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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FORTY-SIXTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 23 October 1985, at 10 a.m.

President:

Mr. DE PINIÉS

(Spain)

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

Statements were made by:

Mr. Hugh Desmond Hoyte, Executive President of the Republic of Guyana

The Honourable Anerood Jugnauth, Prime Minister of Mauritius

Mr. Poul Schlütter, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Denmark

Mr. Yasuhiro Nakasone, Prime Minister of Japan

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Mr. Karim Lamrani, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Morocco

Commodore O. Ebitu Ukiwe, Chief of General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria

Mr. Bernardo Sepúlveda Amor, Minister for External Relations and Special Envoy of the President of the United Mexican States

Mr. Anatoly E. Gurinovich, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Special Envoy of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic

Mr. Alioune Blodin Beye, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation and Special Envoy of the President of the Republic of Mali

- Organization of work

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 Assembly will first hear an address by the Executive President of the Republic of Guyana, His Excellency Mr. Hugh Desmond Hoyte.

Mr. Hugh Desmond Hoyte, Executive President of the Republic of Guyana, was escorted to the rostrum.

President HOYTE: My presence at this commemorative session of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations is an affirmation of Guyana's faith in and support for the United Nations system.

The system, arising as it did from the ashes of a horrendous conflagration that originated in Europe, was founded on the hopes and aspirations of the peoples of the world, the victors and the vanquished included, for the avoidance of war, the enlargement of freedom and the promotion of development. It is a system which was born in an environment of supreme optimism and high expectations. Not unnaturally, therefore, many of its purposes were invested with universality and its principles with timelessness.

The Charter of the United Nations begins with an apt focus: it is on the needs of peoples. The invocation of the Charter's preamble expressed the determination of "the peoples of the United Nations" to pursue universalistic objectives and to agree on the broad strategies necessary to achieve those goals. It is good, I suggest, to recall those injunctions at this time of anniversary.

As we approach the moment of commemoration, therefore, the critical question is this: how has the United Nations system served the peoples of the world over the years?

(President Hoyte)

No human organization is perfect. And, as in the case of other institutions, national and international, criticisms of the functioning of the United Nations system can be both healthy and legitimate. The simple truth, however, is that the capacity of the United Nations system to fulfil its purposes and uphold its principles is directly related to the extent to which the Governments here represented utilize the Organization and clothe it with authority to act.

(President Hoyte)

Let us recall that very early in the life of the United Nations certain fundamental assumptions that the permanent members of the Security Council would act cohesively and with a collective will were proved false. And yet, crucial provisions of the Charter, especially those concerning international peace and security, rested upon those assumptions. In the event, sadly enough, confrontation supplanted the expected co-operation. The most dangerous manifestation of that development is the maddening arms race, which today imperils the survival of us all. And that development has also severely constricted the role of the United Nations in finding solutions to situations of crisis and tension, especially where the interests of major Powers are in collision. That is why it is both urgent and important that every opportunity be seized to halt the spiralling arms race and to implement more substantial disarmament measures to deal, particularly, with the threat of a nuclear holocaust.

In this connection, I express the sincere hope of the Guyanese people that the Geneva summit talks next month between General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and President Ronald Reagan will be approached and structured in a manner that will encourage meaningful, constructive decisions. International peace has been our earnest desire since our independence. As the founder leader of my party and nation, Comrade Linden Forbes Sampson Burnham, said on 20 September 1966, when Guyana was admitted to the Organization,

"I declare that my Government's and people's passionate desire for peace... is second to none." (A/PV.1409, para. 181)

That position has never varied.

It is, I believe, the essential and urgent demand of the peoples of the world that there be a substantial reduction in international tension and immediate action in good faith to promote a favourable climate for the achievement of peaceful, negotiated solutions to specific crisis situations, old and new.

(President Hoyte)

But other new, objective conditions have emerged in the international environment since the creation of the Organization. The post-colonial revolution, which was facilitated by the United Nations, nevertheless had consequences which many who were in San Francisco in 1945 could not have foreseen - so much so, that that revolution is today erroneously identified in some quarters as the prime cause of many present-day problems of international organizations.

Guyana became independent as a part of that post-colonial revolution and we have exercised our independence within this Organization and outside it in accordance with our perception of our national interests and the need, as the Charter specifies, to harmonize the interests of all States and peoples on the basis of sovereign equality.

For Guyana, it is not surprising, then, that the purposeful role of the United Nations in the field of decolonization has been widely acclaimed. However, some vestiges of colonialism persist.

Namibia must be free, and soon, and there is a pressing need to bring other colonial situations speedily to an end.

And necessary, urgent and imperative, too, is the eradication and total destruction of apartheid, that inhuman and abominable State practice in South Africa. The pressure on the Pretoria régime from within and without is mounting. We can and must intensify that pressure. For the demise of apartheid would bring hope for and the opportunity of a brighter, more secure future to the oppressed black masses and to the minorities of South Africa, including, paradoxically enough, the Afrikaners themselves, who are at present beleaguered in another langer of their own making.

The stalemate in international economic relations - that is, the impasse in relations between North and South - if it persists for too much longer will, it is certain, exert a profoundly negative and dangerous influence on the course of those relations. Let us at this Assembly session agree to alter that bleak prospect.

(President Hoyte)

The United Nations has been beneficially active in many fields of human interest and need and, with its specialized agencies, has made significant contributions in ameliorating of the human condition the world over.

Success in these areas has not always attracted the glare of public attention, but the Organization has often, unheralded and without fanfare, been of immense service to mankind, providing a forum for dialogue, facilitating the solution of problems and bringing hope and help to people in need..

Such activism by the United Nations system is made even more necessary by the very scope and extent of so many of today's problems, encompassing as they do universal human concerns. Such issues span the interests of peoples across national boundaries, are global in nature and therefore require global solutions.

Unhappily, within recent times there has been a deeply disturbing tendency. It is the launching of sustained attacks, in a kind of crusade, against some multilateral organizations where decision-making is democratic.

In Guyana's view, this is a retrograde step. Our efforts should be directed towards strengthening multilateralism, not resiling from it. We must practise tolerance, promote mutual understanding and thus demonstrate by practical action our adherence to the principles of peaceful coexistence.

I make a plea today for the strengthening of international co-operation through the democratization of the decision-making process in multilateral and similar institutions. For the stark reality is that in today's conditions, and indeed those of the foreseeable future, there is no viable replacement for international co-operation anchored in the United Nations system. The alternative is deepening crisis, confrontation and - who knows? - perhaps total chaos.

(President Hoyte)

The peoples of the world yearn for peace, freedom and development. As their representatives, we the political leaders face an awesome responsibility. Technological changes are exponentially expanding the opportunities for human achievement. The question posed is whether there is a correspondence between current political processes to satisfy the people's needs and today's scientific methodologies for realizing them. Is the world scientifically in the 21st century while politically the debris of the 19th century still guides our action?

(President Hoyte)

I hope that we political leaders are here not only because of the realpolitik of our domestic constituencies, but also because of our sincere, abiding and unswerving commitment to internationalism and to the vast potential for human benefit which genuine multilateral co-operation holds.

The occasion of this fortieth anniversary has a ceremonial dimension, but it should also be used constructively. These serious times in which we live require of us, at both the national and the international levels, balanced judgements and sober actions that have as their objective the survival of our species and the assurance of reasonable prospects for the fulfilment of the legitimate aspirations of our peoples.

U Thant, the first Secretary-General of the United Nations from the third world, gave interesting personal testimony on this theme. Speaking at a university in the United States of America on 2 December 1962, he said:

"The United Nations, to me, does not represent a vague ideal of universal peace and brotherhood which has its appeal only to starry-eyed idealists and moralists. Far from it. It is hard-headed, enlightened self-interest, the stake that all humanity has in peace and progress and, most important of all, survival that dictates the need for the United Nations as a practical institutional embodiment of the needs of nations on a shrinking planet, as a potent and dynamic instrument at the service of all nations, East and West, North as well as South".

U Thant's message is no less relevant today. I whole-heartedly endorse it.

Mr. Hugh Desmond Hoyte, Executive President of the Republic of Guyana, was escorted from the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The next speaker is the Prime Minister of Mauritius, His Excellency the Honourable Anerood Jugnauth.

Mr. Anerood Jugnauth, the Prime Minister of Mauritius, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. JUGNAUTH (Mauritius): I bring to this world Assembly the greetings and best wishes of the people of Mauritius on the occasion of the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. At this commemorative session I should like to reiterate, as many speakers before me have done, our resolute commitment to the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter.

Many mixed feelings have been voiced about our Organization during the past few days. Satisfaction at the considerable achievements in the economic, social and humanitarian fields has been combined with dismay at the global situation, which is still far from the one envisaged by the founding Members. The pledge made by the 51 independent States at the creation of our Organization, and now shared by 159 Member countries, to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" has taken on a new meaning in the light of developments since the end of the war. Today, when the possibility of a global war threatens to annihilate the human race and millions of years of evolution, it has become more urgent than ever before to resolve the paradox of human nature, which, as former Secretary-General U Thant put it,

"gives men reason to discern the course which common sense and the common good prescribe and then impels them to proceed doggedly in the opposite direction of short-term self-interest even if it may lead to ultimate self-destruction".

It is therefore with considerable anxiety that we continue to hear growing criticisms directed at the United Nations to justify a withdrawal from the ideals of internationalism. To cynics in many countries, the Organization has always been a convenient scapegoat for the current disorders in the world.

(Mr. Jugnauth, Mauritius)

Criticism of the United Nations is not a recent phenomenon. From the very beginning, when war-weary people held such high expectations and such earnest hopes, the Organization was in trouble. Conceived to function on the basis of continued post-war co-operation between the allied Powers - co-operation which unfortunately did not long outlive the war - it is hardly surprising that our Organization has become paralysed in much of its primary role of peace-keeping and maintaining security. The United Nations is only a mirror of the condition of the world today. And if we do not like the condition of the world today, we should not blame it on the United Nations. In fact, were we to make more effective use of the mechanisms set up by the United Nations Charter, particularly under Chapters VI and VII, and pledge to abide by the Charter and to commit ourselves to its principles and purposes, instead of pursuing outmoded procedures and policies, the world would be a much safer place for us and for generations to come.

Although history has repeatedly shown that more and better arms do not assure greater security, we continue to act much like past generations, repeating their mistakes. It would seem that mankind's political and psychological condition has always lagged behind material development. We need to recognize that there is no genuine and definitive technical solution to the problem of security. The founding Members realized this when they wrote the provisions of the Charter regarding collective action for peace and security. But, unfortunately, we have failed to implement those ideals, and instead, have fallen back to the old conditioned reflexes of continuous arms build-up and attempts to find the ultimate weapon to end all wars. We must more than ever before be determined to find a workable and effective system of collective security instead of dismissing the idea as naive or impracticable.

(Mr. Jugnauth, Mauritius)

Governments too often bypass the United Nations system and resort to the Organization only in situations of serious crisis or when hostilities have already started. Even in those situations the United Nations only serves as a place for extending the conflict on the field to the debating forum, with the parties more intent on scoring points than finding a solution. Regional security arrangements, which in the spirit of the Charter were to be subordinated to collective arrangements, have actually become predominant. Intended as a means of reinforcing the universal system, regionalism has instead supplanted it. The most important and significant political decisions today on matters of peace and security are taken outside the United Nations system.

(Mr. Jugnauth, Mauritius)

Therefore, considering that the United Nations does not figure prominently in the formulation of the foreign policies of many Member States, particularly those whose decisions are vital for world peace and security, it should not come as a surprise that our Organization has survived its first 40 years somewhat distorted and impaired, but nevertheless still useful, as acknowledged even by those who voice the loudest criticisms.

That the United Nations has proved its usefulness several times in the past is beyond any doubt. On the political side, it has worked best in exceptional circumstances, when Members, especially the permanent members of the Security Council, have been sufficiently alarmed by a crisis and when they have had confidence enough in the United Nations to give it the authority to act. In many situations of conflict, as the Secretary-General has pointed out in his report,

"The Security Council has time and again slowed the onrush of events, gained time for vital changes in direction, produced face-saving mechanisms and substituted talk for violent action". (A/40/1, p. 6)

The Secretary-General and his staff have served as intermediaries for negotiation and mediation, and sometimes simply as a communication link between parties whose relations are such that no third Member State or group of States can be credited with any impartiality. In all those situations the United Nations has been the only place to turn to for impartial, objective and fair consideration.

These achievements, or even partial achievements, would by themselves be quite notable considering the tremendous odds the United Nations has had to face since its inception. However, the results being rather difficult to measure or quantify, and public opinion not being generally able to grasp intangibles, the United Nations has often appeared irrelevant and powerless. But the fields of the concrete and almost innumerable achievements of the United Nations are so vast that

(Mr. Jugnauth, Mauritius)

it would not be possible for anybody here to do the Organization justice in merely a few minutes.

At the inspiration and on the initiative of the United Nations millions of people have achieved freedom and are now being helped towards economic independence. For many newly independent States, the United Nations and its specialized agencies have become an essential factor in their economic planning. Present and future generations in developing countries can aspire to better food, health and education as a result of United Nations assistance. Millions of refugees have been cared for, sometimes in spite of very difficult political circumstances. One momentous event which I feel did not receive enough media attention was the recent announcement by the World Health Organization of the final elimination of smallpox, an age-old disease which had claimed many lives all over the world. Equally significant is the campaign to vaccinate all the children of the world against six deadly diseases which claim well over 3 million lives every year.

The achievements of the United Nations in the cultural, social, legal and human rights fields are well known. A sustained effort has been made to preserve and save mankind's cultural heritage. International law has been codified in this century, more than at any other time in history. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and all the conventions elaborated since by the United Nations have set international standards of behaviour for all Governments and have helped check the barbarous practices of the past.

When we look back at our personal lives, we all tend to remember more vividly the painful experiences of the past because they invariably are the cause of today's problems. One of the unique characteristics of mankind is that it has the capacity not only to learn, but also to preserve what has been learned for future generations. This generation, more than any other in history, has at its disposal

(Mr. Jugnauth, Mauritius)

the greatest sum of knowledge in every imaginable field. Today we can claim to be able to find the solution to practically any problem. It is only a matter of time and expense. This Organization has been the repository of a vast amount of the knowledge necessary for such solutions. It is within our power either to bequeath painful experiences to our children or to free them, if they survive, from the torments of today's world.

Mr. Anerood Jugnauth, Prime Minister of Mauritius, was escorted from the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The next speaker is the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Denmark, His Excellency Mr. Poul Schlutter.

Mr. Poul Schlutter, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Denmark, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. SCHLUTTER (Denmark): For Denmark, support for the United Nations has been a cornerstone of foreign policy ever since we joined the Organization as a founding Member in 1945. I am glad to see so many Heads of State or Government in New York for this celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the Organization. The leaders present here are giving to the Organization their most precious resources, namely, their time and their attention. There rests upon us all an obligation to use this extraordinary opportunity constructively. Let it be a meeting of minds as well.

The fortieth anniversary of the United Nations is rightly being observed all over the world. It brings out two main themes as a basis for future action: taking stock of the achievements and the shortcomings of the United Nations at the present stage, and a recommitment to the principles of the Charter.

Inevitably, the contribution of the United Nations to the solution of the manifold problems facing the international community will be measured against the hopes and expectations of the Organization's founders. Inevitably, there will be disappointment when the results achieved are reviewed against this background.

(Mr. Schlutter, Denmark)

In the area of international peace and security in particular, it is often argued that progress towards a reliable system of collective security has been too modest. It is true that the years since 1945 have seen a tragic succession of crises, wars and conflicts in many parts of the world. In other parts, peace has been preserved, but by means which cannot be acceptable in the long run. Lately, the evil of terrorism has added a new dimension to the concept of international security.

(Mr. Schlutter, Denmark)

These dark features, however, do not present the full picture, and we must be careful not to limit the perspective. The United Nations has often helped contain outbreaks of violence, prepared the road for negotiations and set guidelines for the settlement of conflicts. The United Nations has proved adaptable to difficult and changing circumstances by sending peace-keeping forces to conflict areas, giving the parties pause for reflection. And the Security Council a few weeks ago unanimously condemned

"terrorism in all its forms, wherever and by whomsoever committed."

(S/PV.2618, p. 2)

So let us remain critical. Let us aim high. Let us voice our disappointments. But let us not go from disappointment to frustration and to cynicism. Let us preserve what has been so laboriously developed.

In the world of today the United Nations remains indispensable. The United Nations is the body which can articulate the common aspirations of mankind for the development of world affairs. In a number of areas the United Nations has succeeded in setting new standards for the behaviour of States. By focusing upon such concepts as the inadmissibility of aggression, respect for the rights of the individual, the legitimacy of aspirations for national independence and economic development, this Organization, this Assembly, should give the peoples of the world new norms against which to measure the internal and external conduct of Governments. At the same time, the work of the United Nations should rally public opinion in our own societies in support of the objectives of the Organization.

The United Nations is the most important framework for international development co-operation - an area in which the Organization has achieved impressive results. The Charter clearly states the need to employ international machinery for the economic and social advancement of all peoples, in recognition of

(Mr. Schlutter, Denmark)

the link between economic and social development and equality, on the one hand, and international peace and security on the other.

To humanitarian concerns has been added a growing recognition of the fundamental interdependence of all nations on this planet.

Even though much progress has been achieved, the gap between developed and developing countries continues to exist, and the plight of some countries has even worsened in recent years. The need for international development co-operation is increasing. Without the transfer of resources, knowledge and skills, many developing countries will not be able to realize their economic and social aspirations.

The firm support of my country, in deed as much as in words, for the activities of the United Nations and its associated organizations in the economic, social and technical fields is well known. Denmark has passed the target of 0.7 per cent of its gross national product for official development aid. We intend to reach the 1 per cent target within only a few years.

The United Nations has, over the years, played a key role in the process of decolonization, which is one of the most important achievements of the international community. The process is now almost at its end. But still development towards self-determination and equality for all peoples has not been allowed to take hold in Namibia. My Government attaches great importance to determined efforts by the United Nations to ensure Namibia's speedy transition to independence.

The United Nations is indispensable for the promotion of respect for human rights, which are violated in many parts of the world. The persistence of apartheid is a particular affront to the conscience of the entire international community.

(Mr. Schlutter, Denmark)

Human rights occupy a prominent place in the Charter and the provisions of the Charter have since been strengthened through the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenants on Human Rights. What is still needed is the complete realization of the fundamental rights of the individual and the effective implementation at the international level of measures to ensure that they are observed. It is the responsibility of Governments to respect and ensure the realization of human rights. That responsibility cannot be fully effective, however, until the individual can have recourse to institutions in his own country to protect his individual rights.

Respect for human rights, reduction of tension between East and West over regional issues and curtailment of the arms race are probably the greatest challenges of our political agenda. I cannot speak here today without a reference to, and a sincere hope for, the coming meeting between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev.

We are all aware of the far-reaching importance of that meeting. It is bound to have deep repercussions on almost all aspects of the world's development. Let us express our hopes, but let us not expect that it can realistically be more than a beginning, but it must prove to be the beginning.

The problems facing mankind today are of a world-wide nature. It is therefore essential that all the nations that make up the international community also participate in shaping the solutions. Only a truly universal organization can provide the necessary dialogue and communication among all States. That is why the fundamental principle of universality must always remain a basic feature of the United Nations. If we compromise that principle, we compromise the ability of the Organization to serve its purposes.

(Mr. Schlutter, Denmark)

For the United Nations to succeed, it is essential that its potential be used fully, efficiently and appropriately. Many results of the United Nations over the 40 years have been achieved through the devoted efforts of highly-qualified experts, under the auspices of specialized agencies or conferences. Let us preserve that productive organization of our work. Let us not compromise the work of the specialized agencies and conferences by exploiting them to pursue political objectives, which, in any case, can be achieved only in the forums suitable for them.

The years since the United Nations was founded have been years of fundamental and accelerating change. It has become more evident than ever before that no nation can attain security nor stable prosperity on its own, that it is not possible to disregard the relationships which bind us together and make ours a world of global interdependence.

The generation of our parents created the United Nations to help us meet the challenges and realize the opportunities. Let us do the work, and give our children a better world.

Mr. Poul Schlutter, Prime Minister of Denmark, was escorted from the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Assembly will now hear a statement by the Prime Minister of Japan, His Excellency Mr. Yasuhiro Nakasone.

Mr. Yasuhiro Nakasone, Prime Minister of Japan, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. NAKASONE (Japan) (spoke in Japanese; English text furnished by the delegation): On behalf of the people of Japan and their Government, I should like first to express my congratulations to the United Nations on its fortieth anniversary.

Before beginning my prepared remarks, I should also like to convey my nation's heartfelt sympathies to Mexico. Having experienced severe earthquakes ourselves, we Japanese stand with the people of Mexico in their sorrow and suffering.

At the time the United Nations Charter was signed in San Francisco on 26 June 1945, Japan was waging a desperate and lonely war against over 40-odd allied countries. Since the end of that war, Japan has profoundly regretted the ultra-nationalism and militarism it unleashed, and the untold suffering the war inflicted upon peoples around the world and, indeed, upon its own people.

In seeking to rebuild their homeland, the Japanese people, while respecting their own distinctive traditions and culture, eagerly embraced the universal and fundamental human values, namely, freedom, democracy and human rights, and formulated a new Constitution based upon those truths.

(Mr. Nakasone, Japan)

Japan has vowed, to itself and the world, to remain a peaceful State possessing the capability for self-defence only, and never again to become a military power. Having suffered the scourge of war and the atomic bomb, the Japanese people will never again permit the revival of militarism on their soil.

These basic tenets of Japanese policy are at one with the lofty purposes and principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations. Japan was admitted to this Organization as its eightieth Member State in December 1956, 11 years after the war's end, and the Japanese flag was at last raised in front of this United Nations Headquarters.

Since joining this Organization, Japan has made the United Nations a central pillar of its foreign policy, and it has sought Japanese peace and prosperity within the broader context of global peace and prosperity.

Our commitment is evident first in our efforts to promote world peace and disarmament, and especially to banish nuclear weapons from this earth. As the only people ever to have experienced the devastation of the atomic bomb, in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the Japanese people have steadfastly called for the elimination of nuclear weapons. Nuclear energy should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes; it must never again be employed as a means of destruction. The nuclear-weapon States should lend a responsive ear to the world's urgent appeals for the elimination of nuclear weapons.

In this respect, I must say, the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union have especially grave responsibilities. The leaders of those two countries should present clearly to all the peoples of the world the action they intend to take, while maintaining a proper balance, to reduce drastically their nuclear arsenals and ultimately to eliminate these weapons which could extinguish all life on earth and transform mankind's only home into a dead planet.

(Mr. Nakasone, Japan)

I hope very much that the United States and the Soviet Union will negotiate patiently and earnestly in their ongoing bilateral disarmament talks in Geneva and in their forthcoming summit meeting in November, so that all the peoples of the world can be freed from the nuclear threat.

Japan has long stressed the need for a comprehensive nuclear-test ban as an important element of nuclear disarmament. As a practical approach to achieving such a comprehensive test ban, it has proposed a step-by-step formula for steadily reducing the size of nuclear tests. I earnestly hope that this proposal and all other means will be pursued to achieve an effective nuclear-test ban.

At the same time, Japan sees a clear need to strengthen the Non-Proliferation Treaty régime. I strongly urge all countries that are not yet parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons to accede to it as soon as possible.

The reduction of conventional weapon stockpiles is also essential. The many armed conflicts which are inflicting terrible suffering on people in various regions around the world today are all being fought with conventional weapons. As a nation dedicated to peace, Japan has firmly maintained a general policy of refraining from arms exports. Controlling the transfer of conventional weapons across national borders is essential to prevent the outbreak and escalation of international conflicts. Other major tasks are to ban and eliminate chemical weapons and to prevent an arms race in outer space.

The stalemate in arms control and disarmament is basically attributable to distrust between East and West. It is already 40 years since the wall of distrust, which the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Sir Winston Churchill, characterized as the "iron curtain", became evident, and it is high time that it be completely dismantled.

(Mr. Nakasone, Japan)

I am also deeply concerned that the regional conflicts raging in the Middle East, Asia, Africa, Central America, and elsewhere might, if left unchecked, trigger a major war. Japan has thus been making an effort to create a climate conducive to the early resolution of those conflicts based on such principles of international law as peaceful coexistence, self-determination of peoples, and non-interference in another State's internal affairs, and in the spirit of good-neighbourliness and friendship. In Asia, these principles and this spirit were embodied in the ten-point Bandung Declaration of 1955. I believe those principles are of universal value for the attainment of justice and equity in international politics.

I call strongly for the abolition of apartheid in South Africa. Likewise, Japan hopes that Namibian independence will be achieved without delay, in accordance with the relevant Security Council resolutions.

(Mr. Nakasone, Japan)

Japan's commitment to global peace and prosperity is also evident in its efforts to promote free trade and to co-operate with developing countries.

Following the bitter experiences of the 1930s, free trade has been nurtured among nations as a guiding principle for the post-war world economy. Yet free trade is as fragile as glass; if we do not take care, even the slightest shock may shatter it to bits. Because free trade is premised upon competition, it inevitably inflicts pain on certain industries in every country. Yet if countries fall back on selfish national policies in an effort to avoid this pain, then clearly the entire structure of free trade will collapse.

Like a powerful narcotic, protectionism may induce a feeling of temporary well-being in the industries it is supposed to protect. But protectionism not only saps the vitality of its users, it also begets further protectionism, and ultimately the world economy will lapse into a coma.

We must therefore rededicate ourselves to resisting the lure of protectionism and to preserving and fortifying the free-trade system.

Recognizing the need to match words with deeds, I am implementing a forceful programme to make the Japanese market one of the most open in the world. I have also advocated the start of a new round of multilateral trade negotiations within the framework of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). I hope the representatives assembled here today will lend their understanding and support to this effort so that these negotiations may be initiated as soon as possible and brought to a successful conclusion.

Clearly, progress in the developing countries is indispensable to the sound development of the world economy.

Itself a developing country only 100 years ago, Japan achieved its modernization and industrialization with the support of many advanced countries. We well understand the aspirations and frustrations of developing countries.

(Mr. Nakagone, Japan)

Today it is Japan's turn to help others, and I believe Japan has a moral duty and major international responsibility to use its economic power, technology and experience to assist developing countries in their nation-building and human-resource development efforts.

I have long reminded the people of Japan and other industrialized countries that there can be no prosperity for the North without prosperity for the South. I firmly believe this to be true, and I believe Japan has an important global mission to act as a bridge between North and South.

Japan has twice implemented programmes to double its official development assistance (ODA), and the third medium-term programme, decided upon just recently, calls for continuing this improvement in our ODA. Under this programme, which will go into effect in 1986, Japan will seek to raise its total amount of ODA for the seven years 1986 through 1992 to over \$40 billion and to make the disbursement level for 1992 double that for 1985. Japan will therefore be expanding bilateral grants, multilateral assistance and yen loans in a determined effort to meet this programme's targets.

Japan's concern for global peace and prosperity is evident also in its co-operation with peoples throughout the world in the development of culture and civilization.

Culture is the supreme mark of man, and I believe that the goal of politics is to contribute to culture. From this perspective I have placed special emphasis in domestic politics on education, scholarship, the arts, science and technology and the environment, all of which foster the enrichment of culture. Such efforts are today increasingly important in the international community as well.

International exchanges in science and technology, the arts, sports, scholarship and other fields provide indispensable support for peace and cultural creativity. We ought to take full advantage of the remarkable advances being made

(Mr. Nakasone, Japan)

in transportation, communications and information processing, to lower and even remove the walls that separate the peoples of the world. We ought to promote more international exchanges among peoples, giving the fullest respect to the human rights of all peoples and in this way build a truly peaceful world civilization. I believe success in maintaining peace depends upon nothing less than mankind's collective conscience and the level of cultural exchange among peoples.

As a nation committed to peace and cultural development, ever since its admission to this Organization Japan has co-operated faithfully and vigorously with its activities, providing financial support, information and personnel. We intend to strengthen our support, giving particular attention to such issues as the environment, population and health.

Faithful to the basic spirit of its Charter, the United Nations has worked for 40 years to respond to the changing international situation. Looking ahead to the twenty-first century, we must not shrink from the task of continually reviewing and improving the functions of our United Nations in order to maximize its effectiveness.

Japan is prepared to co-operate in every way it can in this regard. It was in this spirit that Japan's Foreign Minister Abe proposed before this General Assembly last month that a group of eminent persons be established to study ways to make the United Nations more efficient. I strongly urge that this proposal be given the support and co-operation of all delegations gathered here.

Our generation is recklessly destroying the natural environment which has evolved over the course of millions of years and is essential for our survival. Our soil, water, air, flora and fauna are being subjected to the most barbaric attack since the earth was created. This folly can only be called suicidal.

Tragically, in many regions of the world starvation daily claims the precious lives of thousands of human beings, mostly children, who are the future's best

(Mr. Nakasone, Japan)

hope. Malnutrition and other harsh conditions hamper the sound physical growth and mental development of countless other people. Indeed, some regions of the world are in danger of losing an entire generation of people.

If we are to preserve our irreplaceable Earth and ensure the survival of mankind, I believe we must create a new global ethic and devise systems to support it. Let us act today so that future historians can look back upon the closing years of the twentieth century as the era when coexistence and mutual respect were achieved among all peoples for the first time and when men found a proper balance with nature.

We Japanese derive our beliefs and philosophy from traditions handed down by our ancestors over thousands of years and from later influences of Confucianism and Buddhism. Basic to our philosophy is the concept that man is born by the grace of the great universe. Japanese poets throughout history have expressed this concept in their poems. In this tradition I composed this haiku one evening:

"Afar and above the dark and endless sky,
the Milky Way runs
toward the place I come from".

We Japanese generally believe that the great natural universe is our home and that all living things should coexist in harmony with the natural universe. We believe that all living things - humans, animals, trees and grasses - are essentially brothers and sisters.

I doubt that this philosophy is unique to the Japanese. I believe that better understanding of it could contribute much to the creation of universal values for our international community.

(Mr. Nakasone, Japan)

The human potential for creativity is distributed evenly among all peoples in all lands, and all the different religious beliefs and artistic traditions in the world are equally unique and equally valuable. The starting-point for world peace is, I believe, a recognition of this diversity of human culture and a humble attitude of mutual appreciation and respect.

(Mr. Nakasone, Japan)

If we can all start with this attitude, I believe that all cultures and civilizations in the world will make progress and we can create a new and truly harmonious global civilization for all humanity.

Is not the United Nations the perfect vehicle for promoting this mutual appreciation and respect and for building a new and harmonious civilization for the 21st century?

Next year Halley's comet will make its closest approach to the earth in 76 years. What changes have taken place on earth since the comet's last approach? Science and technology have surely advanced far beyond the wildest dreams of the people at that time. Through rocket probes launched by Japan and other countries we are now about to penetrate the secrets of this mysterious comet which have puzzled mankind throughout history.

During the past 75 years colonialism has been largely eradicated from the earth, the number of independent States exercising self-determination has multiplied and respect for human freedom and dignity has become much more widespread than before. Nevertheless, through scientific progress man has created a terrible monster, the hydrogen bomb, and we have reached a point at which, with genetic engineering, the dignity of human life itself is threatened.

Indeed, is not mankind's present situation, threatened by "atoms" from without and within, more precarious than ever before? Are we not suffering more than ever before from starvation, violence, discrimination and narcotics? Are we not destroying our environment on an unprecedented scale and perhaps endangering the survival of all life on this planet?

As a political leader, I cannot but feel a deep sense of responsibility for the situation I am witnessing. Thus, I ask representatives to join me in a vow. Let us vow to work together so that in the middle of the next century, when Halley's comet completes another orbit and once again sweeps by our planet, our

(Mr. Nakasone, Japan)

children and grandchildren, having completely abolished nuclear weapons and achieved general disarmament, will be able to look up at it and report that the earth is one and that mankind everywhere is coexisting in harmony and working for the well-being of all life on this verdant globe.

Mr. Yasuhiro Nakasone, Prime Minister of Japan, was escorted from the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The next speaker is the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Morocco, His Excellency Mr. Karim Lamrani.

Mr. Karim Lamrani, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Morocco, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. LAMRANI (Morocco) (interpretation from French): I have the honour to read out a message from His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco addressed to the General Assembly. The message reads as follows:

"A little over two years ago I had the honour of addressing the General Assembly on behalf of my country, the Kingdom of Morocco, touching on problems which were preoccupying international opinion. Today, I am particularly happy to have the opportunity once again to address the Assembly on behalf of my country and my people. I hope that this message will convey some useful clarification on an issue that is of vital importance to my country so that members may be thoroughly informed on the various aspects of the issue and of the way in which it has developed with time.

"I also hope that the proposal contained in this message will contribute effectively to the settlement of this matter and lead to a just and final solution. This question, which will be the single subject of my message, is of course, what has become known as the question of Western Sahara.

"In order to clarify the facts of the problem, it is necessary to recall some undeniable truths.

(Mr. Lamrani, Morocco)

"The Kingdom of Morocco, which was recognized by international conventions and treaties as an independent State with full sovereignty over its entire national territory, fell prey to the covetousness of colonialism and was divided into several zones of influence - French, Spanish and international - and that situation continued throughout the time it was deprived of its independence.

"When, after a long and painful struggle by its Monarch and its people, Morocco recovered its sovereignty, it eagerly set about reunifying its territory by opening up negotiations with the occupying Powers. Thus, it was able to recover successively the French zone, the Spanish zone and then the international zone of Tangier. However, other parts of our territory, in both the south and the north remained under foreign domination. Negotiations to recover them took place with Spain, which led to the return of Tarfaya in 1958.

"As regards Sidi Ifni, Saquiati El-Hamra and Wad-Eddahab, which the Spanish Government obstinately refused to return, we were forced to resort to the United Nations and to ask that it take the steps necessary to put an end to colonial rule in those areas.

"Eleven years after the recovery of the Province of Tarfaya, Spain, in a gesture of understanding, returned Sidi Ifni, but it continued to refuse to give up Saquiati El-Hamra and Wad-Eddahab, the two provinces that make up what is known as Western Sahara.

"In reaction to various manoeuvres which at that time endangered our rights and compromised the efforts we were making to safeguard them, we requested the United Nations to submit the dispute between us and Spain to the International Court of Justice. Recognizing the legitimacy of our request, the United Nations complied and asked the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion on certain specific questions.

(Mr. Lamrani, Morocco)

"The International Court of Justice then gave its opinion, recognizing the existence of juridical links between Morocco and the Sahara and ties of allegiance between the Saharan tribes and the King of Morocco. Thus, after a considerable time and a great deal of patience and perseverance we were able to recover some parts of our territory by peaceful means, on the basis of negotiation and dialogue.

(Mr. Lamrani, Morocco)

"While Morocco was claiming the return of its usurped territories or appealing to the competent bodies to assert its rights the opponents of our territorial integrity were conspicuous by their absence and had nothing whatsoever to say in the international organization.

"Having received satisfaction, we believed that a new era lay before us and that we could confidently embark on reconstruction and development. But the opponents of our territorial integrity, displeased by the success of our efforts to recover our usurped territories by colonialism, engaged in all kinds of hostilities against us, using heavy armaments and sophisticated weapons and, at the same time violently attacking us in international forums, where they sought to win support for their false and misleading theories. By so doing, they sought to divert us from the aim we had set ourselves - namely, that of ensuring the rehabilitation and progress of the Saharan provinces restored to us.

"Algeria played the major role in this aggressive undertaking, putting its territory, its financial means and its military facilities at the disposal of our aggressors, which, furthermore, it had trained and armed, ignoring its neighbourly ties with Morocco and the obligations flowing therefrom.

"In the face of that outrageous aggression carried out on several fronts, Morocco has limited its action to defending its territory against the acts of aggression of which it was the target and countering the effects of untruths and false allegations, thus avoiding anything that could bring about an escalation or aggravation of the crisis and giving further proof of its dedication to dialogue, peaceful means and the cause of peace.

"Because of Morocco's desire to preserve the present and the future of Africa and in response to the wishes expressed to me by some African, Arab and European Heads of State, friendly to Morocco, I have, on behalf of my country,

(Mr. Lamrani, Morocco)

taken a decisive step forward towards putting an end to the tension in north-west Africa, thus proving Morocco's willingness and firm determination to see peace and security re-established in that region.

"I am referring to the initiative I took at the 1981 African summit, held in Nairobi, where, on behalf of Morocco and through its highest authority, I announced acceptance of the organization of a referendum on self-determination in Western Sahara. That proposal was unanimously approved by the summit, which immediately appointed an Implementation Committee made up of Heads of State, whose task it was to define the measures necessary for the organization of the referendum which had just been decided upon. I later went to Nairobi a second time to take part in the first meeting of the Implementation Committee, during which the ways and means and the conditions necessary for a genuine consultation of the inhabitants of the Sahara were defined. At that time, I gave my consent to the ways and means and conditions thus defined without any reservation or hesitation.

"The opponents of our territorial integrity then expressed certain misgivings about this new phase in the Sahara question, convinced as they were, and still are, that the outcome of the referendum would not be favourable to their thesis and that the referendum would result in their total defeat. They thus did everything possible to prevent the organization of the referendum and created all kinds of obstacles to it. They believed that they achieve their goal by having an artificial entity admitted to the Organization of African Unity (OAU), just as they imagined that they could achieve one of their principal goals by putting pressure on their allies to call for negotiations between Morocco and certain mercenaries.

"That artificial entity having been admitted to the OAU, Morocco had to withdraw from that body, since it had thus violated its charter and defied

(Mr. Larrani, Morocco)

legality and the ethical and moral values without which international relations have no foundation.

"Morocco has also categorically refused to undertake the direct negotiations that its opponents have sought to impose upon it because it does not wish to help a handful of unrepresentative mercenaries acquire the legitimacy and credibility which they cannot achieve through a referendum.

"The inhabitants of Western Sahara live a quiet and peaceful life in all parts of the territory. Day by day, they see the steps taken in their provinces towards progress and development in the economic, social and cultural spheres. They are content with the beneficial changes in their region and rejoice that their provinces can participate without any restrictions in Moroccan national life. I visited those provinces a few months ago, and their inhabitants - young and old, men and women - gave me an exceptionally warm and enthusiastic welcome, which moved me deeply. Foreign political observers of that visit saw in that warm reception a true referendum through which the inhabitants of the Sahara expressed their self-determination by confirming their allegiance to the King of Morocco and their adherence to the Moroccan homeland. Had it not been for my firm loyalty to a decision taken on the basis of a proposal I had made and my commitment to which I had confirmed on a number of occasions - in particular when I addressed this Assembly two years ago - I would have been tempted to believe this overwhelming manifestation of love, devotion and loyalty addressed to me as a symbol to be an expression of political will so unequivocal that no other form of self-determination was necessary.

"Today, I reaffirm once more before the Assembly my commitment to accept the organization of a referendum on self-determination in Western Sahara and the result of such a referendum, whatever it may be.

(Mr. Larani, Morocco)

"I am happy to undertake not one commitment, but two commitments.

"The first commitment relates to the cease-fire which Morocco has unilaterally decided to put into effect from this very moment and which it would only cancel in the case of aggression against the territories for which it has responsibility, in which case Morocco would be entitled to exercise its right of self-defence. Morocco is even prepared to receive neutral observers who wish to verify respect for the cease-fire on the spot.

"The second commitment relates to Morocco's willing acceptance of the organization of a referendum in the Sahara under the auspices and control of the United Nations in the early part of January 1966. The United Nations would naturally be free to request at any time the assistance of any regional organization able to help it in carrying out its task.

"What matters most in relation to this fictitious problem of the Sahara is to find a solution by the only effective means likely to settle the argument once and for all and put an end to any dispute. This means to consult the inhabitants of the Sahara through a referendum.

"If the United Nations undertakes this consultation at the time proposed, it will have taken a positive step and made a significant contribution to the advent of a better world.

"The United Nations is today celebrating its fortieth anniversary. Its creation, after the dark years the world had experienced, gave rise to enormous hopes. In it, people of all opinions and all continents at last see the most efficient and appropriate instrument to serve peace, justice and stability.

"Is there a better occasion than this fortieth anniversary for our Organization to prove to the world not only its unshakable dedication to those high ideals but also, and more particularly, its firm determination to do

(Mr. Larrani, Morocco)

everything possible to ensure the achievement of those goals and their translation into reality by the most democratic and noble means - namely, the exercise of the right of people freely to determine their own destiny."

Mr. Razi Larrani, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Morocco, was escorted from

the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The next speaker is the Chief of General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, His Excellency Commodore Ebitu Ukiwe.

Commodore Ebitu Ukiwe, Chief of General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, was escorted to the rostrum.

Commodore UKIWE (Nigeria): It is fitting that we have set aside this session of the General Assembly to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. Tomorrow it will be exactly 40 years since the Charter which was signed in San Francisco on 26 June 1945 by the 50 founding nations came into force. When the United Nations was founded, mankind had just witnessed the tragedies of a global war that had left tens of millions dead and many more millions wounded or homeless. The Charter of the Organization was a mark of a noble vision of a world in which armed force would not be used except in the common interest, a world in which international co-operation for the common good would be the order of the day.

No observer of the present world situation can avoid the conclusion that the vision of 1945 is far from having become a reality. However, no objective analysis can avoid also appreciating the beneficial role which the United Nations has played in world affairs during its existence. Today our Organization has grown in size and complexity, with a membership of 159 nations. The triumph of the principle of universality not only has affected the political complexion of the Organization, but has also established a process of democratization of the discussions of international affairs. Oddly enough, the practical realization of the principle of sovereign equality of States has become an excuse for some powerful Members of the Organization to want to abandon multilateralism for bilateralism. Such a process can only lead to greater uncertainties in relations between States and provide encouragement for interference in the affairs of small States.

(Commodore Ukiwe, Nigeria)

Against that background, this important occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations provides the international community the opportunity for sober reflection on and assessment of the successes and failures, the dreams and realities of our Organization, and our adherence to the noble purposes and principles of the Charter, which enjoins us, among other things, to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security. Those objectives have remained unattained partly because of a lack of political will by of Member States and partly because of the structure of the Organization. That does not mean that we should despair. We need the courage and the determination that inspired the noble vision of peace which constitutes the linchpin of the Charter.

Nigeria strongly believes that it has become imperative to strengthen the Organization. To do so, certain aspects of the Charter need to be amended. One such area is the structure of the Security Council, which now has to cope with inter-State relations that have grown in complexity far beyond the imagination of the founders. Today, over two thirds of the Member States belong to the third world. When the Charter was drawn up, in 1945, very few of those countries were independent. Consequently, it was heavily biased, in relation to the structure of the Security Council, in favour of the big Powers. In the last 40 years, the number of non-aligned countries as well as their role on the international scene has made it necessary to accord recognition to the centres of power which they represent. Asia, Africa and Latin America have become such centres. The Charter should take cognizance of the present realities and should not remain unaware of these centres. Nigeria is convinced that the time has come for at least one country from each of the regions of Africa, Asia and Latin America to become a permanent member of the Security Council.

(Comodore Ukiwe, Nigeria)

Furthermore, the expectation in 1945 was that the veto would be sparingly and specially used to promote the purposes of the Charter. Unfortunately, it has become an instrument for preventing the Council from acting wherever a permanent member finds its national interest at variance with the need to maintain international peace and security. It is a matter of deep regret that the Security Council, which is entrusted with primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, is unable to act in concert to fulfil that obligation because of the deep differences among some of the permanent members and the East-West rivalry. The necessity has arisen for machinery to be devised to enable the Security Council to develop political consensus in respect of any threat to international peace and security.

(Commodore Ukiwe, Nigeria)

Serious consideration should be given to the idea of reviewing the use of the veto power, in order to determine the special circumstances in which such power should or should not apply in the interest of the international community. That is a necessary condition for strengthening the machinery of the United Nations for the promotion and maintenance of international peace and security. It would also reinforce the confidence of the international community in the ability of the United Nations to deal effectively with armed aggression in violation of the Charter, which has been the major cause of armed conflicts since the end of the Second World War.

The fortieth anniversary of the United Nations coincides with the proclamation of 1986 as the International Year of Peace. This provides an auspicious opportunity for Members of our Organization to commit themselves to the promotion of peace, not through the competitive acquisition of arms, but through the development of the collective security outlined in the Charter. It is a matter of grave concern and profound disappointment that, despite the enormous efforts made by the international community to achieve that objective, the survival of mankind continues to be threatened by the massive build-up of highly sophisticated arms, especially nuclear weapons. No substantial progress has been made in halting and reversing the arms race and in particular the nuclear arms race. There is, in fact, no military necessity for the continued production and development of nuclear weapons. The existing arsenals of nuclear weapons in the hands of the two super-Powers are already more than sufficient to destroy all life on earth. Regrettably, the arms race continues unabated, both qualitatively and quantitatively, with increasing tension fueled by the imminent arms race in space.

I enjoin the super-Powers in the name of humanity to make serious efforts to reach agreement on meaningful measures of disarmament. For a start, they should cease all nuclear tests, both through initial unilateral steps and later through a

(Commodore Ukiwe, Nigeria)

multilateral comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty. They should agree to freeze production and deployment of nuclear weapons and of their delivery systems. Pending nuclear disarmament, the nuclear-weapon States should undertake in a binding instrument not to use nuclear weapons. The solution to world problems lies not in the pursuit of the strategy of deterrence, but in common security.

The situation in southern Africa, relating to the questions of apartheid and the independence of Namibia, remains as explosive as ever. South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia is an embarrassing challenge to the United Nations. We must find a way to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978) in its entirety. The United Nations must make it clear that extraneous and irrelevant issues will no longer be allowed to stand in the way of Namibian independence.

In South Africa itself, the cycle of violence and brutal repression by the minority régime, the introduction of a state of emergency in black townships, and Pretoria's persistent acts of intimidation and destabilization of its neighbours clearly show that the apartheid régime is in no mood to change the system in order to meet the legitimate aspirations of the black majority, dispossessed of its birthright and deprived of justice and freedom.

Now is the time for all of us to act in concert to demonstrate our belief in and commitment to human dignity. Now is the time to let South Africa know that the world is ready to challenge apartheid frontally. It is no longer in doubt that economic sanctions can force the apartheid régime to its knees. Concessions and accommodation have proved dismally ineffective. Constructive engagement has not yielded any constructive results. I therefore urge the Security Council to take urgent steps to impose comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions in order to force South Africa to comply with United Nations resolutions.

(Commodore Ukiwe, Nigeria)

The Middle East is another area which requires our concerted attention. Nigeria believes that the only viable solution to the problems of that region would be a negotiated settlement that is just, equitable and fair. I therefore urge all parties concerned to create the conditions necessary for the convening of an international peace conference with the participation of all concerned.

The crisis afflicting international economic relations poses a big challenge to the United Nations. The economies of the developing countries are increasingly burdened by crushing debt-servicing obligations, high inflation rates, balance-of-payment difficulties, unstable commodity prices, and a decline in official development assistance. The developed countries and the international financial institutions, in particular the International Monetary Fund, have an important role to play in alleviating the acute hardship which the debt burden has imposed on our peoples. Bearing that in mind, there is a need for the International Monetary Fund in particular to display greater flexibility and to re-examine its position and its conditions for loans. The developing countries must not continue to utilize huge proportions of their export earnings to service debts at the expense of growth and social stability.

The achievements of the United Nations system are best exemplified by the specialized agencies. Those agencies today are an essential source of support and assistance to the developing countries in many ways. In Nigeria, the success of the Extended Programme of Immunization of the United Nations Children's Fund is a shining example of multilateral partnership for progress. I wish to record my country's support for the ambitious project of universal immunization for all children by the year 1990.

(Commodore Ukiwe, Nigeria)

It is appropriate in this connection to express the appreciation of my Government to the Secretary-General of our Organization, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, and to the executive heads of the specialized agencies for their dedication to their duties in support of the ideals of the international organizations system. The Secretary-General has been particularly sensitive to the economic crisis that has plagued the African continent in recent times and has been instrumental in sensitizing the international community.

In conclusion, Mr. President, permit me to congratulate you on the efficient manner in which you have guided these important meetings of the General Assembly. The best support which members can give to you, and to the Organization, is a constant remembrance that the triumph of the principles and purposes of the Charter depends entirely on their efforts, carried out in good faith. In spite of its imperfections, we cannot but agree that our Organization has become "One of the few human enterprises in which the option of abolition does not exist". Let us, therefore, work together to preserve and strengthen it for the good of mankind.

Commodore Ebitu Ukiwe, Chief of General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, was escorted from the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I now call on the Minister for External Relations and Special Envoy of the President of the United Mexican States, His Excellency Mr. Bernardo Sepulveda Amor.

Mr. SEPULVEDA AMOR (Mexico) (interpretation from Spanish): We are taking part today in a historic commemoration, at which we have two fundamental tasks: first, to celebrate the exploit of man and his civilization reflected in the creation of the United Nations; and, secondly, to acknowledge that the world today requires a further demonstration of collective rationality and resolve in order to overcome contradictions and apparent differences that imperil international peace and security.

(Mr. Sepulveda Amor, Mexico)

In 1945 51 of us, merging our history and will, forged a common future and accepted the challenge of living together with constructive imagination and solidarity. From the tragedy of war, there emerged a normative and institutional order. Faced with possible controversies, a commitment to peaceful solutions was made. Faced with ideological intolerance, pluralism was recognized as an inevitable and at the same time enriching reality. Faced with the abuse of power, there arose the principles of coexistence and the rule of law. Faced with backwardness and shortcomings, an equitable and dynamic co-operation for development was proposed.

The post-war order has furthered the attainment of lofty purposes: decolonization, independence and self-determination; universal respect for human rights; the prevention and solution of armed conflicts; the creation of independent organs to consider matters that threaten peace or to resolve disputes between States juridically; and a collective effort for economic and social progress. Those are all part of the impressive list of the great accomplishments of this Organization.

Since 1945 the United Nations has contributed to the emergence of a new international political scene, one radically different from that outlined by the founding fathers in San Francisco. Countries and the community of nations have evolved greatly. Nevertheless, together with unquestionable progress, there have emerged new forms of intolerance and the concentration and exercise of force, new sources of political tension, exploitation and dependency that threaten our civilization's future.

The time is ripe for a critical assessment of the functioning of the United Nations. It is imperative to identify and correct shortcomings and deviations. But, rather than resort to denunciations, confrontation or despondency, Member States must assume their historic responsibility of reaffirming and fulfilling

(Mr. Sepulveda Amor, Mexico)

the commitments made, of defining effective ways for finding solutions and of pooling their political will in favour of the values and aspirations that gave rise to our international Organization.

Rather than facing a problem of efficiency, we face that of the efficacy of the United Nations system. Rather than facing questions regarding the organization and management of resources, we face vested interests and new problems that undermine the decisions necessary to prepare, resolve and make progress.

The essence of the United Nations limitations lies in the lack of a genuine political will on the part of Member States to fulfil, and ensure the fulfilment of, the principles of the Charter, to subject their conduct to international law, to subordinate their selfish or immediate interests to collective aims and the higher purposes of our civilization. Resolving this contradiction is incumbent upon us all, although the more powerful have a greater responsibility.

The fortieth anniversary of the United Nations becomes, in that sense, a call to Member States. It is urgent that we demonstrate clearly and through concrete and identifiable political acts a will for peace and co-operation, putting into practice the following unequivocal steps to give full force to the Charter and complete effectiveness to the principal organs of our Organization:

A willingness to respect the principles and norms to which States themselves have subscribed for the solution of conflicts and controversies; to guarantee the sovereignty of each one and, at the same time, collective security; to promote a shared economic and social development;

A willingness to ensure that the Security Council carries out its responsibility effectively, achieves the aims for which it was established and overcomes its virtual paralysis resulting from an abusive exercise of the right of veto;

(Mr. Sepulveda Amor, Mexico)

A willingness to concede to the International Court of Justice a permanent, mandatory jurisdiction for all States, without exception or condition, in order to solve juridical controversies through independent organs charged with the task of ensuring respect for an international legal order;

A willingness to allow the Economic and Social Council to overcome the unbearable burden of inertia and inadequacy, and make it capable of conducting a process of review, rationalization and articulation of the efforts of those organs, agencies and entities that make up the vast network of co-operation for development;

A willingness to have the Secretary-General exercise his authority under the Charter without the hindrances or obstacles that are often created by the more powerful and also by some of the less powerful.

At this commemoration, we should initiate that process of renewing and strengthening our will. The grave problems facing the world are numerous, growing and multiplying. There is no room for respite or doubts.

We have a political and moral obligation to history and to present and future generations to prevent a further deterioration of the international order, and to prevent a lack of political will impairing even more the machinery and instruments of the United Nations, which constitute our only solid basis for progress.

(Mr. Sepulveda Amor, Mexico)

A first, immediate step by the international community could be the definition of new formulas to defuse regional conflicts that today pose an increasing threat to the stability of the world. In Central America and the Middle East, in Cyprus and South-East Asia, valuable lives are being lost, the legal order is being undermined, force dominates and sovereignty is eroded, scarce national resources are being squandered, and our Organization is being damaged.

We therefore propose that this General Assembly invite the Secretary-General to submit specific proposals without delay to the Security Council, which has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, with a view to its members and the States involved in regional conflicts committing themselves to precise steps in accordance with a political time-table, in order to arrive at peaceful solutions.

Disarmament and the world economic crisis, linked within the same framework of tensions, are also priority concerns of all nations and call for urgent attention. Significant negotiations are required, and in this respect concessions should be made by all parties for the sake of the higher interests of mankind.

Man has now accumulated the knowledge and experience needed to resist the forces and ideas which in the past, as now, have worked against a general and just peace and an international co-operation that seeks development shared by all and a genuine democracy of nations.

In 1945 the community of nations defined a scenario for coexistence which was not only desirable but viable. Forty years later we cannot permit man's capacity to generate and share peace and welfare to be written off. What is being tested is the talent, goodwill and intention of Governments, statesmen and leaders. The United Nations represents purposes and principles but, at the same time it also represents the reflection of objective political realities.

(Mr. Sepulveda Amor, Mexico)

Mexico today reaffirms its commitment to the United Nations. Our Organization provides the only path towards a harmonious order of international coexistence.

As a result of the destruction caused by the earthquake in our country on 19 September last, we were able to confirm the generosity and solidarity of which friendly peoples are capable. Once again, we wish to express here our gratitude for the countless proofs of friendship which have so greatly helped and comforted us. But we should also like to stress that they also demonstrate and reflect the enormous potential of international co-operation that is available for the just causes of mankind and of the peoples of the world. To tap that potential is the challenge of our times.

As the President of Mexico said, when he on 16 October last, established the Committee on the Co-ordination of International Relief for Reconstruction:

"The people of Mexico are sensitive and noble. Their memory is long.

They cherish and will continue to cherish the great value of the friendship and solidarity shown to it by other nations."

Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): Speaking at this commemorative session, which marks the fortieth anniversary of the creation of the United Nations, it is with a feeling of responsibility and great honour that I read out at this solemn meeting a message from the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Ivan Evteyevich Polyakov, on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. The message reads as follows:

"Forty years have gone by since the day when, as a result of the great Victory of freedom-loving peoples over the forces of German fascism and Japanese militarism, the United Nations came into being. The States that founded the Organization inscribed in its Charter a commitment to live

(Mr. Gurinovich, Byelorussian SSR)

together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and to unite their strength to maintain international peace and security. In other words, the Charter lays down the principle of peaceful coexistence among States, formulating it in the language of international law. The first country of socialism has been working since the first days of its existence for the implementation of that principle.

"The past four decades have seen great changes in the world. The world socialist system has come into being and is successfully developing, the colonial empires have crumbled under the blows of national liberation movements, and the forces of peace and progress have grown stronger. The rapid progress of the scientific and technological revolution has made it possible to deal with the most complex problems of economic development.

"At the same time the post-war years have witnessed the emergence of weapons, above all nuclear weapons, with an enormous destructive potential capable of destroying all life on Earth. The aggressive imperialist circles continue to rely on force, they are developing and testing ever newer types of nuclear weapons, including now even space weapons, and are resorting to methods of State terrorism.

"Today, just as in the days of the struggle against fascism, awareness of the common danger should make States rise above their political and ideological differences and actively co-operate to save the present and succeeding generations from the scourge of war. That, in our view, is the main objective of the United Nations.

(Mr. Gurinovich, Byelorussian SSR)

"History has confirmed the viability of the United Nations when faced with the sharpest and most dangerous turns in world politics. The Organization has to its credit numerous important and positive decisions taken in the interests of peace, security and disarmament. Of equal importance is the decision of the General Assembly to declare 1986 the International Year of Peace.

"Proposals put forward by the States of the socialist community have always served as an important stimulus to United Nations efforts to strengthen peace and international security. The new Soviet initiative - the announced moratorium on all nuclear explosions, and the proposals on the radical reduction of nuclear arsenals and on the development of international co-operation in the peaceful exploration of outer space under conditions of its non-militarization - constitute an example of a responsible approach to the destinies of mankind and to the tasks facing the United Nations. It is precisely those initiatives, and not the reckless race to whip up world tensions, that enjoy the sympathy and support of all peoples.

"The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic is one of the founding Members of the United Nations. Our people have made a worthy and heroic contribution to the joint efforts to defeat fascism in the Second World War."

(Mr. Gurinovich, Byelorussian SSR)

One out of every four citizens of the Republic gave his life for the sake of victory. Knowing well the price of peace, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, together with other peace-loving States, has been working consistently and with determination to save peoples from the threat of a new war.

"The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic regards the United Nations as an important instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security. The priority tasks facing the Organization today are the elimination of the nuclear threat, prevention of an arms race in outer space, termination of the arms race on Earth, and disarmament.

"The problems of the elimination of apartheid, racism and the vestiges of colonialism and the achievement of the goals of economic and social progress for all without any distinction as to race, sex language or religion also await urgent solution.

"The peoples of the world rightfully demand that the Member States of the United Nations resolutely opt for co-operation instead of confrontation and check the dangerous course of events while there is still time. The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, in keeping with its Leninist foreign-policy principles, stands ready to contribute actively to the attainment of the lofty and noble goals of the United Nations".

The message is signed by Ivan E. Polyakov, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation and Special Envoy of the President of the Republic of Mali, His Excellency Mr. Alioune Blodin Beye.

Mr. BEYE (Mali) (interpretation from French): It is my great privilege to have been entrusted with the task of conveying to this Assembly, through you, Mr. President, the following special message from His Excellency President Moussa Traore, President of the Republic of Mali, addressed to our General Assembly on the occasion of the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations:

"Mr. President:

"The commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the creation of the United Nations offers an opportunity to gather together at the Headquarters of our Organization eminent statesmen representing all the peoples of the world. There is no doubt that this lofty assembly will prompt intense reflection on the ways and means that may enable us to strengthen the irreplaceable role played by the United Nations.

"I should like to avail myself of this exceptional opportunity to reaffirm on behalf of the people of Mali and on my own behalf the deep dedication of my country to the principles and ideals that inspired the founders of the United Nations.

"The Republic of Mali, faithful to its people's ethic of peace and justice, has from the earliest days of its accession to independence subscribed to the Charter of this Organization, which set its objective as the establishment of a balanced international order of relations among all nations. That is why Mali has never ceased to make its contributions to all concerted efforts for the achievement of that noble objective.

"However, the persistence of colonialism, racism and, particularly, apartheid, the persistence of acts of aggression, interference in the internal affairs of States, the arms race and poverty are so many grave challenges that must be faced by Member States if they wish to remain faithful to their undertakings under the Charter of the Organization.

(Mr. Beye, Mali)

"The Republic of Mali nurtures great hopes in the triumphs of the ideals of the United Nations and will continue to exert sustained efforts to see the advent of a more just and truly democratic international society.

"Our aspiration, indeed our conviction, with regard to the establishment of a better world, which 25 years ago led to my country's accession to the United Nations, remains deep and ardent. Let us exert every effort to contribute to the consolidation of this Organization, to the strengthening of its role and to the improvement of its performance.

"I convey to you the wish of the people of Mali that this fortieth anniversary of the creation of the United Nations will be the beginning of an era of peace, justice, freedom and progress for all the peoples, and I express to you the assurances of my highest consideration."

The message is signed by President Moussa Traore.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): Before adjourning the meeting, I should like to make an announcement.

Tomorrow, 24 October, is United Nations Day. It is expected that a great many people will be in attendance. The General Assembly meeting of tomorrow morning will begin punctually - I repeat, punctually - at 10 o'clock in the morning. Accordingly, representatives and all persons invited are kindly requested to take their seats before 9.45 a.m.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.