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GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FORTIETH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 18 October 1985, at 10 a.m.

President:

Mr. DE PINIÉS

(Spain)

- Commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations [39]
(continued)

Statements made by:

El Hadj Omar Bongo, President of the Gabonese Republic

Mr. Taha Mohamed Maarouf, Vice-President of the Republic of Iraq

Mr. Pak Sung Chul, Vice-President and Special Envoy of the President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, Secretary of State of the Holy See and Special Envoy of His Holiness Pope John Paul II

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Mr. Sayyid Faisal bin Ali bin Faisal Al-Said, Special Envoy of His Majesty the Sultan of Oman

Mr. Bohuslav Chnoupek, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Special Envoy of the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

Prince Nicolas, Special Envoy of the Principality of Liechtenstein

Mr. Dugersuren, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Special Envoy of the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic

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

AGENDA ITEM 39 (continued)

COMMEMORATION OF THE FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): This morning the General Assembly will first hear a statement by the President of the Gabonese Republic, His Excellency El Hadj Omar Bongo.

El Hadj Omar Bongo, President of the Gabonese Republic, was escorted to the rostrum.

President BONGO (interpretation from French): In addressing the Assembly, I should like first, Sir, to associate myself with previous speakers in warmly congratulating you on your unanimous election to preside over its fortieth session. I am happy to greet you not only as a diplomat but as the worthy representative of a country with which Gabon enjoys excellent relations and whose sovereign honours me with his friendship. Your rich diplomatic experience at the United Nations augurs well for the sound progress and genuine success of our work.

I also wish to convey my greetings and compliments to the other officers of the General Assembly and to congratulate your predecessor, Ambassador Paul Lusaka, who presided over the thirty-ninth session with competence and dignity. Finally, I wish to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, for his courage and his devotion to the ideals of the United Nations and his readiness to serve those ideals.

I would assure all representatives of the wholehearted co-operation of the Gabonese delegation in the work of the current session.

This session is beginning at a time when Mexico, a State Member of our Organization, the victim of one of the most devastating natural disasters of recent years, is dressing its wounds. That tragedy grieves Gabon all the more because the two countries enjoy excellent relations of long standing. On behalf of the

(President Bongo)

Gabonese people, I extend once again our deepest sympathy to President Miguel de la Madrid, to the bereaved families and to all the Mexican people, and assure them of our solidarity.

Forty years ago an Organization of a universal character - the United Nations - was born. Gabon is happy to be able to join all the free nations of the world in celebrating today its fortieth anniversary, for all peoples regarded the creation of the United Nations not as a symbol but as a decisive turning-point in the history of the world. It was a major event for all mankind, which had just endured the holocaust of two world wars.

In short, the idea of universality in 1945 was seen as an assertion of the unity of the human race. Strengthened by that conviction, and with the enthusiasm of a newly-independent State, Gabon 25 years ago announced its immediate commitment to the United Nations Charter. At the same time, it declared its devotion to the ideals of justice, fraternity and peace proclaimed by the Charter.

Both in its deliberations and its actions, our Organization has remained faithful to those fundamental values that led to its birth and that still today are its raison d'être.

(President Bongo)

And in this context its achievements are considerable.

But the ground covered by the United Nations during almost a half century of its existence is none the less marred more by discord than it is embellished by concord. It is in the light of this reality that the theme of this session, namely, "The United Nations for a better world" assumes its full significance. It invites us to focus our attention on those barriers of incomprehension which still exist between men and which, year after year, are building up the elements constituting a major crisis.

South Africa, for example, remains a centre of tension. Excluded from the exercise of power, almost 20 million blacks are the daily victims of aggression and torture. A minority of 3 million racists are imposing their brutal domination upon them in defiance of the international community. All the rights which make up the life of a people, rights of which the United Nations has become the champion and guarantor, are denied them.

As for Namibia, delaying tactics are hindering its progress towards independence. That is why I should like to seize this opportunity to reaffirm the unswerving support of my country for the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) in its heroic struggle for the liberation of Namibia. In this regard, I would recall that important measures have been taken by the Government of Gabon to give effective support to this struggle; these measures include the granting of diplomatic status to SWAPO, the issue of special stamps, the profits from which will be donated to SWAPO, and the granting of scholarships to Namibian students. These peoples, who bear the wounds of inequality and scorn in their hearts and souls, have no other choice but to revolt. It is also important to bear in mind that their fate is a matter not only of justice but also of peace and security, both regional and international.

(President Bongo)

It is within the power of the international community and the countries comprising it to establish the rule of law and recognize the rights of the majority, as essential conditions for peace in that part of the world, and to put an end to oppression and enslavement so that millions of Africans can recover their dignity and liberty.

I am happy that certain measures recently decided upon by certain countries in the Western hemisphere would seem to constitute an important step in the right direction. But it is essential that such measures should be applied more forcefully.

Other hotbeds of tension and war have also become the focus of the international community's attention here. This is the case - in Africa again - of Chad and western Sahara. With regard to Chad, it is high time for the sons of that country, as well as all the parties to that conflict, to meet around the negotiating table, free from all outside interference.

Gabon welcomed the agreement, signed last year, on the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Chad. Consequently, my country hopes that this withdrawal will be fully and effectively carried out and will enable Chad to preserve its independence and territorial integrity.

With regard to western Sahara, it is my firm conviction, after the attempts made by the Organization of African Unity (OAU), that only the organization of a free, democratic and honest self-determination referendum can lead to a final settlement of this conflict. It is high time that this should be made clear and accepted at this session.

I shall not dwell on my country's position with regard to other hotbeds of tension or war as it has been repeatedly explained from this rostrum.

In the Middle East, the settlement of the Israel-Arab conflict must take account of the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people.

(President Bongo)

The fratricidal war between Iraq and Iran, like the Lebanese conflict, can be settled only by negotiation.

In Latin America, Gabon supports the efforts of the Contadora Group. In Asia, the continued occupation of Afghanistan and Kampuchea by foreign troops is a matter of constant concern to my country.

With specific reference to the Korean peninsula, I would stress that Gabon, which has so long enjoyed such excellent relations with both Koreas, follows with particular interest the development of the situation there. It advocates a negotiated solution aimed at the peaceful unification of those two parts of one and the same country. That is why I should like to take this opportunity to express my satisfaction at the efforts recently made by the two parties to achieve that goal. For here, and indeed everywhere else, conflicts, whatever their origin and nature, should be settled by the establishment of a dialogue. Together we can build this better world to which all the peoples of the earth aspire.

The Charter of our Organization, as everyone knows, states that only a minimum amount of the world's available resources should be channeled into armaments. Top priority should be given to efforts to achieve social progress and the well-being of all the peoples of the planet. But what we are witnessing at the present time is a disturbing state of over-armament. The arms race has, in effect, lost all sense of proportion, because of the growing conviction that there can be no real security without military superiority. So, by a strange paradox, human reason is embarking upon the task of building international security on mistrust among nations.

Disarmament remains a question to which our Organization should continue to attach the greatest importance. It is in this spirit that we welcome the results of the regional conference on security recently held in Lome under the aegis of the

(President Amgo)

OAU and the United Nations. Indeed, it will have helped to highlight the link between disarmament and development, in keeping with the spirit of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly. There have never been and there will never be enough resources to do everything at the same time. The question therefore arises whether the major challenge of our time, namely, the present distressing economic insecurity which is causing much anguish to the greater part of humanity, is to remain with us for ever. This may very well be the outcome of what the developing economies in general are experiencing at the present time.

Having been confronted by the repercussions of one of the most severe economic depressions, many developing regions are still suffering the after-effects of the adjustments undertaken in the industrialized world. The economic recovery that has occurred over the last two years in those countries has not transmitted any momentum, as the developing world could have expected. The growth of production has not at all offset population growth. Primary commodity markets remain, for the most part, depressed. World rates have shown a very clear-cut decline over the last few months. At the same time, inflation, the reduction of public aid and the decreased possibilities for financing investments are of major concern for all.

In particular, credit remains very expensive in real terms, and fluctuations in rates of exchange have brought about a sharp aggravation of the debt of the developing countries. The reduction of that indebtedness has thus become a major constraint for many countries and is now such an urgent necessity that the pressing needs of development have to be subordinated to it.

Turning, in particular, to Africa, several countries of that part of the world have been experiencing the ill effects of drought and are suffering from hunger. From various standpoints, Africa remains the continent that has made the least progress in the struggle against abject poverty and the continent that includes the largest number of least developed countries on Earth.

Charity of the good Samaritan style which is sometimes extended to it certainly has its merits, but it will never suffice to eliminate the scourge of hunger and the endemic plight of underdevelopment. Therefore we cannot sit on the sidelines passively in the face of the appalling scandal of a world that has become a world of both over-armament and inadequate food supplies.

These two tragic situations bear the seeds of a possible generalized war. At this fortieth anniversary of the United Nations we must be fully aware of this. Human intelligence has the task of warding off this catastrophe, which can now be seen dimly on the horizon.

(President Bongo)

Also, with regard to the situations of injustice and inequality which prevail, and all the other problems confronting the world, I should like again to express a concern expressed from this very rostrum eight years ago, when I was Chairman of the Organization of African Unity.

Historic contingencies have conferred the right of veto on the five permanent members of the Security Council, thus setting the seal on the victory of the democracies over the Third Reich. Africa, too, paid with the blood of its children for that victory. Hence it was participating in the exercise of this prerogative through the colonizing Powers. Today, colonial empires have vanished, and Africa, which now has an independent existence, has reached political maturity.

The sacrifice was shared; the right of veto should be shared also. That is why today I solemnly reassert that it is only right and equitable for a member of the Organization of African Unity to be designated for one year by our continental organization to sit, with the right of veto, among the permanent members of the Security Council.

In the hope that this appeal will be heeded and that Africa will be granted this honour I extend to one and all my most sincere thanks and my best wishes for a future of peace, fraternity and prosperity.

His Excellency El Hadj Omar Bongo, President of the Gabonese Republic, was escorted from the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The next speaker is the Vice-President of the Republic of Iraq, His Excellency Mr. Taha Mohamed Maarouf.

Mr. Taha Mohamed Maarouf, Vice-President of the Republic of Iraq, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. MAAROUF (Iraq) (interpretation from Arabic): Mr. President, I should like to begin by conveying to you and to the heads of delegations greetings from President Saddam Hussein of the Republic of Iraq and His Excellency's best wishes

(Mr. Maarouf, Iraq)

that this historic occasion will be a turning-point in the history of the United Nations and a strong incentive for Member States to elevate its status, consolidate its role, increase its effectiveness and enable it to achieve its objectives.

This year the international community is celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, whose birth after the Second World War confirmed the desire of all States to establish peace and minimize the dangers of war, which had brought mankind sorrow and destruction. In its preamble, the United Nations Charter, which was signed on 26 June 1945, reflected the urgent need and the strong wish of States to save succeeding generations from the scourge of the destructive wars that had been witnessed by a single generation in a quarter century, to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for international law and conventions could be achieved and to promote social progress and better standards of life for mankind.

My country was among the 51 States that first signed the Declaration of the United Nations, because my country believed in the competence of this Organization and its ability to establish international peace and security, to resolve important international problems and to deal with the complex issues of the modern world, especially through the peaceful settlement of disputes, the achievement of total and comprehensive disarmament, the establishment of equitable economic relations among States, the process of decolonization and the elimination of all forms of racism, including zionism, and the defence and consolidation of human rights. In joining the Organization my country also affirmed its conviction that all the problems facing our world and affecting the international community must find their solution within the framework of the United Nations, which is the suitable arena and the true authority to deal with such problems.

(Mr. Maarouf, Iraq)

This assembly of world leaders, in commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, reflects the great significance that their respective States attach to the role of this Organisation and underlines the nature of its numerous responsibilities.

(Mr. Maarouf, Iraq)

It is necessary, therefore, to use this opportunity to attempt to assess the role of the United Nations and to review its achievements, in the hope of overcoming such obstacles and shortcomings as might have obstructed the implementation of the letter and spirit of the Charter, especially in matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security, the deterrence of aggression, prevention of violations and the adoption of punitive measures against aggressors. It would also be desirable for measures to be taken with a view to overcoming such obstacles, thus enabling the United Nations to achieve its objectives of safeguarding the rights, freedom and sovereignty of all peoples and of finding just solutions to their problems.

In assessing the role of the United Nations throughout the 40 years of its existence, I cannot but refer to the most important political issues with which the Organization has dealt, issues which are of importance to the international community in general, and to my country and the Middle East in particular, and which are in some cases nearly as old as the Organization itself. Here, I am referring to the Palestinian question, which has remained a constantly debated item on the agenda of the General Assembly since the day when Zionism usurped the rights of the Palestinian people during the early years of the United Nations. The Organization has yet to find a just solution to this problem. In fact, the contrary has been the case, in that the problem has grown more complicated and taken on new dimensions, which include Israel's invasion of Lebanon and its consequences, Israel's occupation of Arab lands and its aggressive raid on Iraq's peaceful and internationally-inspected nuclear installations, together with Israel's continued plunder of economic resources and violations of human rights, sacred religious places and the laws, conventions and values recognized in international relations. Israel's latest blatant attack on Tunisia adds yet

(Mr. Maarouf, Iraq)

another item to the Zionist entity's lengthy record of crimes and violations against the Arab countries, their sovereignty and the safety of their lands.

With regard to the armed conflict between Iraq and Iran, which has entered its sixth year and which, in its first five years, increased both in scope and in threat, it has continued unabated in one of the world's most important and sensitive areas. This has been the case notwithstanding the huge losses in lives and materiel that this conflict has brought about and regardless of the grave dangers it poses to international peace and security. It is truly regrettable to see that the United Nations is incapable of finding the means to ensure a cessation of this war while the aggressor persists in launching his attacks and spurning the United Nations Charter and resolutions and in arrogantly violating international laws, conventions and world public opinion, without facing any deterrent or punitive response.

The policies practised by the South African régime towards the peoples of Namibia and South Africa are no different from those of the Zionist and Iranian régimes, especially in relation to their disdainful attitude towards the United Nations, its Charter and resolutions and their blatant rejection of all international commitments. Those régimes have not only rejected United Nations resolutions out of hand, but have also persisted in contradicting and disparaging them. Nonetheless, such cast-off régimes continue to receive support and encouragement from certain States whose narrow-minded motives of self-interest stand contrary to the international community's interest in peace and stability, as well as to the aspirations of peoples for self-determination, freedom and dignity.

The bad examples of those three régimes in occupied Palestine, Iran and South Africa and their attitude of disrespect towards the international Organization and its resolutions constitute an ominous phenomenon that endangers the future, the credibility and the effectiveness of the United Nations. This may well undermine the trust that States Members have placed in the Organization's ability to resolve

(Mr. Maarouf, Iraq)

problems and disputes. The oppressed peoples of the world, struggling for their legitimate liberties and rights, as well as those defending their independence, sovereignty and security in the face of aggression, may be left with no alternative other than to rely upon themselves and attempt to restore their rights through armed struggle. Such a development would have grave consequences for world peace, security and stability. It will also affect the future of this Organization, which was established to preserve international peace and security in the first instance.

If we want to restore reverence for the United Nations and consolidate its credibility in the co-ordination of international relations, we should in the first place insist upon the implementation of and compliance with the resolutions of the Security Council. We should also take the practical steps necessary to impose punitive measures against the régimes that insist upon violating international norms and obligations and refuse to abandon their aggressive and expansionist policies and the logic of force as the means of resolving international disputes.

Mr. Taha Moheddin Maarouf, Vice-President of the Republic of Iraq, was escorted from the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): Before calling upon the next speaker, I would like to remind delegations of the decision adopted by the General Assembly at its third plenary meeting on 20 September 1985, namely, that the practice of expressing congratulations in the General Assembly Hall after a speech had been delivered was prohibited. I would remind representatives that the Preparatory Committee for the Fortieth Anniversary of the United Nations also decided to prohibit such expressions of congratulation during the commemorative meetings out of respect for subsequent speakers.

The next speaker is the Vice-President and Special Envoy of the President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, His Excellency Mr. Pak Sung Chul.

Mr. Pak Sung Chul, Vice-President and Special Envoy of the President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. PAK (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) (spoke in Korean; English text furnished by the delegation): It is an honour for me to participate, as the special envoy of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, in the commemorative session of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, and I wish to offer, on behalf of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, warm congratulations to the Organization on its fortieth anniversary. May I also express profound gratitude to His Excellency the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

The attention of all the Governments and peoples of the world is focused on this commemorative session of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. The United Nations was established 40 years ago with the lofty ideals of saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war which twice had brought untold sorrow to mankind, maintaining a durable peace and achieving international co-operation and progress.

The establishment of the United Nations as an international Organization aimed at maintaining world peace and achieving co-operation and progress among nations brought a new hope to the hundreds of millions of people in the world aspiring to a new, peaceful and civilized world.

In subsequent years the United Nations carried out many activities with a view to the maintenance of global peace and security, the establishment of a new international order, the termination of the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, and the deliverance of humanity from the danger of nuclear holocaust.

The 40-year history of the United Nations shows that, when the principles of the United Nations Charter are observed, the United Nations can fulfil its mission successfully as an acknowledged international body for peace and co-operation.

(Mr. Pak, Democratic People's
Republic of Korea)

It was decided in General Assembly resolution 39/161 that the theme of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations should be "United Nations for a better world," and that the year 1985 should be marked as the International Year of Peace and justice. This reflects the hopes and demands of the world's Governments and peoples vis-à-vis the United Nations.

(Mr. Pak, Democratic People's
Republic of Korea)

Many changes have taken place in international relations and the appearance of the world has changed to a great extent during the past four decades. Hundreds of millions of people of the world, demanding independence against all forms of domination and subjugation, have embarked on the road of independence, sovereignty and the building of a new society. In that process, many countries have emerged as new sovereign States. Along with this, the Non-Aligned Movement has appeared on the stage of history as an independent political force with a wide range of members from Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe, exerting a powerful influence on the development of international relations. Despite such historical changes, the endeavours of the international community to give effect to the lofty principles of the United Nations Charter have not yet met the expectations of mankind.

The danger of a new world war, particularly a thermonuclear war, is snowballing further every day instead of decreasing, and various parts of the world, including Asia, Europe, the Middle East, Latin America and southern Africa, remain in constant danger of war.

There have been few positive results from endeavours to correct inequitable and unequal international relations and order, including the establishment of a new international economic order. The plight of the peoples of the most underdeveloped countries is increasingly wretched and hundreds of millions of people throughout the world suffer from hunger and disease. The sovereignty of many newly independent States is being infringed and tragic events and disputes are occurring unceasingly in many parts of the world.

Global problems that seriously affect the development of international relations should be settled as early as possible through dialogue and negotiations. The United Nations is one of the effective forums for such dialogue and negotiations. Through its activities the Organization should pave a smoother way for the solution of global problems, by ensuring observation by all Member

(Mr. Pak, Democratic People's
Republic of Korea)

States of the purposes and principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter. From the outset the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has respected the purposes of the United Nations and the principles of the Charter and it will continue to do so in the future.

In retrospect, there existed in the past an abnormal state of relations between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United Nations with regard to the debate on the question of Korea, of which the United Nations was seized. However, since the thirtieth session of the United Nations General Assembly, in 1975, which adopted General Assembly resolution 3390 B (XXX), relating to the creation of favourable conditions for replacing the armistice with a durable peace in Korea and promotion of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, a change has taken place in the debate on the question of Korea in the United Nations

When that resolution is implemented it will be possible to remove the root cause of tension on the Korean peninsula, open a decisive phase for Korea's reunification and make a great contribution to peace in Asia and the rest of the world.

When the right to independence and sovereignty of every country and people and the principles of complete equality, mutual respect and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and nations are respected, it will be possible to settle all the issues arising in international relations in a just manner and the common aspirations of mankind to universal peace and security, co-operation and development will be fulfilled.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people, on the basis of their high commitment to the wishes of the Korean nation and the aspiration of humanity to peace, invariably support the solution of the issue of Korea's unification through dialogue and negotiation and by peaceful

(Mr. Pak, Democratic People's
Republic of Korea)

means. The Government of our Republic is endeavouring in all sincerity to bring about fruitful results from the ongoing north-south economic talks and the Red Cross talks and is making active efforts to hold north-south parliamentary talks at an early date. Once those dialogues are proceeding successfully, they will culminate in high-level political talks.

The Korean question cannot be settled to the satisfaction of the Korean people and the peace-loving peoples of the world by perpetuating the present division of the Korean peninsula and creating "two Koreas", with international recognition. Procedures such as "cross-recognition" of the north and the south or United Nations membership for the north and the south will only create additional difficulties in solving the question of Korea's reunification. In our view, the artificial division of Korea, a single national State, is not in keeping with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, which calls for respect for the dignity and sovereignty of nations. It is good as well as necessary that all countries and nations of the world become Members of the United Nations to ensure the universality of the Organization. In the case of Korea, however, if the north and the south were to acquire membership of the United Nations separately in the present situation, in which our nation remains divided, it would only lead to consolidating the division and creating "two Koreas".

It is our position that Korea's membership of the United Nations is not an issue of top priority today. Should Korea enter the Organization, it must do so under the single name of one State, at least after the realization of the north-south confederation. Relations between the north and the south cannot be solved by relying on outside forces but can be settled only by the joint efforts of the north and the south. Today, the Korean people are suffering untold misfortunes and disasters owing to the continued artificial division of the territory and nation that has endured for for 40 years. It is really a serious tragedy for the Korean

(Mr. Pak, Democratic People's
Republic of Korea)

nation, which had lived in harmony as a homogeneous nation on the same territory and with the same language and culture throughout history. Accordingly, there is no question more urgent than that of the reunification of the country.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea considers that the most realistic and rational way to achieve the reunification of Korea is to found a confederal republic through the establishment of a unified national Government, on the condition that the north and the south recognize and tolerate each other's ideas and social systems - a Government in which the two sides are represented on an equal footing and under which they each exercise regional autonomy. The confederate republic we intend to establish will be a thoroughly neutral State which does not participate in any politico-military alliances or blocs.

The achievement or non-achievement of the peaceful reunification of Korea is an issue of great importance related to the question of maintaining peace and security on the Korean peninsula as well as in Asia and the world as a whole.

The Government and people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are making vigorous endeavours towards the establishment of nuclear-free and peace zones in various parts of the world, including the Korean peninsula, and towards their expansion to bring about international détente and prevent a new world war, especially a thermonuclear war.

The Government and people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea believe that the competitive arms build-up, including the militarization of space, should be checked. All armaments, including nuclear armaments, must be reduced. The testing, manufacture, storage, deployment and use of nuclear weapons must be completely prohibited and the stockpiles totally destroyed. Aggressive military blocs must be dissolved and aggressive military bases and troops stationed on the territories of other countries must be removed. We extend active support to peace initiatives and proposals to those ends.

(Mr. Pak, Democratic People's
Republic of Korea)

We also consider that efforts should be made to solve the grave economic difficulties that the majority of the developing countries are experiencing at present. The adoption of decisive measures to free hundreds of millions of people in the developing countries from starvation and disease and to help the developing countries in the repayment of debts which have already reached extremes, has become essential. This is an urgent problem the solution of which brooks no further delay.

We believe that the international community must make more effective efforts to abolish the old international economic order and establish a new order to overcome the contemporary difficulties that persist in international economic relations. An equitable financial and monetary system should be established and unequal and irrational economic relations should be reformed.

The guiding principles of the foreign policy pursued by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are independence, friendship and peace. The Government and people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea will promote friendship and develop co-operative relations with all countries of the world that respect our sovereignty, in accordance with these basic principles of our foreign policy.

The Government and people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea express full support for and firm solidarity with the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America that are struggling resolutely against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism, including Zionism, and all forms of domination and subjugation, aggression and interference, and to achieve freedom, independence and social progress.

The Korean people is a peace-loving nation. Our people set great store by peace. We oppose war and wish to live in a peaceful way always.

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(Mr. Pak, Democratic People's
Republic of Korea)

I wish to reiterate that the Government and the people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea will pool their efforts with those of all the peace-loving countries of the world in the struggle to build a peaceful, free world devoid of aggression and war.

(Mr. Pak, Democratic People's
Republic of Korea)

In conclusion, I wish to assure you that the Government and people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea will, in the future as in the past, strive hard to safeguard world peace and security and strengthen international co-operation, and we express best wishes for fruitful and successful results from the current session commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations.

Mr. Pak Sung Chul, Vice-President and Special Envoy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, was escorted from the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The next speaker is the Secretary of State of the Holy See and Special Envoy of His Holiness Pope John Paul II, His Eminence Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, on whom I now call.

Cardinal CASAROLI (Holy See) (interpretation from French): Mr. President, I have the honour of reading out a message which His Holiness Pope John Paul II wishes to address, through you, to the General Assembly on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the entry into force of the United Nations Charter. Everyone here will be receiving the complete text of the message.

"In associating itself with the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the entry into force of the United Nations Charter, signed in San Francisco, the Holy See desires to reaffirm its moral support and its offer of collaboration in the noble aims that 'the peoples of the United Nations' set themselves on the morrow of the Second World War, and to encourage them to take up, thanks to the lessons of accumulated experience and a better knowledge of the difficulties still to be overcome, the fresh challenges of international co-operation.

"Following in the footsteps of my predecessors John XXIII and Paul VI, I already had the honour, when I personally addressed this distinguished Assembly on 2 October 1979, to recall all the esteem with which the Holy See

(Cardinal Casaroli, Holy See)

follows the activities which the United Nations Charter of 26 June 1945 assigns to the nations which determined to unite their strength in order to promote the supreme possessions: peace, justice and solidarity between them.

"Without being a Member of this Organization, for very understandable reasons, the Holy See is associated in its work and the objectives which it pursues, to the extent that these are in accordance with the demands of its own mission in the world. Its presence, through the intermediary of a Permanent Observer at the Headquarters in New York as also in Geneva and at the specialized agencies ..., attests to its interest in the work of the United Nations and emphasizes the convergence of the aims pursued, each in its own sphere, by on the one hand the Organization with its world-wide nature, and on the other the religious community with a world-wide vocation, which is the Catholic Church. The latter is well aware of the specific nature of its possible contribution, which is essentially that of appealing to the conscience of humanity in the face of the forces which divide individuals and nations, in order tirelessly to seek new paths to peace, understanding and co-operation between people and communities.

"Between this Organization and the Catholic Church collaboration is, moreover, all the more easy and fruitful by reason of the fact that they both are guided by the following fundamental principle, which is solemnly affirmed in the preamble to the Universal Declaration on Human Rights of 1948, and which the Holy See itself forcefully teaches:

'the recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world'. (resolution 217 A (III), first paragraph of the preamble)

(Cardinal Casaroli, Holy See)

"The Holy See, as you know, has considered the United Nations, from its its very beginning, as an irreplaceable institution in the present phase of the history of mankind. My predecessor Paul VI did not hesitate to see in it 'the obligatory road of modern civilization and of world peace', going so far as to call it 'the ultimate hope for harmony and peace' (A/PV.1347, paras. 24 and 25). This constant support on the part of the Holy See was born of the Church's conviction that the nations form one solid unit and have the duty, in spite and even by reason of the repeated setbacks of the past and the present, to discover and bring to ever greater perfection the institutional mechanisms which ensure their peaceful relationships.

"As long ago as August 1917, Benedict XV, in his famous appeal to the belligerents, proposed general disarmament and the setting up of an international authority capable of acting as an arbiter and of imposing sanctions. ... This Organization seems to be fully qualified to constitute, ever more effectively, this necessary regulating authority. ...

"Forty years are of course a short period when it is a question of reversing the immemorial tendency of individuals and peoples to settle their conflicts by force and defend their interests by violence. It is also, unfortunately, a short period in regard to the final aim being pursued: a civilization of peace. ... But 40 years of experience have abundantly shown that the objectives which are common to the Holy See and to the United Nations must absolutely be pursued, in spite of possible setbacks and numerous disappointments. ...

"It would be unjust to pass over in silence everything that the United Nations has achieved during this first period of its existence. We must ask ourselves what the history of the world might have been without this

(Cardinal Cesaroli, Holy See)

Organization, during the 40 years since the Second World War: these times so rich and so tumultuous, full of promise but full of questions too; times which have witnessed the almost total end of colonialism and an unparalleled growth in the number of nations gaining independence; times which have seen so much progress in the domain of science and technology, along with so much dangerous tension - and particularly, the deep ideological division of the planet. ... Dysfunctions, which are hard to avoid but are always surmountable, must not be a reason for discouragement but, rather, an indication of the direction of efforts and of the corrections to be made.

(Cardinal Casaroli, Holy See)

"As far back as the eve of the Second World War, Pius XII solemnly recalled that 'with peace nothing is lost, but everything can be lost with war'. Today the prospect of what a nuclear war would be leaves us no choice. It obliges us - some would say condemns us - to create a new kind of future in which solutions of law and justice will be victorious over the law of the most powerful.

"In this context I am pleased to recall in particular the vast amount of work done by your Organization over the past 40 years in devising legal instruments which make explicit, and develop, the protection of the fundamental rights of the human person. In this sphere, that of the creation of a true jurisprudence of the universal rights of man and of international justice, great progress has been made ...

"Your Organization is not a world government. It has no true sovereignty of its own. It is meant to be an association of sovereign States. While it has no power of constraint, it possesses an authority based upon mankind's highest moral values and upon law. The events of the past 40 years would seem to confirm the need for such an authority to be endowed with the legal and political means to promote ever more effectively the universal common good and to bring about the triumph of solutions of law and justice when conflicts threaten to break out between nations ... By its nature and its vocation, your Organization is the world forum where problems must be considered in the light of truth and justice, and renouncing narrow selfishness and threats of the use of force.

"There is one current international problem regarding which the Holy See shares the concern of the Members of your Organization, for it has also an ethical and humanitarian aspect: the question of the foreign debt of the third world, and in particular of Latin America.

(Cardinal Casaroli, Holy See)

"There exists today a consensus on the fact that the problem of the third world's global indebtedness and of the new relationships of dependence it creates cannot be seen solely in economic and monetary terms. More broadly, it has become a problem of political co-operation and economic ethics.

"The economic, social and human cost of this situation is often such as to bring whole countries to the brink of breakdown. Moreover, neither the creditor countries nor the debtor countries have anything to gain from the development of uncontrollable situations of despair. Justice and the interests of all demand that at the world level the situation should be seen in all its aspects and dimensions: not just the economic and monetary, but the social, political and human as well.

"There is no doubting that your Organization has a front-line role to play in the co-ordination and promotion of the international efforts called for by the situation, in a well-thought-out spirit of equity and in harmony also with a realistic assessment of matters.

"In conclusion, I wish to stress that the Holy See shares with your Organization the feeling that the priority objectives of this common action must be: in the short term, an intensification of the process of general, balanced and controlled disarmament; a strengthening of the moral and legal authority of the United Nations for the safeguarding of peace and international co-operation in favour of the development of all peoples; the implementation of agreements which have been signed, and the defence of the fundamental rights of the human person; and true recognition by all Member States of the principles of law and the rules of conduct contained in the 1945 Charter, the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in other international legal instruments ...

(Cardinal Casaroli, Holy See)

"To attain those objectives it is essential to establish greater trust between nations of differing social and political systems, first and foremost between the great Powers, which have a particular responsibility in this regard.

"The United Nations will carry out its lofty mission all the more effectively if the conviction is developed in Member States and their leaders that to govern people is to serve a higher design. The vision, full of hope and courage, of those who drew up the 1945 Charter has not been betrayed by difficulties and obstacles, and it cannot be betrayed so long as all the peoples of the world are determined to overcome those difficulties and obstacles together. This is the encouragement that I address to you; this is the fervent good wish that I formulate and that I entrust to the protection of God."

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The next speaker is the Special Envoy of His Majesty the Sultan of Oman, His Highness Sayyid Faisal bin Ali bin Faisal Al-Said.

Mr. AL-SAID (Oman) (interpretation from Arabic): I have the privilege, on behalf of His Majesty Sultan Qaboos Bin Said of Oman, to participate in this historic celebration by the international community of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations.

I am pleased to take this opportunity to convey to the Assembly the regard of the Government and people of the Sultanate of Oman and our appreciation of the great and noble achievements and accomplishments of the United Nations during the past 40 years. We also wish to acknowledge the international principles and norms laid down by the Organization, which have contributed to the strengthening of the principle of security and equality among States. The broad response by the peoples and countries of the world in celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the Organization is a recognition of its high prestige and the important role it plays. At the same time, it is a call for greater efforts to achieve international solidarity and equality and for serious action to prevent the scourge of war and all other threats to the security, stability and prosperity of the peoples of the world.

The period of the San Francisco Conference, from 24 April to 26 June 1945, when the Charter was signed at the Veterans' Memorial Hall, was no easy one. That period was marked by tireless efforts and persistence by those taking part until they achieved an outcome which has come to be considered an important milestone and an excellent example reflecting the desire for collective co-operation of all kinds, with the primary objective, of course, of maintaining international peace and security and ensuring that they should never again be jeopardized.

The peoples and countries of the world responded with consistent encouragement in upholding and supporting the role of the United Nations and the lofty goals that it was established to achieve.

(Mr. Al-Said, Oman)

Our peace-loving Arab world made a direct contribution to that important event. Five Arab countries took part in that sincere effort from the outset of the Conference until the final signing of the Charter, thus affirming their continuous presence and their contribution to the welfare and prosperity of mankind.

During the past 40 years the United Nations has addressed very many important issues. The assistance given to a large number of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America to regain their freedom and recover their sovereignty has been foremost among its actions. Those States have assumed a prominent place in this international Organization, so that the United Nations today has a membership of 159 countries representing all the peoples of the world, with their different religious creeds and political and social ideologies.

It is indeed a source of pleasure to us to meet today, when the United Nations has grown in size, influence and prestige in international life. It has achieved positive results in its continuous attempt to create a new world in which it can bring about a better life for man, in accordance with mankind's ambition to achieve justice, peace and security. However, we have to recognize that the road before us is long and difficult, as international problems demand enormous efforts of us if we are to solve them in accordance with the wishes of the peoples we represent.

The United Nations has many positive aspects that cannot be ignored or forgotten, foremost among which are its important role in containing international conflicts and cold wars and its continuous efforts to limit the production and use of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass-destruction, to prevent a nuclear war, to expand means of multilateral co-operation and to institute important means of international co-operation. Moreover, there are United Nations peace-keeping forces in places where they are needed and they have contributed, and still contribute, to the removal of the danger of friction and of civil and regional wars.

(Mr. Al-Said, Oman)

We very much appreciate the great achievements of the executive organs and specialized agencies of the United Nations in various scientific, cultural and humanitarian fields. Those organs and agencies have helped in drawing up comprehensive development plans for several countries. They have also contributed effectively to alleviating the plight of refugees and solving the economic and geographic problems of peoples hit by desertification and drought, as well as other natural and social disasters, which are sometimes civil. At the forefront of those bodies is the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), which has employed science and technology in the service of peoples, in the interest of their happiness and prosperity. Another important example is the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), which plays an important pioneering role in saving the lives of millions of children.

While some United Nations bodies may benefit from organizational reforms and guidelines to improve their use of available resources, we see no justification for the attacks that threaten or cast doubt on their survival to carry out their noble human duty.

Proud though we are of the great achievements of the United Nations and its organs, we are concerned about the lack of any tangible progress in solving several of the important problems facing the international community. The United Nations could find appropriate solutions to those problems, for the resolutions and recommendations adopted on each are enough to light the way to a just solution that guarantees everybody's rights. However, the disregard by some States of United Nations resolutions and the reluctance of others to adhere to the principles of the Charter, whose fortieth anniversary we celebrate today, have given the negative

(Mr. Al-Said, Oman)

impression that the role of the United Nations in solving some important questions is not important. They have also led to the exacerbation of some problems to the extent that they are threatening international peace and security.

The question of the Palestinian people heads the list of those problems and is one of the most serious. As long as Israel does not respond positively to peace initiatives and does not adhere to United Nations resolutions, the continuing situation, without a solution that restores to the Palestinians their legitimate rights, will remain a source of concern, insecurity and instability for all the countries of the region.

The continued wars and tensions between some neighbouring countries and the continued foreign occupation of some States, despite resolutions and recommendations of the Organization calling for their withdrawal, provide further proof of a lack of response to the resolutions of the Organization and non-commitment to the principles of its Charter.

(Mr. Al-Said, Oman)

All attempts by the United Nations to promote confidence in the international economy have been fruitless, as the gap between the industrialized and the developing countries is widening. Instability, the falling prices of basic commodities, fluctuating exchange rates and rising interest rates, in conjunction with the higher prices of manufactured goods from industrial countries and the increasing measures of protectionism by those countries - all this has led to shrinking international trade. The economic situation has come so to dominate the social and political affairs of many countries that it is affecting their sovereignty and national independence, which may also lead to the deterioration of their security and stability.

The world is now passing through a period marked by a tendency to use force and violence instead of dialogue. This dangerous tendency, against a background of nuclear weapon arsenals that have immense destructive potential, with no sign of détente between the super-Powers, constitutes a direct threat to the present and future of mankind.

The United Nations has been and will remain an irreplaceable framework through which we can solve our political, economic and security problems. In spite of all obstacles we should not give way to despair. Co-operation, solidarity and a pledge to solve all differences through dialogue is the best that we can give to our Organization on its fortieth birthday.

Since His Majesty Sultan Qaboos Bin Said, may God save him, has acceded to the throne, the Sultanate of Oman has been vigourously striving to achieve regional and international understanding and co-operation. It is contributing with all its energies and potential, in a positive spirit, to the collective work of strengthening our international Organization and promoting confidence in its

(Mr. Al-Said, Oman)

principles and in the ability of the Organisation to perform its task of establishing an international community where prosperity, security and peace prevail.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I call on His Excellency Mr. Bohuslav Chnoupek, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Special Envoy of the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Mr. CHNOUPEK (Czechoslovakia) (interpretation from Russian): It is a great honour for me at this solemn session to convey a message from His Excellency, Mr. Gustav Husak, President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, to the General Assembly of the United Nations, on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, that reads as follows:

"Being aware of the irreplaceable significance of the United Nations and of the great responsibility for the fulfilment of its noble mission, the Czechoslovak people, together with the entire world, are solemnly commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the founding of this universal world assembly.

"Availing myself of this valuable opportunity, I wish, respectfully, to convey to the General Assembly the esteem and renown rightfully enjoyed by this broad community of nations in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

"For our country, whose best sons and daughters made such a worthy contribution to the victory in the struggle of the anti-Fascist coalition on the fronts of the Second World War, a struggle that cost such sacrifices, this anniversary has a symbolic significance. It follows the commemoration of the anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation struggle of the Czech and Slovak peoples and the liberation of our country by the Soviet army from the Fascist yoke. What mankind suffered at that tragic time must never be forgotten. Particularly in the current alarming international situation,

(Mr. Chnoupek, Czechoslovakia)

it is an imperative of our time that the peoples of all continents should unite once again in the face of an even more cruel enemy - the threat of a nuclear apocalypse.

"Our peoples have always cherished peace and its collective safeguards. It was a Czech king, George of Podebrady, who as far back as the very threshold of the modern age turned in his Tractatus Pacis to the rulers of the world at that time, with an effective project for the establishment of a European organization to safeguard peace. The same philosophy 200 years later, induced the fiery Czech thinker, John Amos Comenius, rightfully known as the teacher of nations, to issue to the entire world of that time, torn as it was by interminable wars, his appeals for peace. He said:

'Whatever happens in the world, affects all of us, just as the sun gives light to all'.

"We see in the birth of our Organization the fulfilment of that legacy of our own history. Pursuing the fundamental objectives of a peace-loving foreign policy, and as one of the founders of the United Nations, from the very beginning we have been true to its principles and its noble mission. We have always considered it our primary duty to take a constructive and creative part in the multi-faceted activities of this highest of international forums.

"In its Charter, this Magna Carta of our time, we saw the true embodiment of the aspirations and expectations of the nations. It has offered a legitimate hope of better times in international relations. It has implanted itself deeply in people's minds, as heralding the possibility of resolving disputes not by confrontation but by peaceful negotiation, by seeking a modus vivendi where hitherto military force had been dominant."

(Mr. Chnoupek, Czechoslovakia)

Four decades of noble endeavours by the United Nations demonstrate that whenever its Members, in the name of common interest, have risen above ideological, political and other differences, the Organization has acted in the interests of strengthening peace and international security. I therefore wish to emphasize how highly we appreciate the contribution it has made to the promotion of a policy of peace, international security and co-operation. We value it as a unique forum of multilateral diplomacy - something that could hardly be established today. Indeed it is hard to imagine the world without it. We have grown accustomed to this irreplaceable instrument for the consideration and solving of the broadest possible range of pressing issues, from problems of disarmament, the solution of regional conflicts and the liquidation of colonialism and neo-colonialism, to questions of an economic, social and legal nature.

However, our Organization has been severely tested, and it has had to face many vicissitudes and problems, and even though it has not always been possible to cope with them consistently, nevertheless its will and its potential in the overcoming of obstacles testify to its viability.

The overall positive record of the United Nations is at the same time a confirmation of the lasting validity of the goals and principles enshrined in its Charter. Czechoslovakia has always made the fullest use of the possibilities offered by this code of current norms of international relations. At every session of the General Assembly it has submitted proposals and actively supported all constructive initiatives aimed at the implementation of the principal objectives of the Organization, particularly in the field of disarmament. A worthy place among them belongs to the Declaration on International Co-operation for Disarmament, adopted, on the basis of an initiative of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, by the United Nations General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session.

(Mr. Chnoupek, Czechoslovakia)

The danger that now exists of the misuse of scientific and technological progress in the nuclear and space age requires the immediate adoption of certain steps and measures, most importantly the prevention of an arms race in space, the halting of an arms race on Earth, the limitation and reduction of, first and foremost, nuclear weapons, and the reaching of the lowest possible level of strategic equilibrium. The road to that goal is sign-posted by the far-reaching initiatives of the Soviet Union, which strictly respect the principles of reciprocity, equality and equal security. They are imbued with a sincere desire to achieve a breakthrough in international development and to move it towards peaceful co-operation and détente.

A responsible approach to these programmes of peace by the representatives of all the Member States of the Organization would be a manifestation of statesmanlike wisdom that would be appreciated by present as well as future generations. It would nurture in the human heart the hope that mankind could look towards its future with greater confidence.

Another equally important imperative of our time should be the observance of the principle of the peaceful coexistence of States having different social systems. There is no acceptable alternative to this policy of reason. It has put down such deep roots that it has been able to withstand all the onslaughts by its adversaries. It has brought mankind undeniable benefits. We are in favour of resuming and strengthening détente. We have consistently reaffirmed our adherence to this policy. We support the development of an intensive political dialogue, making use of all its tried and tested forms. This is one of the dictates of the objective needs of our time. However, mere declarations of adherence to adopted principles are not sufficient. What is needed is common enrichment through new thinking in international relations in the search for new dimensions of mutual understanding.

(Mr. Chnoupek, Czechoslovakia)

A historic contribution was made by the United Nations through the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the twenty-fifth anniversary of which is being celebrated this year. The arrival of dozens of new independent States has brought the Organization into closer touch with the life of most remote and unjustly neglected corners of the world. This new gust of wind lent fresh momentum to the work of the Organization. The completion of the process of the emancipation of the enslaved colonial peoples still remains one of the most urgent tasks of the United Nations, as does the eradication of neo-colonialism, the policy of diktat, State terrorism, zionism, apartheid and racism. The authority of the United Nations would be further enhanced by even more effective fulfilment of its role in the peaceful settlement of conflicts and hotbeds of tension which pose a threat to peace and international security. This is borne out every day by the explosive situations in Central America, in the Middle East, in the Persian Gulf region and southern Africa.

The strengthening of the role of the United Nations becomes even more pressing and relevant in terms of restructuring international economic relations and placing them on a just and democratic basis, using the principles of equality, non-discrimination and mutual advantage, and in the solution of other global problems such as the protection of the environment, the struggle against hunger and the elimination of underdevelopment in developing countries. The financial resources for this do exist, as is shown by the growth of the astronomic military budgets.

An immediate solution is needed for the problem of the external indebtedness of developing countries. We should like to see a new international economic order that would safeguard their legitimate interests and provide them with protection against the economic and political diktat of the transnational monopolies and imperialist States.

(Mr. Chnoupek, Czechoslovakia)

The international prestige of our Organisation would also benefit from an intensification of the activities of all peace-loving forces and international public opinion in opposition to attempts to call into question the provisions of the United Nations Charter and its authority. In this regard we would once again emphasize the need for consistent respect for and the strengthening of the norms governing relations among States.

(Mr. Chnoupek, Czechoslovakia)

The record of the work of our Organization proves that it has far from exhausted its peace-making potential. It possesses all the prerequisites to engender, as an expression of the political will of participating States, ever new incentives for nations to try to learn to live together. There can be no doubt that it can be an effective instrument for asserting the conviction that the security of each and every nation can be ensured only by peaceful means.

On behalf of the Czechoslovak people, the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and on my own behalf, I should like to assure the Assembly that Czechoslovakia will, as it has always done, continue to take an active part in the implementation of peace efforts on the part of the United Nations and that it will always fully and honourably discharge its membership obligations. I wish the United Nations every success in the years to come in its praiseworthy activities for the welfare of the nations of the entire world.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The next speaker is the Special Envoy of the Principality of Liechtenstein, His Serene Highness Prince Nicolas. I invite him to make his statement.

Prince NICOLAS (Liechtenstein): It is a great honour for me, on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, to be the first representative of the Principality of Liechtenstein to speak in this Assembly and to offer the congratulations of the reigning Prince, Franz Josef II, the Government and the people of Liechtenstein. My country was happy to accept the General Assembly's kind invitation to take part in the celebration of this important event.

Although not a member of the United Nations, Liechtenstein has always followed events in this, the largest and most universal political Organization, with great interest. Our community of interest is explained above all by the lofty aims of the United Nations, as expounded in the preamble and Article 1 of the Charter, with which Liechtenstein fully identifies itself. We regard it as our duty, within the

(Prince Nicolas, Liechtenstein)

limits of our capabilities, to contribute to the realization of those aims. Thus, our country participates in the work of individual organs of the United Nations, such as the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), and is a member of several specialized agencies. Through recurrent annual contributions to the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and other bodies, and through contributions to special programmes, we show our support for the humanitarian activities of this institution.

We regard the codification and application of international law as another important area of our interest. The Principality has thus often contributed to the elaboration of multilateral conventions within the framework of the United Nations, and has acceded to a number of them. Precisely because we are a small State which can rely only on law rather than might in its dealings with others, we appreciate the importance of international law for peaceful intergovernmental relations. We attach particular importance to the International Court of Justice as the principal judicial organ. Liechtenstein acceded to its Statute in 1950.

This extremely brief enumeration of certain specific areas of co-operation which are of more particular concern to Liechtenstein and which show us the productive work done by the United Nations up to the present day should not cause us to forget that the maintenance of international peace and security is the principal purpose of this Organization, which in itself is the most important action of all nations for peace. This fact alone should be an encouragement, despite all the seemingly never-ending conflicts, constantly to use the resources available to this Organization in the search for peace. An unalterable prerequisite for the maintenance of peace is an effort to secure a genuine dialogue based on mutual understanding. With this aim in view the Principality has from the outset paid close attention at the European level to the Conference on Security and

(Prince Nicolas, Liechtenstein)

Co-operation in Europe and has co-operated actively in that regional undertaking, especially within the context of the neutral and non-aligned countries.

The fact that we live in an era of frequent, serious conflicts is clear from the constant increase in arms expenditure by large and small nations alike in all parts of the world. Liechtenstein, as a country without an army and without armaments, can only welcome any initiative within or outside this Organization which is aimed at achieving tangible progress towards disarmament and which is not limited to general pledges concerning the non-use of force, a rule already contained in the Charter. As has been said repeatedly in this Assembly, it is a scandal that, on the one hand, we see these utterly unjustifiable, immeasurably costly and ultimately unproductive efforts to procure arms while, on the other hand, many regions of the world are experiencing hunger and acute poverty. It is not only in this field, however, that the United Nations must sound a warning: in a self-critical spirit we must realize that an often aimless emphasis in the most affluent States on a debilitating consumption of resources destructive to the environment means the squandering of the labour and capital that are urgently needed and that could be put to efficient use elsewhere. A change of attitude is required, which presupposes, in particular, education in moral values and international solidarity.

The international situation should not cause us to forget that development is primarily the task of each individual State within its own borders, and the domestic capabilities of each individual Government give it a major responsibility vis-à-vis its own people. Liechtenstein, which 50 years ago was still a poor agricultural country and which today is numbered among the highly industrialized States, knows from experience the importance of an economic and social order that encourages private initiative. But, of course, it also needs international co-operation and frequently assistance as well. In this connection our country can

(Prince Nicolas, Liechtenstein)

consider itself lucky that over its nearly 200-year history as an independent nation it has always been able to count on the understanding and support of its two neighbours, Switzerland and Austria.

This circumstance has also prompted Liechtenstein increasingly to assist other countries on a modest scale with their development. Such assistance has mainly taken the form of non-repayable financing, especially for the provision of infrastructure and education. Similarly, we attach great importance to emergency aid for the relief of suffering in natural disasters and conflicts. We are grateful to the United Nations and non-governmental organizations, such as the International Red Cross in particular, which are valuable partners in this respect.

The United Nations is not only the largest and most universal institution for the maintenance of peace and development. Its Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights also gives it a broad mandate to guarantee and defend human rights and freedoms. Liechtenstein accords high priority to the defence of fundamental rights and freedoms at both the national and the international levels. All governmental action must, in the final analysis, be geared to the protection and the development potential of every individual.

(Prince Nicolas, Liechtenstein)

Every man on earth has been given the same inalienable human dignity, and this makes respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms the most important rule for all States. I believe that, besides the United Nations, regional intergovernmental organizations can play a decisive, multifaceted role in securing these rights at the international level. Conscious of that fact, Liechtenstein has acceded - in the context of its membership of the Council of Europe - to the European Convention on Human Rights, which gives every single citizen of our country the possibility of appealing to an international body independent of the State for the enforcement of his rights.

The motto adopted for this anniversary celebration is "the United Nations for a better world". As I have already said, much has been accomplished in this direction. As a non-Member State, Liechtenstein is thankful for that. However, as I have also mentioned, it must not be overlooked that solutions are required for immeasurably difficult problems all over the world. The progress being made in science and technology leads to growing interdependence and to new development opportunities - equally, however, it accentuates the danger of a global catastrophe. Without underestimating the institutional constraints and political difficulties, we believe that the Organization remains the most important institution involved in the search for comprehensive solutions and agreements.

This year's General Assembly clearly shows us again that large and small States alike urgently need this Organization and that it will continue to be a centre for dialogue and co-operation.

The competent political authorities of my country are at present examining the question of the future shape of our relationship with the United Nations. I can assure the Assembly that - irrespective of the outcome of that exercise - Liechtenstein will continue its steadily growing co-operation with your Organization.

(Prince Nicolas, Liechtenstein)

In this connection, I should like on behalf of the Principality to thank the Secretary-General and the entire Secretariat for their helpful collaboration at all times. We observe the courageous and untiring efforts of the Secretary-General on behalf of the Organization and its peace-keeping tasks with admiration and we wish him success in all his undertakings.

In conclusion, I should like to express the hope that all nations will support endeavours towards a better world and be willing to make sacrifices. We are not seeking a utopia, the promise of a perfect world, as the world will always be imperfect, but there must be a constant search for truth and common ideals, as well as mutual understanding and assistance. In this sense, in the name of the Principality of Liechtenstein I express our best wishes for the future of the United Nations Organization and all countries represented here.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The next speaker is the Foreign Minister and Special Envoy of the Government of the People's Republic of Mongolia, Mr. Mangalyn Dugersuren. I invite him to speak.

Mr. DUGERSUREN (Mongolia): I have the honour and privilege to read out the following message dated 18 October 1985 from the Chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Khural of the Mongolian People's Republic Jambyn Batmunkh to the participants at the commemorative fortieth session of the United Nations General Assembly:

"Mr. President, Mr. Secretary-General, distinguished delegates, may I on behalf of the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic and in my own name convey to the participants at the commemorative fortieth session of the United Nations General Assembly sincere greetings and best wishes for the success of its work.

"The United Nations, whose fortieth anniversary is being commemorated during these days, came into being as one of the important results of the

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

victory of peace-loving and democratic forces over fascism and militarism in the most devastating war in history. Embodied in its Charter is the will of peoples not to allow a repetition of the horrors of war, to live in peace and friendship, to co-operate for the benefit of common well-being and progress. The United Nations was conceived as an instrument for maintaining international peace and as an organ of collective security of States. Four decades of its activities prove that it can fulfil such a mission.

"In the past years, the situation in the world has undergone major changes. The membership of the United Nations has tripled and its role in resolving the most important problems of present international life has increased. In this connection I would like to refer to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples adopted a quarter-century ago by the General Assembly of the United Nations upon the initiative of the Soviet Union. This represents, in our view, a vivid example of the fact that this Organization is capable of acting in conformity with the requirements of the historical development of mankind.

"Today the purpose of the United Nations 'to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war' has acquired the highest practical urgency. The most reactionary forces of imperialism nurture reckless designs to achieve dominance in the world, to reverse the advancement of mankind. They attempt to suppress everything that is progressive and just and infringe the right of peoples to self-determination, peaceful creativity and life. They rely on force in their international actions and increase the threat of war.

"The Mongolian people and its Government fully associate themselves with the appeal to all the Members of the United Nations to join in the struggle against the mortal danger looming over mankind. We are fully aware that the overwhelming majority of the international community steadfastly adheres to

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

the spirit and letter of the United Nations Charter and firmly expresses itself in favour of removing the threat of nuclear catastrophe. Had the Western countries adopted a positive approach to the numerous proposals of the socialist countries and other peace-loving States, the way would be open to improving the international climate on the basis of the principles of peaceful co-existence.

"In the face of the worsening international situation, the peoples of the world rightfully demand from the Governments of their countries the pursuance of a responsible policy which takes into account the realities of the nuclear age. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic expresses its hope that the United Nations will echo this in the strongest possible terms at its commemorative session.

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

"The Mongolian People's Republic expects the United Nations to express itself in favour of halting the arms race and adopting effective disarmament measures, for the peaceful use of outer space, in support of the struggle for the establishment of a new economic order on a just and democratic basis, and for the elimination of colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and apartheid, as well as for the genuine granting of fundamental freedoms and human rights.

"The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic shares the considered view that the United Nations Charter has stood the test of time and fully meets the requirements of the modern age. All that is required is better use of its political, moral and legal potential. In the history of the United Nations there are many facts to prove that the effectiveness of this Organization is fully demonstrated when all its Members act in accord.

"The Mongolian People's Republic, true to its obligations assumed under the United Nations Charter, will continue to exert active efforts to help enhance the role and effectiveness of this world Organization in the cause of maintaining universal peace and of developing international co-operation."

In expounding the central theme of the message from our President I should like to point out that the United Nations cannot be better than its Members and that we, the Member States, are responsible for the success or failure of this world body. The fruit of harmonious efforts is evidenced, by inter alia, the many good things that the United Nations and the organizations of its family have done in their respective fields to enhance good will, mutual understanding and co-operation among nations.

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

A further vivid example of co-operative endeavours is the successful work carried out under the auspices of the United Nations in the field of the codification and progressive development of international law.

Having said that, I should like to reaffirm once again the full commitment of my Government to the purposes and principles of the Charter of our Organization.

The meeting rose at 12.25 p.m.