



## General Assembly

PROVISIONAL

A/40/PV.41  
21 October 1985

ENGLISH

Fortieth session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

### PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FORTY-FIRST MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Friday, 18 October 1985, at 3 p.m.

President:

Mr. DE PINIES

(Spain)

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

Statements made by:

Mrs. Imelda Romualdez Marcos, Special Envoy of the President of the Republic of the Philippines

Mr. Edouard Brunner, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Special Envoy of the Swiss Federal Council

Mr. Giordano Bruno Reffi, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Special Envoy of the Government of the Republic of San Marino

/...

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

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

**A/40/PV.41**

**1(a-2)**

**Mr. Jorge Sabato, Secretary of State for External Relations and Special Envoy of the President of the Argentine Republic**

**Mr. René Novella, Special Envoy of His Serene Highness the Prince of Monaco**

**Mr. Carlos Salamanca, Special Envoy of the Government of the Republic of Bolivia**

**Lieutenant-General Hussain Muhammad Ershad, President of the People's Republic of Bangladesh**

The meeting was called to order at 3.35 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 39 (continued)

COMMEMORATION OF THE FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The first speaker is the Special Envoy of the President of the Republic of the Philippines, Her Excellency Mrs. Imelda Romualdez Marcos.

Mrs. MARCOS (Philippines): I am deeply honoured to address this Assembly on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations on behalf of President Marcos of the Republic of the Philippines.

First of all, allow me to convey to you, Sir, the sincere congratulations of the Government and people of the Philippines on your election to the presidency of this session at this historic milestone in the history of the United Nations.

The fortieth anniversary of the United Nations is a fitting occasion to renew our pledge to promote the noble purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. It is a time to rededicate ourselves to the vision of a world free from war, oppression and injustice.

The Philippines remains committed to the ideals of the United Nations. As one of its founding Members, we believe now, as we did before, that we have a vital stake in the success of this world Organization.

Bear with me as I repeat the recital of the hopes and fears of a confused mankind in a beleaguered world.

Forty years after the United Nations came into existence our world remains not only a place of great promise but also one of potentially grave peril. We have acquired the capacity to create an infinitely better life for man, but we have also acquired the means to end all life on earth. During the past four decades we have been spared the scourge of another world war, and yet the world continues to tremble at the fearsome prospect of nuclear extinction.

(Mrs. Marcos, Philippines)

The nuclear-weapon Powers now possess an awesome arsenal of over 50,000 nuclear charges capable of destroying our planet many times over. There are conflicts of varying intensity in virtually all parts of the globe. Since 1945 some 40 million people have been killed in over 150 wars - more than the total number of combatants killed in the Second World War.

The arms race continues unabated. World military expenditures have more than doubled over the past 20 years to reach US\$ 900 billion in 1984. Ironically, the world debt approximated that figure, which underscores the fact that arms and development compete for the same scarce resources.

While the world spends a staggering sum on arms, more than a billion people are chronically hungry. Every day 35,000 people die as a result of starvation, or 25 people every minute, 18 of whom are children under five years of age. Every year 13 to 18 million die owing to lack of food.

On the average, people in less-developed countries earn ten times less than their counterparts in the affluent North. They consume less than half the amount of protein consumed by those in the rich countries. They have far less access to health and medical services, and they live an average of 52 years, as against 71 years in the developed countries.

Is today's world in such ferment because it is in a state of transition, in the throes of a new rebirth? Or is a new world struggling to be born?

If so, our generation therefore has the task not only of being a midwife to its birth but also, perhaps more importantly, of giving the new order a form and direction beneficial to the whole human family.

(Mrs. Marcos, Philippines)

In this endeavour it is essential that we overcome the inertia of past failures and summon the political will to break the impasse.

At the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly in 1981, when I spoke before this same body on the launching of global negotiations, I put forward the view that perhaps this failure of political will stems from a deeper social and spiritual malaise. For the disarray evident all over the world may merely be symptomatic of the collapse of the moral and social order.

Earlier, at the Assembly's thirty-eighth session, I had expressed the view that the problems confronted by the world today have their roots in injustice, intolerance, greed and dominance by the strong. The solutions to these problems rest not in man's acquisitive nature but in his sense of justice and sense of community with his fellow men.

International relations, including economic relations, must no longer be based solely on the balance of conflicting interests nor on unremitting competition among nations for material objectives. Rather they must also be founded on the moral principles accepted by all mankind - justice, equitable sharing of resources, mutual understanding and co-operation, tolerance, the protection of the weak and freedom from domination by the strong.

When mankind is faced with so much disarray and confusion, and when all else seems to fall apart, there is a tendency for man to search for solutions beyond the material, to reaffirm his love for life, to look inward and to turn to himself - to his inner self - for answers to his malaise.

I cannot believe that my voice or others of the same persuasion are lonely voices in the wilderness.

In the Renaissance period which followed the Dark Ages there was a movement to make man the centre of the universe. That period saw his rebirth and the flowering

(Mrs. Marcos, Philippines)

of his civilization after centuries of inactivity and ignorance. He was encouraged to aspire to greater heights of excellence in all fields of human endeavour. Man should never be viewed as a means, but always as an end in himself. To serve the ends of man is the ultimate justification of all social institutions.

In the case of the Philippines, President Marcos has postulated the Filipino ideology, which is based on the egalitarian principle. He is aware that we could all be equal in degradation and poverty, but such equality is obviously meaningless. That is why a commitment to an egalitarian policy should rest upon the broad ideal of humanism.

Allow me, therefore, to appeal once again to this Assembly to support my country's call for a new international human order. I believe this is the time to move towards the establishment of such an order that focuses on development efforts based not only on the material but also on the social, human and spiritual aspects of man. Human resource development goals - HRD - must be based on man's total growth, encompassing body, mind and spirit. In short, man must be the centre-piece, the object and subject of development.

A man nurtured in an environment of total fulfilment develops a natural compassion for his fellow men. Because he feels love, his relationship with his neighbours will not be one of conflict, but of harmony and good will. As this positive relationship is raised to the level of States the implications for universal peace and co-operation are far-reaching.

As early as the thirtieth session of the General Assembly I spoke of the need for an international code of ethics that would be based on the principles of sovereign equality and self-determination. At the thirty-seventh session the Philippines submitted a related proposal for the new international human order that focused on the moral aspects of development, and at the thirty-eighth session a resolution was adopted by the Assembly that provided for the inclusion of the

(Mrs. Marcos, Philippines)

proposal in the provisional agenda of the fortieth session. The Philippine proposal takes into account the various principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, as well as in other charters, conventions and declarations in the field of economic and social relations, which established or recognized certain rights of peoples consistent with human dignity.

The Philippine initiative proposes that development assistance should be extended to people at the grass-roots level who should be the primary beneficiaries of the development process. Development should be carried out with full popular participation - not only because the people who are the beneficiaries of development should be involved and their interests and desires fully respected, but also because popular participation is necessary to ensure the success of any development programme.

It proposes, through the international human order, to strengthen and expand assistance programmes to refugees, the disabled, the handicapped, the aged, children and to all human beings in the greatest need.

It calls for some kind of international public financing to serve certain essential functions, including the satisfaction of basic needs, the equitable distribution of income and production and the stabilization of economic and social conditions.

Some of us may look upon the proposal for a new international human order with scepticism. Some may even consider it Utopian. This is understandable, because what we are attempting to achieve is a reorientation of the value system and attitudes of man in order to change man himself. And as this entails a long and evolutionary process, we may not see its practical results in our lifetime.

But if we cannot change man, as the philosophers conclude, we should assert man's resolute will to change or restructure his iniquitous institutions.

(Mrs. Marcos, Philippines)

This, then, is our vision for a bold reach for peace, justice, equality and freedom. This is a vision we can attain in our lifetime. It is therefore imperative that we now take the initial steps towards the establishment of this new order.

The time of decision is upon us. We must grasp this historic opportunity to fashion a better world for posterity. This is the human mission for our age. I am confident we will succeed.



The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The next speaker is the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Special Envoy of the Swiss Federal Council, His Excellency Mr. Edouard Brunner.

Mr. BRUNNER (Switzerland) (interpretation from French): It is a great honour for us to be able to address the General Assembly of the United Nations on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the Organization. As a non-member State of the United Nations, Switzerland is all the more aware of the full significance of that honour. The anniversary has been given the theme "the United Nations for a better world". It is my country's hope that the coming decades upon which the members of the international community are about to enter will be marked by the beginning of an era of peace, liberty and justice for all men and all peoples.

When we look back at the distance covered since 1945, we can easily believe that the United Nations has been successful because of the decisive actions it has taken, the concrete measures it has implemented, the instruments it has adopted and the impetus it has triggered rather than because of the speeches and statements of intent it has produced. This is indeed a lesson that should guide our reflections.

As the Assembly is aware, our sovereign, the Swiss people, will soon be called upon to vote with the cantons on our country's entry into the United Nations. Whatever the verdict - which, I would recall, refers solely to our joining the Organization - the Assembly may rest assured that our foreign policy will remain open to the world and to the international community, with due respect for our permanent and armed neutrality.

The difficulties confronting the United Nations are often a matter for discussion. The President of the Assembly, in his inaugural address, spoke of a crisis of prestige and added that the Organization had not lived up to the original expectations of the world. The Secretary-General said in his last report:

(Mr. Brunner, Switzerland)

"There is no denying that in the present circumstances the peace and security system of the United Nations has many weaknesses and many shortcomings."

(A/40/1)

That being the case, one might well wonder why we should decide now to start proceedings for Swiss membership of the United Nations. Our answer is that if the United Nations is indeed going through a crisis, it is a crisis of the international community and of the inter-State relations which the United Nations necessarily reflects, if not mirrors, and that if that mirror did not reflect truth and reality, if it distorted reality by prettifying it, by ceasing to be faithful it would no longer be fulfilling its role and function.

It is not by breaking the mirror or by refusing to look into it and to recognize the image it presents that we will be able to resolve problems and overcome difficulties. We believe that it is from the inside that patient efforts should be made to establish harmony and stability in international relations by using the instrument Members have forged through the 40 years of existence we are now commemorating. That instrument has the great advantage of existing. It is irreplaceable.

If Switzerland becomes a Member of the United Nations, it will do everything in its power to place actions before words and to continue to carry out a coherent and predictable foreign policy. It is our premise that our permanent and armed neutrality as we ourselves define it is useful to the international community and is a factor of stability in inter-State relations. Indeed, it is accepted and respected as such.

Should we become Members of the United Nations, we would certainly take an interest in all issues under discussion, but we do have priorities which we intend to establish. Permit me to recall some of the principal ones.

(Mr. Brunner, Switzerland)

In the political field, for example, we are convinced that no solution can ever be found to the problems of disarmament unless the reasons which lead nations to arm themselves - namely, mistrust of each other's intentions - are dealt with. Above all, as we see it, confidence must be re-established between the leading actors on the international scene. There must be no confusion between cause and effect, between the true sources and the symptoms of tension and conflict.

True to its centuries-old tradition, Switzerland will continue to lend its good offices when requested. We see no inconsistency between this traditional role and belonging to an Organization such as this. Certainly there are situations in which only an international Organization can act, but there are other situations where a State alone is able to render specific services.

In the field of law, we wish to be able to participate fully in the codification of international law and we shall always oppose any move to weaken it. The living heritage of centuries of struggle and civilization, international law is the safeguard of the weak and, even more so, it should be the dignity of the strong.

In the social and humanitarian field, we shall pursue our commitment for the full respect of human rights, which must have equal value throughout the world, while being aware that overly strident condemnations sometimes yield no results.

Faithful to its traditions, Switzerland will carry on mobilizing available human and material resources for humanitarian actions to alleviate suffering, for human rights are bound up with a minimum of physical and moral well-being .

Finally, in the economic field, we shall continue our fight against protectionism, convinced as we are that it is a permanent element of crisis. In a world where interdependence between States has become a basic characteristic, protectionism is a perfect example of a short-sighted policy. To keep it in check, we shall continue to work towards balanced expansion of the world economy, suitable

(Mr. Brunner, Switzerland)

growth in the developing countries and increased stability in international economic relations.

While co-operation in development, and especially aid to the least-developed countries must by its very nature fit into an economic context, we must also strive to remove the injustice and inequality which so often are causes of tension in the world. We shall certainly continue our efforts to those already devoted to such activities, thus demonstrating our solidarity with the international community and, in our view, contributing to peace in the world.

The anniversary that we are celebrating today quite naturally leads us to review the main international crises of today and the means to resolve them.

First and foremost, we should like to stress that respect for human rights and the establishment of lasting peace and security are closely linked concepts which are becoming increasingly indissoluble. In our view, this is true the world over. It would indeed be inconceivable that peace and security could ever take a solid hold as long as human rights are not respected, in keeping with the commitments undertaken by almost all countries in numerous international instruments.

(Mr. Brunner, Switzerland)

As for the debt crisis, which has reached such serious proportions, its settlement should be facilitated by helping countries in debt to mobilize enough of their own resources to enable them to meet their obligations. Obviously, it is not by preventing them from marketing their products in developed countries that countries deep in debt will be helped to remedy their situation. Here indeed is a case of jointly held responsibility.

Those observations quite rightly have their place in the United Nations, the meeting place of all peoples. Here many contacts may be made or renewed, a dialogue may be started or continued, outside the official bodies. The United Nations is, par excellence, the place where dialogue and negotiation can and must take the place of force - force still resorted to by so many States in spite of the prohibition enshrined in the Charter. The peaceful settlement of disputes is the obligation of all States. It is those who refuse dialogue or negotiation that are very largely to blame for the present tensions in the world.

There is an obvious affinity between the objectives of our foreign policy and those embodied in the United Nations Charter. Is it surprising then that, though absent at the creation of the United Nations, Switzerland has supported it on many occasions? Our country has become a member of practically every specialized agency of the United Nations and of some of its subsidiary organs dealing with humanitarian or technical questions as well as with development. For 40 years now, we have been deeply involved in the United Nations system.

Our involvement in the field of multilateral co-operation has roots which go deep into the past. It dates back to the end of the nineteenth century, when the forerunners of today's international organizations were founded. Several of them were born in our country and established their headquarters there. It was in line

(Mr. Brunner, Switzerland)

with that very tradition that we signed an agreement with the United Nations as long ago as 1946 in order to facilitate their establishment as well as their activities on Swiss soil. The name of Geneva has ever since then been inseparably linked to that of the United Nations. Now an essential element of our foreign policy, such an open-door policy is a concrete example of Switzerland's interest in multilateral diplomacy and international co-operation in general. We are very pleased to see the excellent co-operation established in this respect between the United Nations and our country.

Finally, allow me to express Switzerland's admiration for the way in which the Secretary-General of the United Nations is carrying out his duties. Through his untiring efforts and his involvement, which is constant, though self-effacing when success requires it, the Secretary-General has tackled with lucidity and realism the search for gradual solutions to particularly sensitive international problems.

A review of 40 years of existence is a very delicate undertaking. It is all too easy, unfortunately, to notice the large number of yet unsolved problems while losing sight of all that has been achieved within the framework of the United Nations. And, to quote the last report of the Secretary-General, the world is certainly still

"a very imperfect, insecure, unjust, dangerous and, in all too many regions, impoverished place". (A/40/1, p. 3)

But we also note that for the first time in this century four decades have gone by without the outburst of a world-wide conflict. International co-operation is of course still undergoing and will continue to undergo many trials and incidents. But by its very existence the United Nations expresses the will to overcome them. To that will, Switzerland wishes today to pay tribute from this rostrum.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The next speaker is the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Special Envoy of the Government of the Republic of San Marino, His Excellency Mr. Giordano Bruno Reffi. I now call on him.

Mr. REFFI (San Marino) (spoke in Italian; interpretation from French text furnished by the delegation): I accepted with great pleasure the invitation extended to me by the United Nations Secretary-General, and I am here at this General Assembly session to commemorate with everyone here the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations.

This is the first time that a representative of the Government of the Republic of San Marino and, in particular, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, are participating in the General Assembly of the United Nations. Allow me, therefore, briefly to set forth before the Assembly some information on the historical development and the political position of my country.

During its 16 centuries of life, liberty and independence, the Republic of San Marino has preferred to follow, vis-à-vis the communities that surround it, a policy of apparent isolation; and until the end of the eighteenth century its infrequent relations with other countries consisted primarily of the purchase of neighbouring territories; the signing of peace treaties with neighbouring suzerains; and arbitration, entrusted to the most important figures of the region, to resolve disputes about territorial borders.

The first treaties of friendship and trade with the Roman Republic, with the Cisalpine Republic and with the Italian Republic date from 1700. After the decline of the Napoleonic epoch, the territory of the Republic was surrounded by the Papal States, and two treaties with the Holy See broke a long period of international inertia.

(Mr. Raffi, San Marino)

However, from Romagna, shaken by political upheavals, and from more distant regions came a host of political refugees, and these exiles were warmly received and protected - sometimes at the risk of great danger - by the people of San Marino. Moreover, the Republic, in which the principles of freedom are deeply rooted, could not fail to show, even in a covert way, its full solidarity with the cause of freedom for the Italian people. Indeed, it contributed to the formation of the Italian Kingdom by sending volunteers and by extending its hospitality to Garibaldi and all those who were struggling for the unity of Italy. That is well known.

From that time on, for political as well as economic reasons, relations with the neighbouring country became ever more intense, and there was also an increase in relations with other European and non-European States and, later, with international organizations.

The Republic, faithful to its tradition of freedom, firmness and courage, has shown a consistency of policy and dignity for which praise and approval have been expressed on many occasions throughout the centuries. Indeed, this is what Voltaire said:

"The size of the territory of the Republic of San Marino is nearly equal to that held by Romulus, and yet it is the clearest proof of an existing denial of superstition and the perpetuation of war".

Napoleon Bonaparte assured the Republic of peace and the inviolable friendship of France, and he stated that this provided him with the opportunity to attest to the great veneration which the inhabitants of San Marino inspired in all friends of freedom.

In 1861, Garibaldi wrote to the Captains Regent that:

"I am proud to be a citizen of such an honourable Republic. Among the many examples of the generosity which has made it respected and much loved



(Mr. Reffi, San Marino)

throughout the centuries, there is that recent one - for which I shall be eternally grateful: the hospitality that it offered to me and my soldiers during the withdrawal from Rome in 1849".

In the same year, 1861, the President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln, said:

"Although your domain is a small one, your State is one of the most honoured in history. It has proved by its experience a truth that is so encouraging to the friends of mankind: that a Government based on republican principles can be secure and can endure".

In 1980, the President of the Italian Republic, Sandro Pertini, addressed the Captains Regent as follows:

"From its very origins the Republic of Titan has been a peaceful community, a refuge for the oppressed and the persecuted in the neighbouring areas. From the time when its sovereignty was recognized up to signing of the Treaties of Westphalia, San Marino has been able to maintain its borders and its traditions intact, thanks to the high quality of its democratic institutions, which have been an example of freedom and independence throughout the centuries".

(Mr. Reffi, San Marino)

In that same year, Pope John Paul II said:

"I see before me the image of the entire population of this Republic of many Towers, which, honouring its tradition of freedom and peace, is pursuing to its end a path of generosity and constructiveness, thus adding new merits to those of its age-old hospitality and brotherly solidarity."

San Marino wishes to maintain intact that well-known tradition and has therefore based its international conduct on recognition of its own sovereignty and protection of the interests, modest though they be, of the Republic and its citizens, in the conviction that every State, however small, has an obligation to contribute to the attainment of the following goals of international development: sovereign equality and respect for sovereign rights, including full respect for the individuality of each country and all the inalienable rights connected with the freedom of every State freely to choose and develop its own political, social, economic and cultural system; the non-use of the threat or use of force in bilateral and international relations against the territorial integrity or political independence of States; the territorial integrity of States; the peaceful settlement of disputes; non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States; respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; and the self-determination of peoples.

It follows logically from this that neutrality has for centuries been the consistent basis of San Marino's political activities at the international level. That position, which is the most appropriate for a small State, cannot and must not take the form of isolation and total passivity as manifested in a refusal to express its views on the most important international problems or in a refusal to contribute, if possible, in a practical way to the advancement of peace and justice in the world, to economic and social progress and to the affirmation of the right of peoples to self-determination and complete independence. Nor can it fail to

(Mr. Reffi, San Marino)

condemn all forms of colonialism, racism and foreign intervention and to call for respect for human rights and an end to all duplicity in international relations.

Moreover, respect for the principle of neutrality is unquestionably in keeping with the harmonization of relations between States and the free progress of the international community towards peace. The pursuit of a policy of active neutrality on the basis of the above concepts requires that the Republic take a stronger and more active part in congresses, bodies and initiatives where it can make a valuable contribution and play an important role in mediation and in reconciling the interests and positions of opposing blocs.

The Government of the Republic of San Marino wished to be represented at this special, significant session in order to convey, through me, the deep gratitude of the people of San Marino for the role played by the United Nations during its 40 years of fruitful activity in the interest of peace, the development of countries and the progress of peoples.

Society today is marked by grave imbalances and profound economic contrasts, which favour the rich countries at the expense of the poor, which are becoming still poorer. Races, minorities, entire peoples, must still endure harsh racial discrimination and apartheid. Peoples are still unable freely to determine their own fate, for military occupation or economic difficulties prevent the free exercise of that basic right. Millions of human beings continue to live in the unjust, harsh conditions, lacking the food needed for survival and the fight against hunger is still dependent on the philanthropic inclinations of the most sensitive. It is difficult for small States to achieve respect for sovereign equality and individuality and the free exercise of sovereign rights.

In all too many countries, the true exercise of the civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights and freedoms inherent in the dignity of the human person has not been achieved, but is rather being smothered. Scientific

(Mr. Reffi, San Marino)

progress is used in the service of force. The most sophisticated weapons are being placed at the service of threats and of a determination to achieve supremacy no matter what the cost. The arms race continues unchecked; the desire for disarmament and peace comes up against the political and strategic need for a balance of arms and the interests of the super-Powers, on which the hopes of peoples inevitably depend.

Thus, today as never before we must have complete confidence in the United Nations, the only Organization in a position, thanks to the co-ordinated will and efforts of all its Members, to make the behaviour of States more equitable and more in keeping with the aspirations of individuals. That confidence is based on a conviction that the international society of our time must be organized if it wishes to achieve what we believe is the unanimous and sincere objective of harmonious development for all, the preservation of peace and harmony among all the world's peoples.

By expressing that confidence, the Republic of San Marino wishes, through me, to declare its desire to establish soon a more organized relationship with the United Nations. This will be possible thanks to the fact that in the Republic there is absolute respect for the principle of the preservation of the freedoms and rights of the individual.

We also believe that our relations with the International Court of Justice, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the World Health Organization, the International Telecommunication Union and the International Labour Organisation and our active participation in the long and difficult process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe attest to our indisputable will to co-operate.

(Mr. Reffi, San Marino)

I do not believe it could be otherwise for a State which - permit me to say on behalf of the citizens of San Marino - is proud of its 1,685 years of freedom, of autonomy courageously defended and fortunately retained and of democratic government that respects the rights and wishes of the people, in the service of the cause of justice for all. It could not be otherwise for a State that practises active neutrality as a matter of customary law, which last took part in a war in 1462, and which, although ruined during the last world war, which did not spare non-combatant States, by aerial bombardment and invasion of its neutral, unprotected territory, offered its hospitality to 200,000 refugees from neighbouring cities which had been destroyed.

The universality of the United Nations leaves room also for small States which could certainly never determine what action the Organization should take - and San Marino would never want this - but which can make a contribution to any cause that promotes peace and justice.

Justice in a society affects each individual and all of mankind and requires a new economic order that ensures for all peoples, especially developing peoples, fair access to available goods.

Justice wears the achievement of peace. Peace is not utopian any more than war is an inevitable calamity. Peace is possible, indeed it is a duty for those in a position to ensure it, and it is therefore a heavy responsibility for those that have not wished or do not wish to maintain and guarantee it.

I bring a message of encouragement and hope to the United Nations from the small Republic of San Marino, which occupies only 62 square kilometres of the Italian peninsula and is inhabited by 23,000 people - while the unfortunate need to emigrate has sent another 11,000 abroad. All of these share the expectations of the peoples of the entire world.

(Mr. Reffi, San Marino)

It is a message of encouragement not to let the will to change and to improve be weakened by the complexity of problems, by the inevitable errors and by the setbacks of the past, the present and the future; and it is a message of hope born of confidence in man and his natural instinct to live in peace.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The next speaker is the Secretary of State for External Relations and Special Envoy of the President of the Argentine Republic, His Excellency Mr. Jorge Sabato.

Mr. SABATO (Argentina) (interpretation from Spanish): I wish to convey to you, Mr. President, to the Secretary-General and to the Heads of delegations the greetings of the President of the Republic, Dr. Raul Alfonsin, and his hope that this commemoration will help strengthen the commitment of the international community to the purposes that inspired the creation of the United Nations.

Throughout its 40 years' existence, the Organization has played a fundamental role in upholding the purposes and principles of the Charter, just as it has been an essential instrument for the elimination of discrimination and for decolonisation, the strengthening of human rights and the promotion of economic and social progress.

Over those years mankind has avoided the tragedy that a new world war would have meant. However, there have been, and there still continue, regional conflicts that, in addition to their resultant death and destruction, threaten world peace. We believe that the United Nations was and is indispensable to resolve them. One could only wonder what would have happened in the world if it had not been for the existence and activities of the United Nations.

Argentina firmly believes in the need to resolve conflicts through dialogue and diplomatic negotiation. It has demonstrated that with Chile, resolving in that manner the age-old controversy over the Beagle Channel. It is also trying in that way to secure acceptance by the United Kingdom of the path of diplomatic negotiation to resolve all the differences between that country and mine, including the question of the Malvinas Islands, the South Sandwich Islands and South Georgia. In that effort Argentina has encountered at the United Nations constant, helpful co-operation, for which my Government must express its gratitude, just as

(Mr. Sabato, Argentina)

it wishes to thank the Secretary-General for his ongoing interest and for his hard work in seeking the necessary common ground so that we may arrive at the moment for fruitful negotiations.

While my country has adopted that approach to resolving international conflicts, it notes with concern how the arms race has intensified, thus heightening the danger of nuclear conflagration. We are all involved in that situation, some being responsible for it, but most being victims - and therefore all nations must make an effort to see the use of the rationality needed by mankind in order to assure the essential right to life that we all possess.

That was the meaning of the Delhi Declaration of 28 January 1985, which expressed the common will of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania - that is, peoples of different cultures and geographically far apart - for the initiation of a new course in respect of our main common inheritance: survival.

It is also clear that today the right to life is inseparable from the right to a dignified life. Much of mankind suffers the incomprehensible scourge of hunger, poverty, indignity and insecurity. None the less, the progress of mankind has generated the necessary resources for us now to begin on the task of securing justice so that we may soon reverse that reality, which causes us so much shame. For that it would be sufficient to put to the service of economic and social development the effort, the scientific progress and part of the immense resources now devoted to destruction. In that way, moreover, we should achieve the true and definitive consolidation of peace, because only those peoples that have achieved good living conditions can fully appreciate life's worth and struggle to maintain it.



(Mr. Sabato, Argentina)

In addition, the absorption of resources by the arms race not only makes it difficult to improve the world in which we live; those expenditures have also caused a grave change in the system of international economic relations, accentuating its shortcomings and aggravating a crisis that is having an adverse effect on the prosperity of the developed countries and is impeding the progress of the more backward regions of the world, to the extent that such progress sometimes seem an impossible dream.

Peace and progress, disarmament and growth, have rarely been so closely linked as they are now. At the same time, rarely have the interests and aspirations of the peoples of the world been more suitable to uniting those peoples in co-operation for justice and life. That is one of the fundamental objectives of my country's foreign policy, symbolized in the Delhi Declaration to which I have referred and, within Latin America, reflected in a broad range of international political and economic initiatives.

Despite all the potential for world peace and progress, we are today witnessing a crisis in international economic relations as serious as, or more serious than, that of 1930. The crisis is the culmination of the erratic functioning of an international economic order which has accentuated the inequalities in economic and social progress between nations.

The irrational nature of the prevailing economic system manifests itself in many ways. We see it, for example, in the accumulation of food stocks. In wheat and fodder alone surplus commercial stocks amount to 200 million tons, equivalent to 15 per cent of world output, while tens of millions of human beings go hungry.

Hurt by protectionism and the trade discrimination of the more developed countries, the countries of our region - as of other regions of the world - find one of the most serious aspects of the present crisis to be the problem of the external debt.

(Mr. Sabato, Argentina)

Since 1980 interest rates on the world market have increased by five times over the historic average of the previous 70 years, through circumstances and decisions beyond the control of our peoples. The result is the absurd paradox that a large region fighting to grow and develop has been turned into an exporter of capital. It is sufficient to point out that in 1983 alone net payments to the developed world to service the Latin American debt reached \$30 billion.

Those confronted with that tragic state of affairs experience temptations to act in harmful ways. On the one hand, they can fall for the illusion that the situation is temporary. In other words, one can deny the gravity of the crisis and its consequences and pay up, whatever the cost. On the other hand, there is the temptation to go in for isolation, without assessing its affects - in other words, to repudiate the debt. That would be to deny the interdependence of international economic relations and the weakness of national markets as a prop for growth.

Latin American democracy has rejected that false alternative. It has accepted, with realism, that no progress for its peoples is possible if it ignores the complex international network of economic relations that is the hallmark of today's world. With the same realism, we note that the external debt is not a mere trade or short-term problem, and point out that it is the consequence of a global crisis of the system underlying those international economic relations.

Therefore, in the same way as we refuse to subject our peoples to the inevitable backwardness of isolationism, we emphasize that there is no solution to the problem of the external debt based on impoverishment and hunger.

That is the common experience of Latin America, and it is also the basis of the lesson in good sense our region is giving to the world.

(Mr. Sabato, Argentina)

For many decades Latin America placed its hopes in the consolidation of the progress made by the central economies, and time and time again it was the principal victim of their crises. This harsh apprenticeship has emphasized the weakness of that type of radial relationship with the major power centres, reflected in inherent constraints not only on our own capacity for growth but also on the contribution which the region can and should make to the progress of mankind.

In recent years the Latin American countries have made and are making major adjustments in their economies, which have revealed how inadequate they are to resolve the problem of the crisis. None the less, these adjustments demonstrate the soundness of our present situation as societies, and indicate that only a resumption of growth will be able to offer a definitive and lasting solution through a new international economic order. This implies that the common sense and efforts of our peoples must be paralleled by similar common sense and efforts in the developed world which must, without further delay, examine the reasons behind its progress and realize that a global crisis calls for a global response.

Half a century ago the crisis of the central economies opened up the way for the consolidation of national territories in Latin America. Now this crisis is beginning to transform the rhetoric of our Latin American integration into a real necessity, in other words, it is beginning to open up possibilities of a new regional economic area in the service of our peoples and of mankind as a whole, not contradictory but complementary to the other regional economic areas which with each passing day become more characteristic of our age.

This is the reason for the need for a political and global discussion of the crisis which Latin America began a year and a half ago in the Cartagena Consensus, and which we now see is beginning to be understood by those who bear the prime responsibility for the situation and for finding a way out of it.

(Mr. Sabato, Argentina)

The consolidation of peace through control of the arms race is indissolubly linked to the need to overcome backwardness and to stimulate economic growth on the basis of a mature and responsible dialogue among nations. Four decades later the principles, objectives and values of the United Nations Charter are still a major reflection of what all the peoples yearn for the most.

It is essential to recognize the impediments and obstacles which the United Nations and its agencies have encountered in their efforts to achieve the objectives laid down at the time of their creation, but it is also essential to confirm and endorse the confidence placed in the United Nations as an instrument necessary to realize those aspirations.

My country is convinced that active participation in all international forums, and principally in this one, is essential to overcome these difficulties and constraints in an imaginative, dynamic, and creative spirit, which will strengthen the bonds that unite us and banish for ever what separates us. What unites us is the survival of mankind based on dignity, justice, security and progress.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I call now on Mr. Rene Novella, Special Envoy of His Serene Highness the Prince of Monaco.

Mr. NOVELLA (Monaco) (interpretation from French): Mr. President, first of all, I should like to extend to you, on behalf of my Government, my very warm congratulations on your election as President of this fortieth session of the United Nations General Assembly. This choice made by the Assembly is a demonstration of its confidence in you and in Spain, which in today's international community occupies the place for which its past has marked it.

In a few days we shall be celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the entry into force of the Charter, which lays down four major objectives for the United Nations.

(Mr. Novella, Monaco)

First:

"to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, ... ."

This objective was the one which the fifty-odd States which participated in the San Francisco Conference wished to make the first and the most important.

By placing it in the Preamble, and highlighting it in that constitutional instrument that was to govern the activities of what was shortly to become the United Nations, they stressed, at a time when the clamour of arms was slowly subsiding, their unanimous determination to preserve once and for all peace and security in a world which had been bled white by more than five years of unprecedented armed conflict. Are there any democratic nations which do not subscribe wholeheartedly to such an objective?

I should like to recall here that Monaco, under the guidance of its Princes, has always fully supported this principle of peace and security and has never spared any efforts in disseminating its underlying ideas and in helping to consolidate it.

At the dawn of a century which was to be darkened by two global conflagrations, Prince Albert I, convinced, as a scholar, that only progress and knowledge could bring happiness to mankind and aware that such progress could be achieved only in a spirit of harmony, invited the Eleventh Universal Peace Congress to Monaco.

A few months later, on 20 February 1903, he founded the International Peace Institute which he entrusted with the task of studying ways of extending the use of methods of understanding and resolving, solely through arbitration, those disputes which inevitably arise among nations.

"I have long been searching," he wrote, "for ways to open the eyes of one and all to the need to resolve difficulties as soon as they arise."

(Mr. Novella, Monaco)

But he was not simply a perceptive theoretician of pacifism. A few hours before the great conflagration in August 1914, he made one last attempt to bring the warmongers to reason.

In pursuing the work done by his father, Prince Louis II in 1934 created the Legal-Medical Commission which from the very beginning of its work drew up the so-called Monaco Project, a genuine codification of respect for life in time of war which was to play a decisive role in the preparation of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the additional Protocols of 1977.

The second objective of the Charter strengthens and supplements the first:

"To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, ..." (article 2).

Is there any need to encourage this Assembly to expand and to express such an objective in greater detail at a time when in several parts of the world dark storm clouds seem likely to eclipse it?

(Mr. Novella, Monaco)

Is there any need to stress the extent of the dedication to such friendly relations of a country whose sovereigns for eight centuries now, and throughout all the vicissitudes of history, have made efforts to maintain with nations near and far ties of the most cordial openness?

"To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion".

Those who drafted the Charter, aware of the close relationship between the political, economic and social spheres, saw the need simultaneously to work on international co-operation in the most varied areas.

Co-operation in the sciences, the harmonization of means and systems of communications, the working out of inter-linked study programmes, the protection of the environment and humanitarian assistance found within the United Nations system that structure required for their implementation at the world level.

However, the importance of regional co-operation cannot be forgotten. Monaco, which attaches special importance to it, has made an effort under the leadership of its sovereigns to stimulate co-operation among neighbouring States in such areas as the environment in which it believed its actions could serve as an example.

As far back as 1910 it convened the Commission on the Mediterranean, which since then has become the International Commission for the Scientific Exploration of the Mediterranean Sea, and at the present time it is host to the Commission, which is presided over by Prince Rainier.

More recently, the tripartite RAMOGE Convention was one of the first examples of scientific, technical, legal and administrative joint co-operation undertaken to protect a coastal zone that was experiencing heavy tourist development and rapid urban expansion.

(Mr. Novella, Monaco)

We are extremely proud of our cultural activities which support the idea of universal peace in the plastic arts, music, literature, information, education, youth activities and sports; sometimes, too, we are proud that we manage to win. This does not preclude Baron de Coubertin's slogan: "to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends." Just as troops cannot advance in disarray, the objectives of the Charter cannot be successfully implemented in a reasonable period of time and in a rational manner without constant and vigorous concern for co-ordination.

The proliferation of organizations both intergovernmental and non-governmental, confusion as to their spheres of competence, the overlapping of programmes - all can only do harm, by overburdening and unbalancing budgets, to actions undertaken for development and co-operation.

As regards those bodies that the United Nations has wisely set up, allow me to express the hope that the harmonious definition of their spheres of competence will allow us to achieve the co-ordination that is so indispensable.

My Government decided to accept the invitation that was sent it to address this Assembly in order to emphasize its deep conviction that progress towards a world society living in peaceful and harmonious development can only take place if there is respect for and strict observance of those fundamental principles that were solemnly adopted on 26 June 1945.

My Government also wished to show that throughout these 30 years during which it has been allowed to be present as an observer, Monaco, under the leadership of its sovereign, has not wanted to confine itself to such an undemanding role. In keeping with its tradition it has indeed made an effort to continue to participate actively and positively, as fully as it can, in international life. We believe most sincerely that this participation has always been carried out in the spirit of the Charter, to which Monaco fully subscribes.



The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The next speaker is the Special Envoy of the Government of the Republic of Bolivia, His Excellency Mr. Carlos Salamanca.

Mr. SALAMANCA (Bolivia) (interpretation from Spanish): Mr. President, allow me to convey to you my most cordial congratulations on your election. I take great pleasure in noting that a diplomat with your talent and experience is in charge of the work of this session of the General Assembly, during which it is commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations.

I also take great pleasure in greeting the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, whose tireless work in the service of the United Nations has been acclaimed and recognized by all.

It is a special privilege for me to speak from this rostrum as a member of the Bolivian delegation. Forty years ago I also took part as a member of our delegation on the memorable occasion of the signing of the United Nations Charter. We are now gathered here to commemorate that event, which was a beacon of hope in the history of mankind. I would have liked to have had present with me today my Bolivian colleagues who were at San Francisco, Mr. Victor Andrade and Mr. Eduardo Arze Quiroga.

Though I do not underestimate the work done by the Organization in its 40 years, I must admit that, in certain fundamental respects having to do with international peace and security, the purposes of the Charter have not been fulfilled in the terms in which they were originally conceived. The San Francisco Conference adopted a fundamental concept: the special permanent responsibilities of the military Powers in connection with problems of international peace and security. Chapters VI and VII and Article 26 of the Charter set up a system designed to prevent an arms race. By establishing exclusive areas of security, the great Powers in fact had watered down the system established by the Charter.

(Mr. Salamanca, Bolivia)

By withdrawing from the system, the dominant Powers in opposing security zones set in motion a virtually uncontrollable arms race in conventional and nuclear weapons. Military expenditures now amount to the astronomical sum of \$3,000 million a day.

The founding of the United Nations represented the elimination of shaky alliances that never worked, but subsequent developments have, as the Secretary-General recognizes in his message, far from corresponded to that vision.

Hence we have an ambivalent situation. On the one hand, there is a balance of powers laden with danger; on the other, there are the peaceful solutions provided for in the Charter.

In this respect we have retrogressed. The United Nations has remained powerless in the face of opposing alliances. The United Nations cannot operate effectively unless the arms race is stopped.

Since its foundation the United Nations has responded as far as it could to the changes that have occurred in the world. There is no subject that bears on the well-being of mankind that has not been included on the agendas of the Assembly or the various bodies associated with the Organization.

(Mr. Salamanca, Bolivia)

Legal principles and instruments have been formulated to secure respect for human rights, to extend the benefits of science and education, and to protect children. The Organization has concerned itself with seeking a new international economic order that would reduce the disparities between developed and poor countries. One example is provided by the various programmes for the development of technical co-operation. It should be noted that the original programme was initiated by the Latin American Group at the Assembly's 1952 session.

The maintenance of peace has a vital connection to economic development. In these depression years the problems have been multiplying. There has been a decline in world economic growth, thus seriously aggravating the situation in many developing countries. The result has been inflation, unemployment, external debt at high interest rates, and a lack of funds to check the dehumanizing power of hunger and poverty.

Until the major Powers succeed in normalizing their relations it will be impossible to secure the three essential elements for which the United Nations was established: peace, development and disarmament. When the Dumbarton Oaks proposal was discussed at the San Francisco Conference, the Latin American Group incorporated substantial modifications in the Charter, inter alia, to mention two of the more important, the broadening of the Assembly's powers, and Chapter VIII of the Charter on regional arrangements. The delegation of Bolivia included the word "justice" in the Charter's Preamble, as it related to the subject of international obligations and other sources of international law. In Article 14 we broadened the powers of the Assembly to recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin.

At the 1952 session of the Assembly, the joint efforts of Bolivia and Uruguay led to the Assembly endorsing the right to economic self-determination. In 1958

(Mr. Salamanca, Bolivia)

the subject of free access to the sea for land-locked countries was brought up, and later adopted at the first Conference on the Law of the Sea.

As a member of the Trusteeship Council Bolivia presided over the South Seas Commission and was a member of the Commission on New Guinea; Bolivia was appointed by the Assembly and the Security Council to the chairmanship of the Commission on Angola. The years during which we represented Bolivia saw the beginning of the decolonization of the countries under the Council's jurisdiction.

Having analysed the limitations and critical circumstances in which the Organization must function and develop we can come to only one conclusion: its Members must respect the Charter, for within its legal and conceptual framework we can coexist, but outside it no peaceful solutions are possible.

The United Nations, as the first paragraph of the Preamble to the Charter states, was organized as a result of two world wars; that is why that Organization represents the will to affirm life, to organize creative peace and to seek in human coexistence the rationale for our own lives.

I would like to repeat here - and I would ask representatives to listen carefully - what the great leaders of that period said in San Francisco in support of the United Nations. President Truman stated:

"If not brought under control, modern war weapons, with their increasing brutality, can destroy our civilization completely. It is still open to us to choose between two alternatives: the continuation of international chaos, or the establishment of a world authority to keep the peace."

Molotov, Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, said:

"The Soviet Government is a firm and sincere champion of the establishment of a strong security organization. We must create an international organization to safeguard peace."

(Mr. Salamanca, Bolivia)

Anthony Eden, Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom, stated:

"It is no exaggeration to say that this meeting we have begun may be the last opportunity the world has. International security cannot be created overnight, it must be the result of a constant effort."

Mr. Spaak, the Belgian Foreign Minister:

"Solidarity will be meaningless if the peoples of the world fail to understand clearly that they must help each other in time of peace. We cannot banish from our minds the idea of justice and peace."

Edward Stettinius, United States Secretary of State:

"The responsibility of the powerful States is to serve the peoples of the world, not to dominate them."

Today more than ever, faced as we are with unimaginable dangers, everyone hopes for a reduction of the tensions that now divide the world. The ideas of the founders of the Organization and the promises made at that time have after 40 years lost none of their vigour and are vitally needed today.

In conclusion, I should like to thank Mr. Julio Garrett Aillon, the Vice-President of Bolivia, for his kind words in mentioning my own services to Bolivia and to the United Nations.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Assembly will now hear a statement by the President of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, His Excellency Lieutenant-General Hussain Muhammad Ershad.

Lieutenant-General Hussain Muhammad Ershad, President of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, was escorted to the rostrum.

President ERSHAD (spoke in Bengali; English text furnished by the delegation): I bring the warm and friendly greetings of the people of Bangladesh. I take this opportunity to congratulate you, Mr. President, on the effective manner in which you are guiding our proceedings and also to pay tribute to the Secretary-General for his very competent leadership of the Organization.

Our presence here - this gathering of so many leaders from all parts of the world to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the world body - is a vindication of the importance that the peoples and nations of the world attach to the United Nations. It is a reaffirmation of our faith in, and commitment to, the noble purposes and objectives enshrined in the Charter.

This session is taking place in a complex international situation in which we still find many reasons for anxiety. It is, therefore, an occasion not only for celebration but also for sober reflection and introspection. Since its birth 40 years ago the United Nations has seen great changes in the world. Though momentous strides have been made by mankind, we still see uncertainty everywhere about a world in parts of which the guns of war still boom, uncertainty about our economic prospects, uncertainty about the quality and meaning of human life, uncertainty about the state of the environment, and of course, above all looms the nightmare of nuclear war. I therefore strongly believe that today we need this Organization far more than we did in 1945.

(President Ershad)

Like the stories of all worthwhile human endeavours, the history of the United Nations has been marked by successes, as well as disappointments, frustration and even failures in certain areas.

The balance sheet is, however, more positive than it may appear at first glance. To the scores of newly-independent countries of the third world, the United Nations has continued to serve all these years as a main guarantor of the political independence and sovereign equality of States and the best instrument to promote their economic and social development in a secure environment. To countries like ours, the United Nations holds out the best prospect and potential for the survival and progress of mankind. The greatest relevance and most important function of the United Nations is to represent man in terms of his quest for survival as a decent human being, the prerequisites for this can no longer be adequately ensured by individual nations.

No country can better exemplify the need for the United Nations than my own. The freedom-loving people of Bangladesh, in its struggle for liberation, has derived strength from the principles of sovereignty, independence and self-determination enshrined in the Charter. The role played by the United Nations during our movement to independence, in efforts to minimize the effects of the man-made tragedy suffered by our people, and subsequently in help for the rehabilitation and development efforts of independent Bangladesh, is known by the international community. The basis for Bangladesh's multilateral diplomacy, which, inter alia, derives from its strict adherence to the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, emanates from the lessons learned from that experience. We in Bangladesh have paid our highest tribute to the principles and objectives of the Charter by incorporating in our Constitution the nation's resolute commitment to it.

(President Ershad)

For nations such as Bangladesh, the United Nations is thus both a defensive shield and the foundation of security. In fact, over the last four decades a symbiotic relationship has grown up in the United Nations. The United Nations survives on the collective will of Member States, and the smaller Powers of the world have much at stake in seeing that the world body continues to grow in strength and paves the way for the establishment of an international code, based on peace and justice, which could enable the deepest aspirations of mankind to be fulfilled, or which at least offers the potential for fulfilment.

Through the four decades of its existence the United Nations has contributed in every area of human endeavour. It has significantly advanced human progress in the political, economic, social and cultural fields. From the improvement of food and agricultural production to the exploration of outer space, from science and technology to the preservation of cultural heritages, from the law of the sea to the status of women, from peace-keeping to population control - we find everywhere manifestations of the activities of the United Nations. It is due to the efforts of the United Nations that lives of millions of children the world over have been saved. It is because of the United Nations that millions around the world are receiving their basic education and becoming literate. Again, it is due to the United Nations that millions are provided with basic health facilities.



(President Ershad)

As we observe this year the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the United Nations has seen remarkable progress in the decolonization process. However, there are still people who are being denied their right to self-determination and independence. We are particularly concerned that the national rights of the peoples of Palestine and Namibia are being denied in total defiance of world opinion and decisions of the United Nations. The most deplorable policy of apartheid is still being perpetrated on the people of Africa. The outrageous situation now prevailing in South Africa has shaken the conscience of humanity. As we are gathered here on the occasion of this commemoration, can we not assert our joint will on the racist régime of South Africa and force it to abandon for ever its heinous policy?

The theme for our commemoration is "United Nations for a better world". We believe that this theme very adequately and effectively expresses what the United Nations stands for and what role it can play for humanity. We believe that this theme also presents us with the basis for United Nations activities in the years to come. The world will be listening to what we say and watching what we do here at this session. May this colloquium hold out a beacon of hope on the future of mankind to the discomfort of the prophets of doom concerning the United Nations. Let us nurture all that unites us and narrow the attitudes that divide us. Let us not postpone but act honestly to lighten the afflictions which weigh so heavily upon mankind. It should be our common endeavour to work for the achievement of global peace and justice, social and economic development, independence and progress of all peoples. On our part, allow me on behalf of the people and the Government of Bangladesh, to reiterate our total support for the struggle against all forms of colonialism and racism and reaffirm our support for the principles of

(President Ershad)

self-determination and human rights. We again emphasize the need for achieving universality of membership so that the United Nations encompasses all peace-loving countries which undertake to respect the Charter. We again stress the priority objective of economic and social development, which should be the subject of the strongest commitment on the part of all members of the international community. Our genuine support for and commitment to international co-operation has found clear expression through our initiative for institutional regional co-operation arrangements among the countries of South Asia - South Asian Regional Co-operation (SARC) - whose first ever summit will take place in Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh on 7 and 8 December this year.

We may have gathered here as separate nations but we should not forget that we are all members of a family - the human race. Our future lies in our common progress and betterment. Wherever we come from, whatever our political, economic or social systems are, whatever credentials we hold, we are all here representing mankind. It is man who is the ultimate beneficiary of the activities of the United Nations. As we scan the international scene, we find that where poverty and starvation are most glaring, conflicts are bred. Peace and development are, therefore, closely linked. And we believe that one cannot be achieved without the other. Development should be the new face of peace. It is the best alternative to the wasteful expenditure on armaments and the mad race towards nuclear apocalypse. If we desire to extend the writ of peace to all lands and peoples, the determined struggle for survival and development being waged by the developing countries, aimed at improving the quality of life of their peoples, should get the total support of the international community, particularly the United Nations. Though we fully acknowledge that the primary responsibility for development rests with the respective countries, the success of their efforts needs effective

(President Ershad)

international support. As has been said, development is a co-operative, not a competitive, enterprise which enables nations to attain true freedom and equality. It is therefore through development that our objectives of international peace and security could be translated into reality.

All our efforts should be made in a co-ordinated and sustained manner to promote the rapid development of developing countries. We, as Members of the United Nations, should take steps both individually and collectively to formulate international development policies with a view to facilitating the full realization of the right to development. Towards this objective and as a complement to the efforts of the developing countries, effective international co-operation is essential in providing these countries with appropriate means and support to foster their comprehensive development. Nothing could be more fitting to the objectives of achieving global peace than this, as the United Nations commences tomorrow the International Year of Peace.

As we observe the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, this year - 1985 - has also been proclaimed by the United Nations as International Youth Year. It is the young people of today who will carry forward our struggle for economic and social development into the next century and it is they who will inherit the world. It is for us to ensure that the goal and aspirations of youth remain in the forefront of development efforts worldwide. Today's generation has no direct knowledge of the ordeal and catastrophe from which the United Nations was born. We must ensure that such an experience remains for ever foreign to them and to their children. The actions that we take today should facilitate the efforts of tomorrow to make this world a better place in which to live. We believe that at its mature age of 40, it is the most appropriate time for the United Nations to place due emphasis on the enrichment and ennoblement of the life of youth. To tap this

(President Ershad)

vitality, we suggest that an international corps of young volunteers should be created by the United Nations to integrate youth more effectively into the development process both at the national and international levels. As great strides are made through the strategy for child survival with its enormous potential to save millions of children every year, life thus saved should not be allowed to go to waste. Their survival and development is our investment in the future. In this context, we strongly emphasize that the goal of universal child immunization by the year 1990 is worthy of being pursued with vigour. As for my country, I have given the necessary directives to ensure that universal child immunization may be achieved by 1988.

We have before us a challenging opportunity. We should bear in mind that the United Nations is not an abstract - it is composed of us, its Members. It does not exist apart from us and it can only do what we, its Members, are prepared to do, acting together. Acting in concert, we can accomplish whatever we set out to do provided our will to succeed is sustained, sincere and strong. In recent years the United Nations has come under attack from certain quarters accusing it of failure and ineffectiveness. Raising the decibels of our criticism, however, will not in itself make the United Nations more effective. Though the United Nations has evolved through 40 years of its existence, we believe that its full potentials are yet to be explored. As responsible Members we should come forward with ideas and suggestions for improving its effectiveness. The role of the General Assembly, the most universal forum, should be further strengthened and its decisions made more obligatory. The Office of the Secretary-General could be more effectively utilized not only to resolve problems but also to prevent them from happening in the first place.

(President Ershad)

In this regard we have lent our full support to various ideas presented by the Secretary-General himself during the last two years. His direct involvement in the area of international co-operation for development could also ensure due emphasis in this area. The United Nations system as a whole should focus activities on development as a comprehensive process. Greater attention by the Secretary-General towards implementation of the consensus documents in the economic and social fields, namely the recommendations of the International Conference on Population, the Substantial New Programme of Action for the least developed countries, the Forward-Looking Strategies to the year 2000 adopted at the World Conference on Women and other similar documents would go a long way in increasing the effectiveness of the United Nations.

While we note with great satisfaction the remarkable achievements of the specialized agencies in various fields, one should no longer think of the United Nations family as a system of virtually independent, competing agencies, but as a multifaceted integrated whole through which the international community seeks to achieve the purposes so admirably defined in Article 55 of the Charter. While supporting the evolution of a system of preventive peace-keeping, we believe that permanent peace observation machinery will go a long way towards providing effective deterrence against aggression. The streamlining of the Secretariat continues to remain an important objective in our quest for progressive effectiveness.

In reiterating of our commitment and our rededication to the United Nations on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary, we have a vision for the future, a vision of a world in which conditions of peace, a better life and human dignity are understood and upheld. As we step into the next decade in the life of the United Nations, and as we approach the twenty-first century, we should be fully aware that we are entering a new era in the history of mankind. We want to see

(President Ershad)

a better world, a secure and peaceful one, where human life will be cherished and nurtured and where we shall see many more smiles and much more happiness on the faces of the peoples of the world.

The other day I was reading Thomas Carlyle. He said that this world, after all our science and sciences, is still a miracle; wonderful, inscrutable, magical and more, to whosoever will think of it. We may also say that, for all the wonderful achievements of modern science, the demonstrations of its power and the reach of its knowledge far into the distances of the universe and the depths of the oceans, the misery of a single child loudly proclaims that man's achievement is far from complete. There is no greater mystery than human misery, and to conquer this mystery is the challenge of our time.

Lieutenant General Hussain Muhammad Ershad, President of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, was escorted from the rostrum.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.