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In concluding my statement, I call on all to look serenely and dispassionately on the major lessons of mankind's history so as to profit from experience and assess events in the light of circumstances, determining mankind's successes and failures. The United Nations, on its fortieth anniversary, is ending one stage and continuing on its long journey towards peace, justice and development. It is with the utmost objectivity that we must assess the possibilities for making the fullest possible use of the tools available to us to fashion the future by means of concerted effort and embracing the commitment to strengthen and further improve our Organization.

Society - as well as man, the fundamental element of that society - is in a constant process of evolution, obeying a dynamic which is part of its own energy and, thus, we must have confidence and faith to confront with creativity the new challenges arising before the international community.

Mr. BARROW (Barbados): My delegation wishes to add its congratulations to those already tendered to Mr. de Piniés on his election as President of the fortieth session of the United Nations General Assembly.

My delegation thinks it fitting that with his long and distinguished service to the international community he should have been chosen to be President of the General Assembly at this crucial moment in the history of the Organization. We look forward to his guidance and my delegation pledges its wholehearted support.

The Government of Barbados also wishes to take this opportunity to commend his predecessor, Mr. Paul Lusaka of the Republic of Zambia, for the skill with which he guided the deliberations of the thirty-ninth session. Our congratulations are tinged with a sense of pride because of the special relationship which exists between him and the people of Barbados.

At this point our thoughts turn to the agony of Mexico. Hardly had the business of this session begun when the people of Mexico suffered a most tragic experience involving substantial loss of life and extensive damage to property. The Government and people of Barbados extend their deepest sympathy to the Government and people of Mexico.

Forty years ago five great States of the world, bruised and chastened by the collective savagery that was the Second World War, drew on the last remnants of human hope to create the organization which we specially honour this year. The Charter they prescribed called for a new world order, noble in concept, edifying in its reach, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war".

Many of us here today represent the first of those succeeding generations to whom this promise was directed. Our verdict could well be influenced by the view that time appears to have stood still; that for today, despite the promise of 1945, this body stands almost neutralized by the events of the past 40 years and that, chastened in our turn, the members of my generation feel considerable diffidence

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about making promises to those who are to succeed us. Forty years after the Treaty of San Francisco, the scourge of war continues to carry pain and terror to many areas of the world.

However, given the fact that those born at the end of the First World War matured just in time to offer their lives to the Second World War while those born at the end of the Second World War have been able to mature without the experience of a third world war, we might reasonably conclude that the United Nations has achieved much more than its critics are prepared to admit.

In addition this generation has benefitted from the eradication or control of several serious diseases as a result of the efforts of the World Health Organization (WHO); from improved education, scientific advances and cultural expansion resulting from the efforts of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO); from increased yields, better food production and a greater appreciation of nutrition as a result of the work of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO); and from a generally improved quality of life as a result of the collective efforts of this Organization and the specialized agencies.

What has not materialized, however, is the co-operation among the great Powers so confidently anticipated by the founding fathers. We ask ourselves: what explains this?

Writing under the darkening clouds of the Second World War, a young American, Thomas Wolfe, had these words to say:

"I think the enemy is here before us... I think we know the forms and faces of the enemy... and in the knowledge that we know him and must eventually conquer him is also our living hope. I think the enemy is single selfishness and compulsive greed."

(Mr. Barrow, Barbados)

In similar vein a famous American cartoonist had one of his characters say, "I have seen the enemy, and he is us".

In the President's inaugural address to this session he struck this very note, reminding us that the crisis of the United Nations is not to be charged to any delinquency in the Organization but rather to the selfishness of Member States.

For all this, the Organization has had an impressive record over the past 40 years. This anniversary would be a fitting occasion to rededicate ourselves to the noble aims and ideals which motivated the founding of the Organization. Barbados will continue to give strong support to the Organization and to identify with those who see it as the conscience of the world.

One of the most striking developments in world affairs since the end of the Second World War has been the emergence of the mini-State. Their noble precepts notwithstanding, the founders of our Organization could scarcely have intended that within two decades, or indeed at any time, a country of 200,000 souls would stand beside another of 200 million to pronounce itself itself with equal sovereignty and authority on all matters that most concern us as members of the world's community. This, coupled with the fact that many more States now demand a fair share of the world's resources, constitutes the greatest challenge facing this Organization and the Charter on which it is based.

We who speak for the small States know that the idea of the sovereignty of nations like Barbados has not yet taken firm root in the minds of some of the larger and older members of this body.

By permitting the amplification of our voice to the level of those who would overwhelm us, the United Nations helps to preserve for small States the sovereignty which they have so recently won. As Dag Hammarskjöld noted so very perceptively in a statement to this Assembly on 3 October 1960, 25 years ago to the very day, it is the small States that need the United Nations for their protection.

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"In this sense," he continued, "the Organization is first of all their Organization and I deeply believe in the wisdom with which they will be able to use it and guide it." (A/PV.883, para. 11)

Medical science informs us that on the approach of the fortieth year the human system undergoes certain physiological changes which may sometimes result in erratic behaviour. It would appear that the international system is also subject to this form of adjustment.

The Caribbean has learned from harsh experience that multilateral co-operation is vital to the survival of small States. The Government of Barbados is alarmed at what appears to be a growing tendency among some of the most powerful members of the international community to resile from the commitment to multilateralism which is the very foundation upon which the United Nations rests. The signs are many and ominous: hesitancy on the part of some developed States to accede to the Convention on the Law of the Sea despite its potential for enormous benefits not only for small States like those in the Caribbean but indeed for all mankind; the decision of some governments to withdraw from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO); the failure of the international community to match their stated commitment to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) with the required level of pledges and contributions; the willingness, or indeed the determination in some quarters, to witness the demise of the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) - an institution that has served and continues to serve small developing countries with credit in the areas of training and research.

(Mr. Barrow, Barbados)

A large number of countries, among them my own, are persuaded that it is necessary for institutions to adapt to changing times in order to carry out their mandates effectively, and the international community should periodically initiate reviews of all of the multilateral institutions which serve it. It is one thing, however, to undertake an examination and diagnose an illness, but quite another to administer a potion, the result of which is likely to be death.

Then there is the North-South dialogue. Discussions and consultations have so far been disappointing. This is due in large measures to the lack of genuine willingness and honest commitment on the part of some governments to find an acceptable approach to redressing the inequities in the international economic system. We can only hope that recent efforts by the richest nations to solve problems among themselves will result in a greater appreciation of our difficulties and the need for a new international economic order.

One of the most striking of the phenomena - or symptoms, if you like - of what I might call the new international malaise is what is known as "graduation". It refers, as members of the Assembly know, to the process by which countries that have reached a certain point in their development are called upon to shoulder a proportionately greater responsibility for that development.

Nothing would appear to be more reasonable. There is not a country represented in this Organization which would not willingly, indeed joyfully, welcome its own evolution towards self-sustained development.

But the problem is that this "admirable principle" is now being applied according to a set of crude arithmetic formulae, invented and applied unilaterally, rather in the manner of the infamous Procrustes, who stretched or broke the limbs of his guests to fit them to the length of his bed. Thus, regardless of the paucity of a country's natural resources, regardless of the fragility of its

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economy, any country that makes the mistake of managing its affairs with a modicum of prudence is in grave danger of being "graduated".

In practical terms this means that it is excluded from access to most forms of concessional financial aid, even though its total budget may be less than that of a large department in a metropolitan city. It bespeaks an insensitivity to reality that is unworthy of our international fraternity.

But what is perhaps the most important feature of this policy of graduation based on the automatic application of an arbitrary formula is the implied suggestion that whenever a State is seen to rise above the level of its barest minimum it should be repressed and thus discouraged from aspiring to become a donor rather than a recipient.

As has been made clear by many of the speakers who preceded me in this debate, the international community is faced with a major crisis relating to the massive debt which is owed by developing countries to institutions, both public and private, in the developed countries. There is a growing consensus that the very nature of the problem transcends the realm of simple profit-and-loss accounting. The idea of default offends many governments, including my own, despite the role which default has played in the growth of a number of countries now among the world's wealthiest.

It is our fear that should the developed countries not hearken to the pleas of their poorer neighbours, initiatives not hitherto contemplated may be taken by those who become desperate. What some in the developing world may, with good reason, interpret as acts of economic aggression could lead to acts of economic retaliation, and to a cycle of behaviour which can only place in jeopardy all that we have come to accept as the norms of international conduct.

(Mr. Barrow, Barbados)

Developing countries want to earn whatever benefits there are to be derived from the international system. Their primary interest lies in the availability of more open and dependable avenues for trading. They are concerned about the rush by some States to adopt protectionist policies which are counter-productive since they arrest the commercial potential of developing States and must in the end render them more susceptible to the state of dependence from which developed States would profess to deliver them.

The potential of small island developing countries is circumscribed. It has not been their fortune to have at their disposal the abundance of resources, human and material, with which their larger neighbours have been endowed. These countries, the peculiar nature of their problems notwithstanding, are unable to convince the industrialized world of the need for an appropriate régime. It is difficult, and in some cases perhaps impossible, for such countries to advance when arguments for special consideration in the light of their very special and difficult circumstances continue to be ignored.

This fortieth anniversary also coincides with International Youth Year, now being observed by the United Nations. It is important that the attention of the international community should be redirected to the interests of the world's youth, particularly at a time when for many of them the international traffic in narcotic drugs, and drug abuse, threaten to destroy their future or, at the very least, stunt their development.

Concern for the menace posed by drugs is being expressed in many forums. Already in this session we have heard the anxiety of many representatives. Indeed resolutions 39/141 and 39/143 are evidence of a firm intention on the part of the General Assembly to confront and eradicate the problem of illicit drugs.

(Mr. Barrow, Barbados)

The Caricom Secretariat is now in the process of compiling, for use by all regional governments, information with respect to drug trafficking, transshipment, abuse and rehabilitation as it relates to the Caribbean.

The problem of illicit drugs is an international problem and can only be resolved through co-operative effort, particularly in the sharing of information among all members of the international community.

Another serious problem that requires attention is the problem of terrorism.

Small countries like Barbados have perhaps less to fear from terrorists than from mercenaries, for unless they are prepared to support large military establishments they are always exposed to the risk of destabilization by a band of efficient and well-armed mercenaries. However, no responsible member of the international community can fail to view with abhorrence the wanton acts of terrorism which are visited from time to time on innocent by-standers. No comfort should be given either to the terrorist or the mercenary, and the time has certainly come when the nations of this world should act resolutely to eliminate both these scourges.

Four years ago my predecessor, speaking from this podium, called on the Organization "... to end the charade, to close ranks and to move with despatch to bring the South African Government to its senses, or to its knees ...".

(A/36/PV.11, p. 57)

The racist régime has left no doubt in anyone's mind that it will not come to its senses. Recent events have clearly demonstrated that it is on its way to its knees. Internal unrest and external pressure are now showing what concerted action on the part of the international community could achieve if influential friends and allies of the South African Government would tailor their actions to suit the views that they profess.

(Mr. Barrow, Barbados)

Public protestations of abhorrence of apartheid must be matched by concrete action to end the barbarous and brutal methods used to entrench the evil system of apartheid.

My delegation notes with relief the recent actions taken by many democratic countries to show without the shadow of a doubt that it is completely inadmissible to do business as usual with South Africa. My delegation also hopes that those misguided apologists who have defiantly boasted of their determination to launch a quixotic campaign in support of apartheid will not only fall flat on their faces, but in the process arouse such indignation among civilized people everywhere as to lead to the speedy dismantling of the odious system of apartheid.

My delegation expects the struggle against apartheid to receive a significant boost with the adoption at this session of the draft international convention against Apartheid in sports. It is a source of great satisfaction to us that the Ad Hoc Committee has finally been able to complete its mandate and to recommend adoption of the draft convention. The Committee, in which Barbados played a very active role, has worked for many years on this important and difficult undertaking. By dint of hard work, serious consultation and negotiation, and goodwill the draft convention (A/40/36) has emerged, to help the international community tighten the stranglehold on apartheid.

We utterly reject the notion that a man should be considered less than a human being because the colour of his skin is black.

And in Namibia, the racist régime of South Africa continues to ignore the will of the international community and to deny the people of that country the right to self-determination. My delegation regards the liberation of Namibia from its South African oppressors as an urgent matter and hopes that no further comfort will be given to the oppressive South African régime by confusing the rights of the Namibian people with extraneous political issues.

(Mr. Barrow, Barbados)

As if this were not enough, neighbouring countries continue to suffer violations of their territorial integrity at the hands of that hateful régime. Nothing perhaps better demonstrates the need for co-operative effort by the world's powerful nations, as envisaged in the Charter, than the fact that the illegal and racist régime in Pretoria with its mighty war machine need fear no retaliation from the relatively unarmed States within its reach.

The situation in Central America is of obvious concern to Barbados. The Government of Barbados has joined its Caribbean neighbours in reaffirming its support for the Contadora process and once more calls upon all parties concerned to refrain from any action which would undermine this vital initiative, rooted as it is in the principle that the problems of the region should be resolved in a manner conducive to peace and stability in the hemisphere. To this end, the freely exercised co-operation of the countries immediately concerned is indispensable.

As regards the Middle East, the Government of Barbados reiterates its conviction that the question of Palestine is central to this conflict and that lasting peace in the region cannot be established until the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to a homeland, are respected. We reaffirm our support for Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which cites as essential to a viable settlement the withdrawal of Israel from occupied territories and recognition of the right of all States to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries.

My delegation is happy to report that Barbados participates in the Regional Plan for Action for the Integration of Women in the Economic and Social

(Mr. Barrow, Barbados)

Development of Latin America and the Caribbean and the Plan of Action of the Inter-American Commission of Women. Our participation in the mid-decade Conference in Copenhagen and the end-of-the-decade Conference in Nairobi further demonstrates our commitment to the integration and development of women at the regional and international levels.

On the domestic front, my Government has employed legislative and other measures to ensure that women enjoy the same rights and privileges as men within our society.

We must not forget that this fortieth anniversary coincides with the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki accords on human rights or that, despite the lofty Helsinki promise, much of the world's population today enjoys no real political rights. The question of human rights is the question of human tolerance and reflects what is too often the consequence of our refusal to compromise. Thousands of men, women and children in every corner of the globe suffer because of their religious or political views, the colour of their skin, or even the spelling of their names. Torture, imprisonment and executions without due process are still too prevalent in our world.

We regard it as an essential purpose of this Organization that the world community should be assisted in identifying, establishing and maintaining a universal régime of human rights. It is not an easy task. Among the 159 nations which this body comprises many cultures are to be found, many values, many perceptions of the nature and purpose of man, of society and of government. In its attempt to bring together the diversity that is this universe, the founders of this Organization set themselves and their successors a daunting responsibility, one that can only be accomplished through persistent and painstaking dialogue. We cannot afford to tire. We cannot afford to fail.

(Mr. Barrow, Barbados)

There is no question but that much that is good has occurred in the world during the past 40 years. In the sciences - in industry and agriculture - in the arts, the human mind has risen to unprecedented heights. We have split the atom; we have created the computer and the satellite; we can plumb the depths of the ocean; we have outstripped the speed of sound; we have put to flight many of the lethal diseases which stalked and shortened the life of man; communications technology makes it possible for virtually every corner of the world to establish contact with another.

Moral excellence has not always been wanting. Mohandas Gandhi and Martin Luther King confirmed to us that transcendent quality of the human spirit and its capacity for courageously confronting anything that imperils our welfare.

In our material and spiritual spheres, therefore, we have demonstrated an ability to find the answers and the solutions to problems with which mankind has long been burdened. Yet, despite this knowledge, selfishness and greed continue to poison our lives. Despite the enormous riches of this world, millions are impoverished; despite the abundance of food produced, thousands die daily from hunger.

Billions of dollars are each year committed to the perfecting and storage of weapons for meaningless war, while small countries are bowed down with debts in their efforts to bring their people a modicum of human integrity.

The fact is that, despite our magnificent and commendable achievements, we seem unable to discern the rudimentary fact that we are our brothers' keepers.

(Mr. Barrow, Barbados)

We all know that as long as injustice exists there will be no peace. As long as there is an unfair distribution of this world's resources; as long as one race dehumanizes another; as long as innocent men, women and children remain homeless and stateless; as long as one country exploits another; as long as one-half of the world is free and the other shackled, whether it be by hunger, by disease or by terror of arms, there will be no peace. As long as the large and the strong regard the small and the weak with contempt there will be tension in this body and disorder in the world.

Against this gloomy canvass, we feel impelled to paint the words of our esteemed Secretary-General, a man who has devoted untiring energy to the welfare of our Organization. In concluding his report dated 4 September 1985, he exalted us:

"Let us above all, on this occasion, look at the United Nations as its founders looked at it, as the practical hope for the future and not merely as the unhappy bearer of the burdens of the past." (A/40/1, p. 16)

The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker for this afternoon.

Some representatives have requested to be allowed to exercise the right of reply. May I remind Members that in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to ten minutes for the first intervention, and to five minutes for the second intervention, and should be made by representatives from their seats.

Mr. AL-BAYRAKDAR (Iraq) (interpretation from Arabic): My delegation sees the disappointment of all those who had expected or hoped that the statement of the Iranian régime would include an approach to stop the bloodshed and an inclination towards peace.

(Mr. Al-Bayrakdar, Iraq)

It is no secret that all evil powers, spearheaded by Israel, are happy that the Iranian régime insists on protracting that war, as a means for achieving its political aims, well known to everyone as being abnormal. This régime exposes our region to instability and to the depletion of human and material resources. Furthermore, it facilitates the Zionist policies based on intervention in the internal affairs of States in order to occupy parts thereof, which would endanger its interest and regional and international peace and security.

It is noteworthy that the General Assembly did not hear any speaker advocating the continuation of that war waged by the Iranian régime, which should be held responsible for its continuation ever since it started five years ago, in an attempt to achieve its insane expansionist objectives the régime calls "the exportation of revolution". It has been openly reported in the mass media, since that régime took power in Iran, that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Iranian régime wanted the continuation of the war. Israel's Minister for Foreign Affairs supported him; he has invoked the causes of war without dwelling upon its real causes. He might have been deterred by the scandalous co-operation in the military field between the Zionist and Iranian régimes.

The Iranian Minister stated that there had been numerous international agreements, and called upon Iraq to commit itself to those agreements.

My delegation reaffirms once more its readiness to meet with the Secretary-General in order to implement totally the international agreements, including the agreements referred to by the Iranian Minister, on the condition that the Charter of the United Nations should be among those international agreements, as it is the most noble international agreement in our contemporary world.

(Mr. Al-Bayrakdar, Iraq)

It is natural that the Iranian régime should also commit itself to that: it treats the conflict partially and selects the international agreements it wants in order to justify its resort to power to achieve its political goals. Mr. Velayati should do something to resolve the contradiction in his statements: on the one hand he wrongly claimed that Iraq had resorted to force in order to resolve its conflict with Iran, and on the other he maintained, in his statement today, his insistence to resort to force to resolve the problem.

My delegation challenges Mr. Velayati to present the General Assembly with any documents that would prove the commitment of the Iranian régime to the agreements that had been signed and ratified between the two countries in order to lend credibility to his statement that Iraq had unilaterally abrogated any of those agreements.

As to the long lecture given by Mr. Velayati about the role of the Security Council and the Security Council's course of action in finding solutions to the problems before it we will leave that to be assessed by the Members of the General Assembly and the other Members of the United Nations which mandated the Security Council under the Charter to act on their behalf in all issues concerning international peace and security.

My delegation would like, in conclusion, to express its profound satisfaction at the fact that its policies and positions are in accordance with the principles and provisions of international law and in unison with the principles of international instruments such as the Charter, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Organization of the Islamic Conference. My delegation reaffirms its readiness to solve the conflict with Iran peacefully and on the basis of international legitimacy, and its constructive responsiveness to all good offices aimed at achieving peace in accordance with the United Nations provisions and principles.

Mr. RAJAIE-KHORASSANI (Islamic Republic of Iran): As everybody knows, the Iraqi régime initiated its aggression against the Islamic Republic of Iran at a time when, due to the nature of our Revolution, as after every revolution, we had dismantled the Shah's army and therefore we did not have any military force. We did not even have the security forces needed for the maintenance of security inside the country, and we therefore established ordinary committees, committees which had in them untrained people, like myself, and yourself, Mr. President, in order to take charge of the security problems of the revolutionary society. We were actually in a state of revolutionary disarray.

President Saddam Hussein, thinking that the situation was ripe, embarked on his war of aggression against us and occupied and destroyed as much as he could.

This is a fact that everybody knows. But why did he start it? His officials had often declared the following. First, the representative of the Baath Party stated in May 1980:

"We are entitled to topple the Islamic régime of Iran" - they called it "the racist Persian régime of Iran" - "and we have to exert our military strength in order to achieve that objective."

Saddoun Hammadi, the then Foreign Minister of Iraq, in Al Kabas of 29 September 1980, said:

"If our military progress in Iran is not enough, we are going to proceed further until they say 'enough'."

The third quotation I would give is from President Saddam Hussein of Iraq, which appeared in Al Siassah on 11 November 1980. He said: "We shall divide Iran". That is a very presidential statement, I would say. Also, Tarek Aziz, who is still in office, said the following on 22 August 1981: "We will divide Iran into smaller countries".

(Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani, Islamic
Republic of Iran)

Now these were the intentions, officially declared by the Iraqi authorities, of their war of aggression against us. It is, we believe, too late to simply change the past and to make a peaceful gesture.

Despite the efforts of the imperialist forces supporting Iraq, the international community and world public opinion is fully aware of the true Iraqi intention and will not buy these desperate arguments at all. The conduct of Iraq, in its war of aggression against the Islamic Republic of Iran, is another indication of the true inhuman intentions of the Iraqi rulers.

Nobody, no one in the world, can ignore the use of chemical weapons, the attacks against civilians, and the violations of almost all rules of international law related to the conduct of war.

It is indeed unfortunate that the Iraqi representative feels obliged to insult the intelligence of the international body and try to deny the well known and well documented facts concerning the use of chemical weapons, and the rest of the criminal acts that they have performed during the war.

The report of the Secretary-General's teams, as well as the clear observations of the international community, provide substantial proof for the Iraqi war crimes. And we do not know why the international community, instead of trying to bring justice to the war criminals, may sometimes insist upon something else.

The Iraqi régime's behaviour in the past five years has made it obvious to the consciousness of international public opinion that that régime does not have any regard for international law - for instance, its international obligations.

For that reason, we think no one should have any confidence in the signature of the present ruling people in Iraq. We are fully prepared for peace, peace with

(Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani, Islamic
Republic of Iran)

the people of Iraq, not with those who have violated all rules of international law and all their international commitments. They have violated the 1975 Algiers Accord; they have violated the moratorium given to us by the Secretary-General of the United Nations; they have violated the 1925 Protocols regarding the use of chemical warfare. They have violated almost everything. Why should we have any respect for any signature by these people?

As for the claim they make regarding the purchase of arms or some sort of connection between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Zionist régime, we would simply say that Shimon Peres, in Europe, mentioned openly that Iran must not win the war. And in order to make sure that we will not win the war, which definitely is against the interests of the Zionists and imperialists in the region, they all have decided to support the Iraqi régime and to keep the corpse of this régime standing on its own feet just in order to demonstrate that we will not win the war.

As a matter of fact, we have already won it. We have expelled all the Iraqi forces from our land, and if the international body is prepared to punish the aggressor, then do it, please; or else we are prepared to do it. However, I am sure that nobody forgets that Hess took a message from Hitler to London offering a peace proposal to the Allies. It will be remembered that the Allies did not accept that peace proposal. And everybody believes that the Allies did the right thing.

Mr. AL-BAYRAKDAR (Iraq) (interpretation from Arabic): The representative of Iran deserves our praise for his intervention during which he affirmed what I had said, when he arrogated to himself the right to determine who does and who does not represent the Iraqi people. It is well known that Iran has absolutely nothing to do with such a matter.

(Mr. Al-Bayrakdar, Iraq)

I would just like to add one point. I challenge the Iranian representative to put before this Assembly documents that substantiate his claims concerning statements by officials in my country. I challenge him to submit any document that contains the whole text of these statements and not just excerpts. That is what the Iranian régime does about every international convention.

Mr. RAJAIE-KHORASSANI (Islamic Republic of Iran): The Secretary-General of the United Nations has expressed his deep concern over, and in another context has condemned, the violation of international humanitarian law by the Iraqi rulers. The violation of all international humanitarian law and of all Iraq's international commitments with regard to the Islamic Republic of Iran are well documented now. Everybody knows about them. In the circumstances, I believe that nobody at all is going to buy the Iraqi signature. We are prepared for peace, but peace with someone whose signature can be really respected. Therefore we believe that the peace gesture now being offered by the Iraqi delegation is nothing but an expression of desperation, made out of desperation. Therefore it cannot be and should not be taken seriously.

The second issue that is being ignored by the Iraqi authorities is that the violators of international law and also war criminals deserve some sort of punishment. I think that punishment must be given by someone. We hope that someone in the entire international body will recognize that there should be some sort of punishment for President Saddam - a soft punishment, perhaps in words, in expression. I do not mean a penal sentence or a death sentence, but a mere recognition of the fact that they are war criminals would relieve us; it would bring a great deal of relief to the victims. As soon as that comes, I think the process of the settlement of the war will be significantly facilitated.

The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.