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GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FORTY-SEVENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 23 October 1985, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. DE PINIÉS (Spain)

later: Mr. MOSELEY (Vice-President) (Barbados)

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

Statements were made by:

General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan

General António Ramalho Eanes, President of the Portuguese Republic

The Right Honourable Brian Mulroney, Prime Minister of Canada

Mr. Jacques Santer, Prime Minister of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg

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The Right Honourable Sir Lynden O. Pindling, Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas

The Right Honourable Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, Prime Minister and Minister for Civil Aviation of Fiji

Mr. G. M. V. van Aardenne, Deputy Prime Minister and Special Envoy of the Government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands

Mr. Giulio Andreotti, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Special Envoy of the President of the Italian Republic

Mr. Laurent Nzeyimana, Minister for External Relations and Co-operation, and Special Envoy of the President of the Republic of Burundi

Mr. Hussein Abdullah Al-Aalri, Minister for Education and Special Envoy of the President of the Yemen Arab Republic

Mr. Siméon Aké, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Special Envoy of the President of the Republic of the Ivory Coast

The meeting was called to order at 3.25 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 39 (continued)

COMMEMORATION OF THE FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): This afternoon the Assembly will first hear a statement by the President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, His Excellency General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq.

General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, was escorted to the rostrum.

President ZIA-UL-HAQ: In the words of the Holy Koran:

"But help ye one another unto righteousness and pious duty, help not one another unto sin and transgression, but keep your duty to Allah". (The Holy Koran, V/2)

"Make peace between them justly, and act equitably. Lo! Allah loveth the equitable". (The Holy Koran, XLIX/9)

It is a privilege and honour for me to represent the Islamic Republic of Pakistan at the fortieth anniversary celebrations of the United Nations. My presence here symbolizes Pakistan's commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which was first affirmed by the founder of our nation, the Supreme Leader Mohammad Ali Jinnah, in 1948. Before I quote from his words, I should like to say that my speech revolves around the thoughts from The Holy Koran that I have just recited. I also assure you, Mr. President, that I shall take no more than the time allotted me.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah said:

"The war-weary humanity is watching with fear and hope the evolution of the United Nations Organization, for on its ability to deal successfully with the causes of war and threats to world peace will depend the salvation of mankind and the future of civilization. Pakistan, which has been recently

(President Zia-ul-Haq)

admitted to the United Nations Organization, will do everything in its power to strengthen the Organization and help it in the achievement of the ideals which have been set as its goal."

(President Zia-ul-Haq)

The distinguished gathering assembled here to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations will fulfil a great purpose if this auspicious occasion leads to the reinforcement of international co-operation and generates a new orientation towards collective action in pursuit of the goals of universal peace with justice, disarmament with security and development with equity.

The United Nations has emerged as the authentic voice of humanity's conscience. Whenever and wherever it has had a chance, it has proclaimed what is right and just.

In our region it upheld the right of self-determination for the people of Jammu and Kashmir. Although this question has been a divisive issue, Pakistan and India have been able, in pursuit of their common interest in the peace and stability of our region, to move forward, as in the Simla Agreement, towards a better relationship without prejudice to their known position on this issue.

In the Middle East it has asked for Israeli withdrawal from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967 and recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people.

In southern Africa it has demanded the liquidation of apartheid and colonialism.

In Afghanistan it has called for the withdrawal of the foreign forces, restoration of the country's independence and non-aligned status, exercise of the right of self-determination and the return of refugees. Only an end to this foreign military intervention can restore freedom to the Afghan people and bring salvation to the millions who have been forced to flee their homeland. Pakistan cannot remain unconcerned over the tragedy of the Afghan people, which are linked to us by indestructible bonds of common geography and history and a glorious spiritual and cultural heritage rooted in rich traditions nurtured and strengthened over many centuries.

(President Zia-ul-Haq)

It is regrettable that the United Nations is unable to implement the consensus of its general membership. We must evolve a mechanism for collective action so that the United Nations may overcome this crippling disability. If peace is indivisible, armed aggression anywhere should evoke an effective response consistent with the provisions on collective security contained in the Charter.

The vision of a world free from conflict was vivid in the minds of a generation reacting to the devastation caused by two successive world wars. The dawn of the nuclear age has transformed this vision into a fundamental requirement, since the spectre of nuclear holocaust leaves no alternative to peace. If mankind is to survive, the nuclear arms race must be halted. The use and possession of nuclear weapons should be universally outlawed.

Nuclear proliferation has so far been dealt with in a global context or within the framework of the special interests of the two super-Powers. I believe that at the present stage a major impetus to proliferation emanates from regional perspectives. I suggest that the United Nations should examine the regional perspectives on nuclear non-proliferation with a view to devising effective and equitable means to prevent the spread of nuclear arms.

I take this opportunity to reaffirm Pakistan's policy of developing nuclear energy for peaceful purposes only and its irrevocable commitment not to acquire nuclear weapons or nuclear explosive devices. Pakistan has neither the capability nor the desire to develop nuclear weapons. As an earnest of our sincerity of purpose, we have made several equitable and non-discriminatory proposals by which Pakistan and India could reassure each other and the world about their respective nuclear intentions and programmes. From this rostrum I wish to reiterate these proposals: first, simultaneous accession by India and Pakistan to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons; secondly, simultaneous acceptance by both countries of full-scope international International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards;

(President Zia-ul-Haq)

thirdly, mutual inspection of each other's nuclear facilities; fourthly, a joint declaration renouncing the acquisition or development of nuclear weapons; and, finally, the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia, an objective repeatedly endorsed by this Assembly.

Pakistan is prepared to enter into any agreement or arrangement with India on the basis of sovereignty and reciprocity to keep our area free of nuclear weapons. We would welcome any ideas, participate in any consultations, attend any conference, in order to achieve this objective.

In their relations South Asian States must not remain prisoners of the past. With hopeful visions of the future, Pakistan earnestly desires to accelerate the positive trends in South Asia. The countries of this region have made encouraging progress in promoting mutual co-operation in a variety of important fields. My Government would favour the consideration of a meeting on peaceful nuclear development among the countries of South Asia.

It is our earnest hope that the first summit conference of South Asian countries, to be held in Dacca, Bangladesh, in December 1985, will open up new avenues of constructive co-operation, thus strengthening peace and security in the region.

If economic deprivation, hunger and disease are unacceptable anywhere, they must be abolished everywhere. We can all agree that the restoration of stable and sustained global economic growth requires simultaneous action to increase concessional assistance, build food security, resolve the debt burden, eliminate trade barriers, promote monetary stability and enhance scientific and technological co-operation.

The unparalleled opportunities and awesome challenges of our time call for a collective response. We live in an interdependent world and co-operation among nations is indispensable for its survival, for its peace and for its development.

(President Zia-ul-Haq)

For the past 40 years the United Nations has symbolized the hope that man is capable of freeing himself from the scourge of war, hunger and disease. It is only through this world Organization that we can achieve universal peace and global prosperity. It is only by sustaining the vision of our Charter that we can save mankind and preserve human civilization.

May Allah guide us in this great endeavour and bless our efforts.

General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, was escorted from the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Assembly will now hear a statement by the President of the Portuguese Republic, His Excellency General Antonio Ramalho Eanes.

Mr. Antonio Ramalho Eanes, President of the Portuguese Republic, was escorted to the rostrum.

President RAMALHO EANES (spoke in Portuguese; English text furnished by the delegation): Forty years will have elapsed the day after tomorrow since the day when an international instrument - which the realities of our time prove to be one of the more fruitful and one of the most important in history - enshrined the three main objectives and underlying principles of this Organization: the safeguarding of international peace and security, the promotion of co-operation among States in the search for a solution to economic and social problems, and full respect for human rights without any discrimination based on sex, ethnic origin or religion.

Undoubtedly, those principles and objectives echoed the anxieties and concerns prevalent at the time they were drafted, at a moment when, over the sufferings and rubble of the aftermath of war and in view of the urgent and pressing need for

(President Ramalho Eanes)

a general reconstruction, the search began for a new ethic and a renewed discipline in international relations. It is equally true that those principles have clearly retained their full force and, further still, their intrinsic value.

In point of fact, while due to its internal dynamics it has achieved autonomy through actions and projects that at times go beyond the primary intentions of its founders, and in spite of unprecedented technological developments, the United Nations can justly claim credit for the basic structural changes brought about in the international community during these years.

Despite all that, when assessing the Organization's achievements some people blame it for not having reached the goals it had set forth. They refer to its inadequate action in the framework of an effective regulation of relations among States and in the field of the establishment and definition of essential principles for the realization of vast and just social and humanitarian aspirations. Such criticism probably overlooks the fact that the United Nations, by its mere existence, is an essential instrument in the co-ordination of the collective effort made to overcome situations liable to trigger conflicts latent among States - perhaps because its action has been more important in the pragmatic prevention of such conflicts than in their spectacular settlement once they had broken out. They also forget, at times, the countless important changes brought about in the international community by the United Nations. Thanks to those transformations, it is possible today for 159 States of different cultures, different traditions, and even different political systems to get together in this forum to analyse and debate the more serious problems that beset us. We can thus listen to and be aware of wishes and aspirations that otherwise would have been left unspoken or totally disregarded.

(President Ramalho Eanes)

In fact, the United Nations has not only established an essential system for conciliation in situations of crisis; it has also become a unique means of formulating the very problems that derive from the growing interdependence of States and which by their very nature can be solved only in the framework of international co-operation.

There is no doubt that the concrete short-term aspects of questions of such great importance as those related to disarmament, economic and social progress and respect for human rights depend in part upon unilateral or regional decisions, or at the technical level upon decisions of specialized entities. Nevertheless, we must always keep in mind that no solution to these problems can be deemed satisfactory or even acceptable if it runs counter to the universal aspirations proclaimed by the United Nations, if it is contrary to them, or not in keeping with the activities of this Organization.

I believe that these considerations which, moreover, have been borne out at the international level are of relevance to all the major challenges of our time. They are pertinent to questions arising from the need to resolve problems in a fruitful and peaceful manner; they also concern problems related to technological development, such as the exploration of outer space, the exploitation of sea-bed resources, expansion of electronics and communications. Similarly, they play an important role when matters of such decisive importance as apartheid and others connected with the protection of human rights are considered at the national level.

(President Ramalho Eanes)

Moreover, such principles will determine the guidelines to be followed when taking a position concerning the antinomy of quantity versus the quality of life, which has serious implications for the preservation and improvement of the environment, the use of ocean resources and the eradication of the food crisis. A dramatic and forceful example of such implications can be found in some countries in Africa, a continent to which my nation remains closely linked by deep and fraternal historical and cultural bonds.

In order to reach a solution to all these problems that I have just briefly touched upon, the concerted action of a few Powers is no longer sufficient, regardless of the resources they can or are willing to commit. The inadequacy or inefficiency of such efforts, when not carried out in the framework of the international community, is clear and obvious in situations such as the flow of refugees, the repression of terrorism or the elimination of the traffic in drugs. And as regards the latter, we should bear in mind that, in proclaiming this year the International Youth Year, we are also proclaiming our solidarity and responsibility to meet the imperative need for effective safeguards for future generations, in order to protect them from such a scourge.

The fortieth anniversary of the signing of the Charter of the United Nations is a particularly significant occasion for Portugal as it also corresponds to the thirtieth anniversary of our membership in this Organization. It is not my intention here to call attention to such an event. I mention it simply because during this celebration I shall try to emphasize the parallel between the basic aims of the United Nations and the principles that have guided the historical evolution of the Portuguese nation.

(President Ramalho Eanes)

Given its size and geographical location between the ocean and the continent Portugal has been particularly sensitive to the development of peaceful relations among States. This is why the reinforcement of this Organization devoted to international peace and security is an issue of the utmost interest to my country.

Moreover, as a European nation, in an intermediate stage of development, Portugal is deeply involved in all processes aimed at ensuring that each people receives an equitable share in the benefits of progress. Thus, given our own nature as a nation, we will participate intensively, effectively and constantly in international co-operation for the solution of economic and social problems, namely, those related to the North-South relationship, which is another of the main goals of this Organization.

In this context, we consider it most desirable that the objectives and functions which, within the United Nations system, fall to the Economic and Social Council, should be broadened and revitalized. Notwithstanding the important activities carried out so far, it is vital that the Council should be provided with the means it requires to solve the problems arising out of the increasingly uneven development of Member States.

Last, but not least, by virtue of the vocation that led us to embark centuries ago on a tireless search for wider international contacts, Portugal has a universalist concept of relationships among men and nations. From it stems a closely related concept, a guiding principle that has always animated my country - a committed and uncompromising defence of anti-racism. For this reason, any attempt at discrimination based on ethnic prejudice is illegal and unacceptable. Furthermore, the humanistic traits that characterize the cultural background of the Portuguese people imply a strong commitment to the defence of human rights as an essential condition for the existence of societies.

(President Ramalho Eanes)

The deep and close link between the Portuguese national conscience and the major objectives of the Charter have led public opinion in my country to attach special significance to the coincidence between the celebration of the anniversary of the United Nations and the entry of Portugal into this Organization. All the more so because around the same time we were granted membership we were entrusted with important international functions in the long, complex and so often dramatic process of decolonization, in which an important role was played by decisions of this General Assembly, as a result of which the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples is also being commemorated.

Today, the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic, which specifically stipulates respect for the right of peoples to self-determination, embodies the responsibilities which are still incumbent upon my country in this domain, namely, those concerning the destiny of the territory of East Timor, in full compliance with international law and the Charter of the United Nations.

Indeed, 30 years after its admission to this Organization, Portugal remains bound by obligations that stem from the task then entrusted to it. We shall continue to fulfil those obligations as an Administering Power for as long as the United Nations decides to maintain and acknowledge Portugal in this capacity.

In the exercise of such internationally recognized functions, and within the framework of the Charter, Portugal is fully committed to the defence of the rights of the populations of the territories whose interests it is responsible for promoting. In fulfilling such a role, we shall pursue the main objective of assuring equitable treatment to those peoples, with full respect for their historical and cultural identity and their right to progress and development.

(President Ramalho Eanes)

Therefore, until the international community and this Organization decide that those populations are to exercise the right of self-determination - and until they actually exercise it - my country will act so as to guarantee that the right to freedom, dignity and the identity of peoples shall not be reduced to mere rhetoric and that peace shall not become a negligible issue in the light of the selfish consideration of powerful but less relevant interests.

In this context, I wish to convey to the Secretary-General my sincere appreciation, and that of my country, for the valuable, impartial and constant support that, in such arduous circumstances, Portugal is receiving from him in the fulfilment of its functions. Namely, we would like to express our appreciation for the close attention he has paid to the development of the problem of East Timor which - along with the international and historical responsibilities that Portugal does not reject and will never reject - involves the credibility and prestige of this Organization as well as the consistent acceptance of principles so wholeheartedly upheld by the international community.

(President Ramalho Eanes)

At this most significant session of the General Assembly of the United Nations to which I have referred, it is indeed a great pleasure for me, Sir, to see the high office of the presidency occupied by such a distinguished representative of the Kingdom of Spain, a country with which Portugal fraternally shares the ideals of democracy, equality and justice.

I wish to take this opportunity to express my appreciation of the efforts of all those who, throughout all these years, have been serving this Organization, making more tangible for us the objectives entrusted to it by its Member States.

I emphasize once again, on this fortieth anniversary of the Charter of the United Nations, that our country is fully committed to the ideals and objectives as an expression of our unshakeable confidence in the future of international co-operation as promoted by this Organization, in peace and in respect for the sovereignty of nations and the dignity of every man.

General Antonio Ramalho Eanes, President of the Portuguese Republic, was escorted from the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The next speaker is the Prime Minister of Canada, His Excellency the Right Honourable Brian Mulroney.

Mr. Brian Mulroney, Prime Minister of Canada, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. MULRONEY (Canada) (interpretation from French): I should like to speak to the Assembly today about people and nations working together.

History shows that the solitary pursuit of self-interest outside the framework of broader international co-operation is never the best means of safeguarding our freedom, ensuring our security or improving our standard of living.

(Mr. Mulroney, Canada)

It is true that we have not had a world war since 1945, but we have lived for decades under the threat of an ultimate catastrophe which would unleash immeasurable forces of destruction. The same human genius which conquered outer space has also wrenched from nature the secret of devastation. In our search to create we discovered the ability to annihilate. Anxiety has become a fact of daily life. It can be seen in the arts, it permeates political activity, it alters social structures, it shapes mentalities.

How can we help fearing our adversaries when they too are equipped with an inventive and lively intelligence, when they too have mastered the destructive power of the atom and, above all, when they are filled with the same fear that so preoccupies us - a fear exacerbated by the fact that the strong must also be wary of the anger of the weak? We have even gone so far as to institutionalize fear, to the point where peace itself is based on a balance of terror.

Can we blame the United Nations for having been unable to put an end to the vicious cycle of force and fear, injustice and violence? In my view we cannot blame the United Nations for problems that have been caused essentially by self-centred nationalism and our own failures. We must not make the United Nations a scapegoat when it is our inability to recognize and accept diversity in the world, in time and in space that is to blame. We must not blame the United Nations for weaknesses that result from its being a mere human creation. While the United Nations may seem powerless in the face of the problems that confront it, it is all that we have.

The men and women who created this Organization in 1945 hungered for peace and justice and were guided by high principle. They sought to create a global forum where they could voice their hopes and fears, their dreams and regrets.

(Mr. Mulroney, Canada)

In this Organization nations have the opportunity to bring reason to their relations, to break the chain of violence, to defuse the lust for revenge, to voice their needs, to affirm their dignity and, in the end, to realize the extent to which they are members of the same species.

In the end, we must always come back to humanism. Humanism generates and shapes international consciousness, cultural development, economic development, and respect for those values that form the basis of our perception of the world.

The United Nations was created by man and is therefore fragile. For this reason, I do not believe that it is completely appropriate to talk about celebrating one particular anniversary of the Organization; rather, we must celebrate its existence every day, for it is threatened every day, and it must be protected every day.

(spoke in English)

Since 1945, we have all recognized the threat presented by catastrophic weapons of war. That threat goes beyond our individual concerns as peoples and nations. It commands the attention of all; it calls for urgent action by the entire international community.

Forty years ago the Charter called on the world "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". Today we struggle to save life from nuclear apocalypse. We have some cause for hope. At their meeting next month in Geneva President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev may well set us on the road to a significant reduction in the arsenals of both sides. To diminish the spectre of annihilation, the super-Powers must reach for an agreement - but the responsibility is not theirs alone.

(Mr. Mulroney, Canada)

All of us, through international forums and treaties, have an important role to play in arms reduction. We must reinforce negotiations for verifiable disarmament accords on testing and weaponry, both conventional and nuclear. Individually and collectively, we must all do our part, because progress is possible. The recent successful review of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons gives credibility to that.

Canadians recognize that there is no greater goal than peace, no more compelling duty, than the quest for peace. We shall not rest until our security can be assured without tens of thousands of nuclear weapons. Above all, being no different from anyone else, we shall not rest until we have made the future secure for our children.

(Mr. Mulroney, Canada)

Forty years ago the peoples of the world were united in the hope that human rights could become subject to universal standards. Forty years later some countries apply these standards only in part, and a few - sadly - hardly at all. In this respect, South Africa stands alone.

Only one country has established colour as the hallmark of systematic inequality and repression. Only South Africa determines the fundamental human rights of individuals and groups within its society by this heinous method of classification. This institutionalized contempt for justice and dignity desecrates international standards of morality and arouses universal revulsion. That is why, at our meeting in Nassau just concluded, Commonwealth leaders agreed on a course of common action against apartheid.

The crescendo of pressure is having an impact. Already the opposition of the business community to apartheid is unprecedented. The combination of internal dissent and external condemnation is obviously and clearly taking its toll on the Government. The Mandelas, the Tutus, the Boesaks will one day prevail, because prevail they must.

It is our hope - and it must surely be the hope of all - that bloodshed and violence will cease in the transition to a free and democratic society. It is our hope - and it must surely be the hope of all - that the Republic of South Africa will come to its senses before it is completely engulfed by the shock waves of violence.

My Government has said to Canadians that if there are not fundamental changes in South Africa we are prepared to invoke total sanctions against that country and its repressive régime. If there is no progress in the dismantling of apartheid, Canada's relations with South Africa may have to be severed absolutely.

(Mr. Mulroney, Canada)

(continued in French)

Our purpose is not to punish or penalize, but to hasten peaceful change. We do not aim at conflict but at reconciliation - within South Africa and between South Africa and its neighbours.

The way of dialogue starts with the repudiation of apartheid. It ends with the full and equal participation of all South Africans in the governing of their country. It leads towards peace.

If it is not accepted, the course of sanctions will surely be further pursued. Canada is ready, if there are no fundamental changes in South Africa, to invoke total sanctions against that country and its repressive régime. More than that, if there is no progress in the dismantling of apartheid, relations with South Africa may have to be severed absolutely.

(spoke in English)

Forty years ago, emerging from the ruins of global conflict, the world was in economic upheaval. Today, though we have made enormous gains, hundreds of millions are caught in desperate economic circumstances.

Over the last several weeks, from this rostrum, Heads of State, Heads of Government and Foreign Ministers have eloquently described their circumstances, ranging from crippling burdens of debt and blighted prospects, on the one hand, to the menace of protectionism, on the other.

Canada is pressing, urgently, for a new round of multilateral trade negotiations. We are seeking to liberalize further our trading relationships with our largest partner, the United States of America. We are working actively to strengthen the capacity of international financial institutions to ease the paralysing burden of third-world debt and permit resumed growth. We are increasing our aid.

(Mr. Mulroney, Canada)

The international mobilization and delivery of aid show dramatically what immense good can be done when Governments and citizens together recognize crises and act with concerted determination aided by organizations such as the United Nations and its various agencies. If, collectively, we have managed to save millions of innocent people from starvation - and we have - then surely in the same spirit we can improve our performance in easing the international economic predicament that adversely affects so many Members of the United Nations.

Forty years ago there was another blight upon this Earth that took an incalculable toll of human life: remorseless epidemics of disease. Over the intervening decades we have made huge strides in discovering cures and in combating those diseases. Today we stand on the threshold of another dramatic breakthrough.

The United Nations Children's Fund and the World Health Organization have set 1990 as the target for world-wide, universal immunization. If the target is reached, the lives of as many as 5 million infants and children will be saved every year. There is a noble objective: 5 million infants and children saved by these organizations every single year. We have eradicated smallpox; through universal immunization, we must now do the same with diphtheria, measles, polio, tetanus and whooping cough.

Universal immunization is an astonishingly efficient health investment. At the Commonwealth Conference just concluded I confirmed Canada's commitment to this goal and announced a significant increase in Canada's international health care efforts. Canada will continue to collaborate with the United Nations Children's Fund and the World Health Organization and with the United Nations as they co-ordinate this inspiring campaign. For us, the goal of mass immunization exemplifies, in large measure, the very best of the United Nations and what the United Nations is all about.

(Mr. Mulroney, Canada)

Finally, recent events compel us to address the scourge of international terrorism. By and large, Canada had been spared the ravages of terrorism. Today this is no longer the case - we too have now experienced its pain.

No one nation alone can combat terrorism; it demands concerted international action. We must exchange information, there must be nation-to-nation understandings, and we must have effective and enforceable international conventions. Those who murder and maim innocent people, those who seek to bring anarchy to civilized society, can have no sanctuary, no comfort, no indulgence. Canada joins with countries around the world in the search for a determined and effective response. We urge all States to support such practical measures as counter-terrorist conventions and the International Civil Aviation Organization's drive to strengthen the security of international air travel.

Canada esteems the United Nations, its record and its potential. Our commitment to the principles of the Charter and to international co-operation is no fashionable pose. For four decades, under successive Canadian Governments of different political stripes, it has been a motive force of our foreign policy. Time and again, on critical occasions Canada has responded to appeals from this body in difficult circumstances and has offered its troops and its expertise for United Nations-sponsored peace-keeping roles around the globe.

Canadians are united in one simple conviction: to better the human condition and to achieve international peace and security, nations acting together can always do more and do it better than nations acting apart.

To be sure, we recognize the imperfections and limitations of the United Nations. We know that this Organization is not perfect. That is why we work so

(Mr. Mulroney, Canada)

hard to improve its functioning; that is why all Canadians so strongly support the Secretary-General as he strives to reform it from within. But, all said and done, we must surely agree with the Secretary-General that where the United Nations is weak it is almost always due to a failure of political will. That kind of failure is not easily reformed. It will change only when sovereign States realize that the principles of the Charter are the signposts that can lead us all towards mutual respect, collective security and lasting peace. Living by these principles offers, in our judgement, the best hope for us all. To the fulfilment of these noble and timeless principles, Canada is honoured today to renew its pledge of loyalty and support.

Mr. Brian Mulroney, Prime Minister of Canada, was escorted from the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Assembly will now hear a statement by the Prime Minister of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, His Excellency Mr. Jacques Santer.

Mr. Jacques Santer, Prime Minister of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. SANTER (Luxembourg) (interpretation from French): The entry into force 40 years ago of the Charter was regarded as ending an era darkened by two bloody and devastating world wars which, as the preamble to the Charter reminds us "twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind".

Profiting from the lessons of history, the countries which founded the Organization intended to establish jointly a more civilized and representative international order, which all would join in maintaining, and to replace violence in international relations by resort to negotiation, mediation and conciliation to ensure peace and security with respect for the principles of justice and equity.

The peoples of Europe, in particular, felt that need, having endured tragic suffering through the fearful destruction wrought by age-old fratricidal rivalries and confrontations, and thus be made aware of their common destiny and their heritage of the same sphere of civilization and culture.

Sharing the faith in the future of mankind which led to the establishment of the United Nations, the member countries of the European community aspired to a peaceful and just international order. They based their reconciliation and co-operation on a commitment to the ideals, goals and standards of behaviour laid down in the Charter.

In this anniversary year, the European community and its member States, whose spokesman I am on this occasion, wish to reaffirm the permanent validity of those

(Mr. Santer, Luxembourg)

principles and to renew their solemn commitment to respect them wholly and without reserve in letter and in spirit, with all the attendant obligations.

In assessing the road we have travelled for 40 years, the time has come to strike the balance of our joint achievements. Undoubtedly, the four essential related premises which the Charter laid down for the preservation of a stable world order remain valid, even though never before in the history of mankind has the world undergone such profound changes as in the last four decades, decades so rich in major events. Those premises are: safeguarding international peace and security, developing friendly relations among nations based on the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the defence of human rights and of fundamental freedoms for all, and the search for international co-operation in jointly solving problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character.

To be sure, during these 40 years the United Nations has made an inestimable contribution to the pursuit of the goals set by its founders.

Peace and security have been preserved world-wide, even though many local conflicts have persisted, often in the poorest regions of our planet. Undeniable progress has been achieved, both by the United Nations itself and by its specialized agencies, in the search for practical ways to calm tensions, control crises, maintain peace, achieve decolonization and disarmament, ensure respect for human rights, undertake the codification of international law, and carry out activities in the humanitarian and social sectors, and in the area of co-operation for development.

Our age has to deal with an international community which is much more pluralistic than it was at the time the United Nations was founded in 1945. There is a greater need for more intense multilateral diplomacy when States are bent on jealously preserving the prerogatives of their national sovereignty, although more

(Mr. Santer, Luxembourg)

and more often problems go beyond national and regional borders and require more vigorous joint action by the whole international community.

However, the goals laid down by the Charter have not been wholly achieved. The gap between the principles and their implementation remains, because the rules laid down by the Charter are far from being respected universally. Therefore, our balance sheet is flawed. The United Nations had successively to live through the test of political and economic crises it was powerless to resolve. A feeling of disillusion has prevailed in world public opinion.

There is no doubt that a new and vigorous effort to achieve the goals of the Charter is called for. It is also undeniable that because of the universality of the United Nations our Organization now provides for the whole planet both the most effective instrument and the most adequate forum for achieving those goals, despite the weaknesses and shortcomings of our enterprise. Consequently all the Member States of the United Nations must work resolutely to strengthen the Organization and to improve its results in the light of past experience, despite the uncertainties of the future.

The Secretary-General, in whom we have complete confidence, has often rightly stated in his annual reports that the opportunities the United Nations offers for dealing with urgent situations are under-utilized. We fully share his views on this matter and we agree with him when, in his report at this session of the General Assembly he stated that to prevent mankind from being at the mercy of an accident, misapprehension or an unexpected concatenation of events:

"requires measures to slow down the onrush of events ... and to gain time by substituting deliberation for force" (A/40/1, p. 5).

(Mr. Santer, Luxembourg)

Is it not, moreover, in the nature of things that progress in the search for peace is slow, in spite of the unique capacity of the United Nations to offer direct means of communication to all and to create a climate of calm by helping the parties involved to transcend their fears and silence their short-term ambitions in order to overcome the distances separating them from one another and to arrive at mutual comprehension.

Special responsibility falls not only to the Secretary-General but also to the Security Council, which is the keystone of the system set up 40 years ago, and particularly to its permanent members, whose ability to act responsibly within their own prerogatives deserves emphasis. Thus it is necessary to strengthen the means of action of those bodies to allow them in time to neutralize conflict situations or to transcend them whenever they occur.

In this regard the European Community and its member States wish to recall that in their view peace-keeping operations are one of the most interesting innovations and are among the most remarkable successes of the United Nations. The fruit of imaginative efforts organized at a critical moment to defuse a crisis and to contain a conflict that might spread, these peace-keeping operations are different from coercive action in that they can be carried out only if the parties agree to the intervention of the United Nations and commit themselves to supporting that intervention. Therefore it is important to develop those operations as a function of circumstance by establishing a climate of calm and stability appropriate for negotiations. These operations can greatly facilitate the search for peaceful solutions to conflicts.

The Ten intend to carry out, as much as is possible, supportive action at the diplomatic level to bring a political solution to any situation that requires the launching of a peace-keeping operation. The Ten propose to sanction those

(Mr. Santer, Luxembourg)

operations by giving their support to the decisions of the Security Council and to the efforts of the Secretary-General to bring about the peaceful settlement of disputes under the conditions laid down in the Charter.

All member States of the European Community are already contributing to these activities, either through direct participation in one or several observer missions or peace-keeping operations or through giving those operations the necessary logistic and financial support. They declare their readiness to give their full support to further strengthen, if necessary, the present potential of the United Nations in this field. They congratulate the Governments that are providing assistance to the United Nations for the efforts and sacrifices they have assumed in order that the United Nations might have effective ways to ensure the maintenance of peace. The Ten take this opportunity to make an appeal to all States Members of the United Nations actively to support, within their means and in ways they consider most appropriate, efforts to maintain peace.

The Ten also wish to draw attention to the serious financial problems that are linked to United Nations activities in this field. They cannot accept the argument of those who affirm that the aggressor country is financially responsible. Similarly they cannot accept the argument that countries supplying contingents should continue to bear a large share of the costs. To them it seems essential that the costs related to such operations that have been decided upon in accordance with the Charter should, unless the Security Council decides otherwise, be considered mandatory expenses for all the Members of the United Nations.

By especially emphasizing the exceptional interest of this instrument in the improvement of international security, the Ten are prompted only by their concern that there be developed a practical and appropriate method of action capable of allowing the United Nations better to carry out its peace-making function.

(Mr. Santer, Luxembourg)

For many years general and complete disarmament has remained the ultimate goal of our joint efforts. Attainment of that goal would improve not only the security of all; it would also allow the possibility of progressively devoting to peaceful purposes the huge human and financial resources now absorbed by the unending and excessive accumulation of weapons of all kinds. It is to be hoped that the Conference on Disarmament and Development will make it possible to make new openings along this road.

In the meantime the member countries of the European Community favour the establishment of confidence-building measures that would allow the entire international community to prepare balanced, effective and verifiable agreements to limit and reduce armaments to the lowest possible level.

In light of the urgent need to prevent the danger of an acceleration of the ruinous arms race and to halt it, the Ten express the hope that the negotiations now under way in Geneva on a package of questions relating to space and nuclear weapons will achieve tangible results. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country emphasized on behalf of the Ten from this rostrum on 24 September in the Assembly's general debate, we shall continue to support these negotiations. We are aware that they demand realism, flexibility and patience. Moreover, we confirm our constant commitment to the non-proliferation régime and our hope to see the Conference on Disarmament achieve substantial results, especially in the area of chemical weapons.

On the road that leads to the self-determination of peoples and the accession to independence of colonial Territories, Trust Territories and Non-Self-Governing Territories, the United Nations has undoubtedly assumed the role of a driving force. It is within the framework of that process that the Namibian people must in their turn gain independence through the implementation of a peaceful, democratic settlement provided for by the Security Council.

(Mr. Santer, Luxembourg)

The United Nations is a focal point for the aspirations of mankind to a world in which human rights and the dignity of the human person are respected. The Charter itself lays down as a fundamental principle the need to develop and encourage the promotion of those rights. For its part, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights affirms that recognition of those rights is the basis of liberty, justice and peace in the world.

In summarizing the progress achieved in the observation of the obligations that Member States have assumed collectively and individually, we can only deplore the serious attacks upon human rights and fundamental freedoms that continue to take place in many countries. Among these violations, arbitrary detention, torture, the taking of hostages and blind terrorism, which strike at innocent victims, are intolerable attacks upon liberty and the physical and moral integrity and dignity of human beings, and they have drawn criticism and are reason for concern.

(Mr. Santer, Luxembourg)

An active and unrelenting struggle against these inadmissible practices is necessary, particularly by the elimination of their underlying causes. Of all these violations, the policy of apartheid is a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind and one that is particularly repugnant, since it has been built up into a system of government. It is contrary to the principles laid down in the Charter, as is any other policy of discrimination based on sex, race, religion or political opinion. For the Ten, the final goal remains the complete abolition of apartheid.

On this solemn occasion, the States members of the European Community would like to recall that the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) explicitly reaffirms that respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of thought, of conscience and of religion or of belief constitutes an essential factor of peace, justice and the well-being necessary for the development of friendly relations and of co-operation among all States.

With respect to economic problems, the European Community and its member States wish to emphasize that the deep links of interdependence between the developing countries and the industrialized countries have been highlighted by the crisis that has affected the world economy in recent years. That crisis makes co-operation both more difficult and more necessary. The growth of the world economy will be more stable and more lasting if both the developing countries and the industrialized countries participate in that growth.

While structural economic adjustments in the short, medium and long term are required, it must be recognized that significant progress has already been achieved in the framework of the constructive negotiations that have been pursued continuously over these past decades.

(Mr. Santer, Luxembourg)

The European Community and its member States therefore recognize the need further to strengthen the activities of United Nations bodies in order to ensure economic and social progress, especially in the developing countries, and to accentuate the convergence of the economic policies of all States in the implementation of their long-term development strategies. The new frontiers opened up by technological development call for increased international co-operation. Scientific and technical progress must be shared for the benefit of all and must contribute to the economic development of the world. The United Nations has an important role to play in that respect.

In a world where reciprocal solidarity is emerging more and more clearly, the need to find a solution to the substantial external debt of many developing countries deserves priority attention. That indebtedness comprises aspects and implications which are very serious for numerous countries. In tackling problems of indebtedness, the European Community does not underestimate the magnitude of the political and social implications of adjustment measures.

The European Community and its member States have contributed to the efforts of the international community, and particularly those made by the United Nations system, to deal with the serious economic crisis affecting Africa. The important statement on Africa adopted last December by the General Assembly is still fully valid.

Problems of development are among the most important problems faced by the international community. The United Nations plays an indispensable role in the North-South dialogue and is making a major contribution to the solution of those problems.

Our era offers mankind unprecedented opportunities to shape its destiny and to forge a better world if the forces of reason prevail over those of discord and destruction.

(Mr. Santer, Luxembourg)

The possible tragic consequences of divisions and confrontation in an increasingly interdependent world oblige the international community to strengthen co-operation in order to consolidate peace and security for the benefit of all peoples, so as to ensure the future of generations yet to come.

The European Community and its member States which, a few weeks ago and from this rostrum, gave a detailed explanation of their common position with regard to various situations of tension, crisis and conflict in the world, reaffirm on this solemn occasion their determination to offer continuing and active support to the search for just and equitable solutions. To that end, they undertake to spare no effort in favour of a lasting peace in a context of security, economic, cultural and social progress and full respect for the rights, freedoms and dignity of all States and all men.

Mr. Jacques Santer, Prime Minister of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, was escorted from the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The next speaker is the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas, His Excellency the Right Honourable Sir Lynden Pindling.

Sir Lynden Pindling, Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas, was escorted to the rostrum.

Sir Lynden PINDLING (Bahamas): Twelve years ago I stood on this podium to introduce my country to the international community and to confirm its acceptance of the purposes and principles contained in the United Nations Charter, namely, to maintain international peace and security, to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems and to be a centre for the attainment of those common ends. Many changes have occurred during that period, and my Government has tried on the national level to give effect the necessary measures that would enhance the social, economic and political growth of the

(Sir Lynden Pindling, Bahamas)

Bahamas. I trust that our small island developing archipelagic State has been able to make some positive contribution to the deliberations in the various forums of this international body.

It is a very pleasant duty for me today to participate in this commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. I am convinced, that despite its apparent shortcomings, the United Nations is a viable organization and that it serves as the most effective mediator in multilateral affairs. The equality which it grants to nations large and small heightens its significance as an impartial arbiter in all matters. It is therefore imperative that Member States avoid polarized positions which only tend to exacerbate confrontation and frustrate practical solutions to problems arrived at by constant communication and consensus. One of the best ways to begin would be for this Assembly to endeavour to implement the large number of resolutions that have already been adopted unanimously.

(Sir Lynden Pindling, Bahamas)

At the same time as our world is shrinking it is becoming more complex. The arms race is escalating; the economic situation is worsening, particularly in developing countries; hunger, starvation and malnutrition are plaguing many nations; some regional conflicts are still raging; and human beings in South Africa and elsewhere are being deprived of their dignity and freedom. Despite some instances of cosmetic change, it is clear that we are still a long way from fully implementing the purposes of the Charter, of saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war.

In 1973 I referred to the concept of interdependence - the need for all States, large and small, developed and developing, to recognize that isolation enhances division, while unity promotes harmonization of action. Now, more than ever before, we need to promote the concept of interdependence, for it is only when all States realize the significance of sharing each other's failures as well as successes that we shall have general and complete disarmament, universal freedom and justice and sufficient food and shelter for everyone.

For the commemoration of this fortieth year there have been countless national and international activities as well as expressions of commitment to support the United Nations in its endeavours to promote and maintain international peace and security. If, however, these good intentions are merely for the occasion they are nothing more than "sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal". What is needed is positive action if positive results are to accrue.

Last June, at a meeting of the former Presidents of the General Assembly, the Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar said:

"The United Nations can also be highly effective in the resolution of disputes and in keeping peace. The regrettable and dangerous fact that

(Sir Lynden Pindling, Bahamas)

conflict persists must not be accepted as evidence that the concept of collective security is unworkable but rather as a warning that it must be made to work more effectively. The basic requirement is committed and consistent support of the United Nations by Member States". (A/40/377, p. 6)

It is against this background that we of the Commonwealth have formulated and adopted by consensus a declaration of principles. As Chairman of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting which concluded yesterday in Nassau, I am happy to inform the Assembly that we highlighted major concerns, such as world order, the economic crisis, the security of small States and the situation in southern Africa. On these we made specific recommendations and committed ourselves to the task of promoting the cause of interdependence - the cause of being our brother's keeper. Likewise, we affirmed our belief in the United Nations and pledged our support for the principles contained in the Charter. We have, therefore, shown our determination to work with like-minded States towards the goal of achieving lasting peace and security in the world.

We in the Commonwealth, comprising over a thousand million people from all the regions of the United Nations, comprising people of every race, creed, and colour, and people of various ideologies and beliefs, recognize the importance of unity. We are proud of our differences as well as the ties which allow us to minimize confrontation in order to achieve meaningful consensus. It must certainly augur well that from such a diverse group a consensus document of substance emerged from our Summit, a document of three statements which I am privileged and proud now to present to the Assembly as the Nassau Communiqué.

I feel obliged to refer to the decline in multilateralism or international co-operation as seen from a Commonwealth perspective. In the words of the Report of the Commonwealth Secretary-General:

(Sir Lynden Pindling, Bahamas)

"The trend to bilateralism has been confirmed and, among the strongest, a tendency to dictate is emerging. Our world society is a less democratic place than it once promised to be. Forty years after San Francisco the ideals that inspired the founding of the United Nations seem to have faded with the memories of human failure that led to it. And now, as in the years that culminated in the scourge of World War II, economic crisis is the handmaiden of political retrogression. The notion of each country to itself and for itself, coupled with an over-zealous faith in the working of the market place, has frustrated world-wide recovery."

One of the statements embodied in the Nassau Communiqué is the Nassau Declaration on World Order. In it Commonwealth Heads of Government this week reaffirmed their faith in the United Nations and their commitment to multilateralism, and they did so partly in these terms:

"We recall all countries and peoples to the central importance of the United Nations system in which all should participate and from which all should benefit. In the world of today and of tomorrow, international co-operation is not an option but a necessity.

"We recognize that the United Nations and its institutions are not without imperfections, but are convinced that the solution lies not in their rejection but in their rejuvenation; using the system effectively is as important as changing it. We therefore welcome the efforts of the United Nations Secretary-General to enhance the effectiveness of the world body and its capacity to prevent and resolve conflicts, and pledge to work with him to this end.

(Sir Lynden Pindling, Bahamas)

"We hope that all nations will demonstrate the desire to seek consensus and the will to negotiate constructively, which are crucial to the success of global institutions. We believe that the Commonwealth's way of doing business, of seeking consensus based on equality and justice between nations, serves as an example for all."

It was the Commonwealth's way of doing business which produced the Commonwealth Accord on Southern Africa, another of the statements embodied in the Nassau Communiqué. The Accord called upon the Government of South Africa to take five steps immediately: first, declare its intention to dismantle apartheid; secondly, lift the state of emergency; thirdly, release Nelson Mandela and others; fourthly, establish political freedom; and, fifthly, commence dialogue across the lines of race, religion and politics.

In the Accord all Commonwealth Governments agreed to impose against South Africa a selective set of sanctions, and foreshadowed more comprehensive sanctions they would consider imposing if, after six months, no real progress had been made by South Africa on the five initial steps. These additional sanctions were: first, a ban on air links with South Africa; second, a ban on new investment or reinvestment of profits earned in South Africa; third, a ban on the import of agricultural products from South Africa; fourth, the termination of double taxation agreements with South Africa; fifth, the termination of all government assistance to invest in, and trade with, South Africa; sixth, a ban on all government procurement in South Africa; seventh, a ban on government contracts with majority-owned South African companies; and, eighth, a ban on the promotion of tourism to South Africa.

The steps proposed in the Accord are seen by some as but modest. But I am optimistic on this score and choose to see them not as the end of the beginning of

(Sir Lynden Pindling, Bahamas)

the final act of removal of the apartheid human aberration but as the beginning of the beginning. Every day that on life is lost in South Africa is one more life too many sacrificed on the devil's altar of the disciples of apartheid. Time has almost run out, but that time can be so much shortened by the exercise of the collective will of the great Powers and the small ones which did not take part in the Commonwealth Meeting in Nassau. Measured response through the Accord can be seen to be a beginning, but it can also be seen to have implicit in it a response which is also terminal. For this reason I invite all Member States of the United Nations to take similar action.

(Sir Lynden Pindling, Bahamas)

Half the Heads of Government who gathered in Nassau represented countries with populations of less than 1 million people, each having security needs of a similar nature. Events in Grenada in 1983 had stimulated Commonwealth leaders to focus attention on the vital needs for the security of small States and the potential danger which this void poses for larger States.

We had before us a report prepared by a Commonwealth group of diplomats, jurists, public officers and academics. They undertook wide consultations and their report was the most comprehensive examination yet made of the security problem of small States in all international regions.

The study has emphasized the fact that security is a multifaceted issue which needs to be addressed simultaneously on a variety of fronts, thereby requiring action at the national, regional and international levels and in the economic, political and military spheres. There was a solemn recognition of the integral link between poverty and defencelessness, which led the group to propose a number of broad arenas within which action should be pursued.

I should therefore like to invite this General Assembly, first, to recognize the need for international economic approaches and arrangements that are sensitive to the special vulnerabilities of small States, and, secondly, favourably consider the establishment of an effective global collective security system.

The peace, stability and security of small island States have been seriously threatened by the drug trafficking barons. The proliferation of drug trafficking continues to represent for much of the world a problem of the most vexing dimensions. The island States of the Caribbean and the Bahamas straddle the flight paths and sea lanes between the narcotics-producing countries of South America and the principal consumer markets on the North American continent and have found themselves, by these geographic circumstances, especially vulnerable to exploitation

(Sir Lynden Pindling, Bahamas)

as transshipment centres for international drug trafficking operations. Archipelagic nations like the Bahamas have been pressed to the outer limits of their financial and security resources in the attempt to sustain effective interdiction and law enforcement measures against this nefarious scourge.

Drug trafficking in the Bahamas became the focus of national attention in the mid-1970s. Two of our major responses to the drug threat were to increase funding to the Police Department and, at the same time, create a coast guard to patrol the seas throughout the Bahamas' archipelago. The budgetary effect of those decisions was to transfer substantial resources from economic and social programmes, like health, education and capital infrastructure, to combat the escalating drug problem.

In 1975, the total recurrent and capital expenditure on law enforcement was approximately \$9.9 million. Five years later, in 1980, the total expenditure rose by over 100 per cent to \$20.2 million. At the end of 1985, total expenditure on law enforcement in the small country of the Bahamas is likely to be in the region of \$41 million, or another 100 per cent increase over the 1980 figure. The numbers speak for themselves. Law enforcement in the Bahamas, as a direct result of drug trafficking, is exacting a tremendous toll on the limited resources of our country.

Four weeks ago, when the Group of Five met in New York, three weeks ago at the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Meeting in the Republic of Maldives, two weeks ago at the International Monetary Fund/World Bank Governors' Meeting in Seoul, and last week at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Nassau, world leaders arrived at the same broad consensus on the current parlous state of the global economy. The United States-led economic recovery over the past 18 months produced but marginal benefits almost exclusively to the industrialized nations, and

(Sir Lynden Pindling, Bahamas)

even in those countries modest economic growth and an abatement in the rate of inflation was achieved in exchange for rising unemployment and/or increased budget deficits. The modest improvement in the industrialized countries was also accompanied by an escalation in protectionist sentiments and measures a development which, if allowed to proceed unchecked, will certainly impact unfavourably on the terms of trade in developing countries.

That would be disastrous, particularly for many of the developing island States in the Caribbean which are still experiencing the adverse effects of the oil shocks of the early 1970s. Moreover, some of these States have not yet recovered from the austerity measures imposed by international institutions as part and parcel of the so-called structural adjustment process.

Against the background of this bleak economic landscape one must necessarily add the staggering external debt of developing countries which, according to a Commonwealth group of experts, amounted to some \$800 billion at the end of 1983, or, more precisely, one and one half times the total export earnings of developing countries. The servicing of that debt to the banking communities of industrialized countries and/or international agencies accounts for a sizeable portion of the gross national product of some developing countries.

It would appear therefore that the currently popular argument that the developed States must first emerge from the recession in order for the developing States to progress is patently false. The reality is that the developing States, particularly small island States, are regressing in the face of advancement by the industrialized nations and, consequently, the economic gap between the two groups is expanding rather than contracting. Indeed, the economic vulnerability of small States is increasing and precious little is being done by the industrialized countries or the international agencies to reverse this most unwelcomed trend.

(Sir Lynden Pindling, Bahamas)

Small States do not have ready access to international capital markets and so depend heavily on assistance from multilateral agencies to meet their development needs. Yet, the World Bank, long regarded as the economic saviour of developing countries, has seen fit to attempt to graduate small island States from the International Development Association on the basis of the questionable criterion of per capita gross national product. Similarly, other small island States, such as the Bahamas, are in the process of being graduated from the World Bank loan facilities, with the result that any development plans which were expected to be financed by World Bank loans would have to be placed on a shelf in the national archives.

The Bahamas fully supports the position that the World Bank should reconsider its policy on graduation and adopt a more flexible position in determining the criteria for graduation.

Given the current global economic situation and the projected future developments in the world economy, it is imperative that the industrialized nations and the multilateral institutions give more assistance to developing nations, and not less. It is within this context that the Bahamas welcomed the recent initiatives by the World Bank and the IMF to establish the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency, which is expected to enhance the flow of capital and technology to developing countries by providing coverage to private investment for non-commercial risks in Member States. In short, there is a desperate need for more multilateral investment guarantee agencies and less graduates in the insidious trend towards economic stagnation if the developing world is to be permanently reversed.

(Sir Lynden Pindling, Bahamas)

Mr. President, I would be remiss in closing without congratulating you on your election and expressing gratitude to the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts in espousing the merits of multilateralism and defending the soundness of universal peace-keeping and security.

Mr. President, in my capacity as Chairman of the Heads of Commonwealth States, I would wish, on behalf of these States, to express our sincere appreciation for this opportunity to address this august body and to reiterate our belief in and support for the United Nations as the most constructive and appropriate body to advance the ideals of international co-operation and good-will amongst nations.

Sir Lynden O. Pindling, Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas, was escorted from the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The next speaker is the Prime Minister and Minister for Civil Aviation of Fiji, His Excellency the Right Honourable Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara.

Sir Kamisese Mara, Prime Minister and Minister for Civil Aviation of Fiji, was escorted to the rostrum.

Sir Kamisese MARA (Fiji): We all recognize anniversaries as occasions for celebration, and as the United Nations celebrates its fortieth anniversary I extend to all representatives here and to the Organization greetings and felicitations from the Government and people of Fiji, who are celebrating the fifteenth anniversary of their independence this month. We also take this opportunity to reassure the Assembly of our continuing commitment to the noble purposes and principles of this invaluable Organization. But anniversaries are also occasions for reflection and stocktaking, and it is in that context that I would ask you to consider my remarks today.

The United Nations has not been without its detractors, and I dare say some of the criticisms we hear, deriving from a sense of frustration at the lack of definitive and decisive action, are deserved. Yet we must not forget the many achievements and the tremendous contributions which have been made in almost every field of human endeavour by the United Nations itself and by its specialized agencies. Indeed, the Organization has been as effective as it has been allowed to be, and it behoves us all to remember that its effectiveness will be enhanced only if we accord it the status, the dignity and the authority implied in its conception. Nowhere is this more vital than in the quest for peace - durable, lasting peace - through which mankind may reach yet loftier heights and improve the human condition everywhere rather than live in fear and apprehension.

(Sir Kamisese Mara, Fiji)

We are simple people. We find it hard to understand how it is that every nation on earth proclaims that it wants peace, yet peace evades us. There is not a single nation in this Assembly that will not claim that it is devoted to peace and progress. Indeed, all will assert that they have no higher priority. If it is what we all want, why then does it elude us? I humbly submit that those who, while shouting their wish for peace, engage in activities that frustrate efforts to achieve that goal, who endanger or imperil our very human existence, are the real enemies of mankind, whatever their professed ideological complexion. It is said that if it is in the minds of men that war begins, it is in the hearts of men that the defences of peace must be created. That I firmly believe. The defences of peace cannot be vested in larger arsenals, more sophisticated weaponry and the tools of holocaust.

In our own islands peace and harmony are absolute prerequisites for the multiracial society in which we live. We regard the rich variety of these cultures, beliefs, languages and customs as one of our great blessings and even as one of our glories. But peace and harmony cannot be taken for granted. We took our first precautions in the framing of our independence Constitution. Apart from establishing a bill of rights, it ensures representation in our legislature for all the major races of our country. Since then it has been the constant aim of our Government to encourage and foster interracial harmony and to eliminate practices that could lead to bitterness, resentment and trouble. This has only been possible because our people, too, are keenly alive to the need for constructive action to ensure an atmosphere of peace, friendship and co-operation, and there are many examples of this throughout our land. Only recently, we have had wonderful scenes of rejoicing in a multiracial festival to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the Christian Methodist Church in Fiji - in fact, to celebrate the coming to our islands of the news of the Prince of Peace.

(Sir Kamisese Mara, Fiji)

Perhaps you can think of us in the heart of the Pacific throwing a small pebble into the water to mark our own peace at home. As the ripples spread, we join with our friends in the Pacific Forum of leaders to take a wider view. We are uniquely conscious of nuclear danger in the Pacific because the French Government, despite repeated protests in the strongest possible terms from all our countries, persists in conducting nuclear tests at Mururoa Atoll in the heart of the Pacific. Although we value our relations with France and it has given so much to the world, nothing can deflect us from complete, utter, outright condemnation of its disregard for the protests of Pacific countries and, we believe, for their safety.

As representatives will doubtless be aware, we have only recently signed a Treaty on a nuclear-free zone in the Pacific. It provides, inter alia, that the signatories shall not allow in their territories the manufacture, testing or stationing of any nuclear explosive devices and shall not assist or encourage any State in such activities. No export of nuclear materials is permitted unless covered by stringent safeguards to ensure it is only used for peaceful purposes, and there shall be no dumping.

Some of the world press in countries from which we might have expected more support and sympathy have tried to downgrade the importance of the Treaty. We ourselves would be the first to agree that it is not perfect, that perhaps it does not go far enough. But, remember, we are a group of sovereign, independent nations in the Pacific, and there had to be terms on which there could be agreement - or as much agreement as possible.

(Sir Kamisese Mara, Fiji)

Some of us, for example, hold that defence strategy in the Pacific obliges us to allow nuclear warships in our ports. Others are not prepared to go to this extent. But we have always respected each other's point of view and in our discussions we have always had to concentrate on the things that unite us rather than on those that divide. And so even our differences lack the bitter recrimination and vituperation that can so often emerge in such discussions. So we believe that in the end we have reached a consensus in the Pacific way and that the Treaty not only is an achievement and a contribution to world peace but can also be an example. And we look forward to the major Powers in the region supporting us by signing appropriate protocols to the Treaty. Our warmest invitation goes to the French, to whom we say "Vous serez les bienvenus".

Then, as the ripples spread, we reach the Middle East, that tinder-box for war almost since time began. When the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) was formed, Fiji was among the first to volunteer its forces; every soldier who goes to the Middle East is a volunteer. In Sinai, too, and in the observer group, Fiji has played and continues to play its part in the efforts to maintain peace in this difficult region. We felt that this was a practical contribution that we could make to peace and we have persisted and remain steadfast in the face of both casualties among our young men and the heavy material burden on our finances. Since the operation began, Fijian soldiers have served in Lebanon and Sinai; some have been wounded and some have been killed. We honour them, as I am sure all representatives do. We have made our financial contribution to the cost of the operation, but as of today we are owed \$14 million by the United Nations for the cost of our soldiers - a debt on which we receive no interest - and this represents nearly 30 per cent of our total expenditure. Members may care to ask themselves if this is not too great a financial burden to expect a small country with 650,000 people to take on, in addition to its provision of a military contingent. Better still, they may collectively decide to do something about it.

(Sir Kamisese Mara, Fiji)

In this great Assembly Fiji has constantly directed its efforts, however small, to the maintenance of peace and the elimination of what may lead to strife. We are parties to the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and many other conventions of that kind. We strongly support the dialogue between the United States and the Soviet Union. We have constantly opposed apartheid in South Africa and we have supported moves towards independence. But all these problems should be approached by way of dialogue, tolerance, give-and-take.

Finally, let me draw the attention of delegations to the small States which today comprise almost one third of the total membership of this world body. Without in any sense underestimating the enormous difficulties in Africa, Asia and Latin America, those large areas which have engaged and continue to engage the attention of members, I am obliged to point out that it is time that we, the smaller nations, come into their consciousness. All the major problems facing the world - security issues, the debt crisis, unemployment, natural disasters, you name it - impinge on us with particular severity and undiluted harshness. In addition, of course, there are problems peculiar to us because of our small size, our isolation, being land-locked or sea-locked, and so on. Time does not permit me to go on, but it is imperative that we find a place on the Assembly's agenda so that it may make a serious effort to understand and appreciate our concern, and that it respond to us as a not insignificant part of the community of nations. The time for studies and reports is past. Specific, concrete and affirmative action must now be taken by both the United Nations and its various agencies, for we too are part of inseparable, indivisible humanity, a part whose existence has been too long denied in these hallowed halls.

Having reached at 40 both its prime and the age of reason, may the future efforts of the United Nations reflect abundant energy and unceasing devotion to peace, progress and prosperity for all mankind.

Sir Kamisese Mara, Prime Minister and Minister for Civil Aviation of Fiji, was escorted from the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The next speaker is the Deputy Prime Minister and Special Envoy of the Government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, His Excellency Mr. G. M. V. van Aardenne.

Mr. van AARDENNE (Netherlands): On behalf of the Government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, I have the privilege of taking part in this celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. I consider this a privilege because I am representing here a nation that throughout those 40 years has been a consistent supporter of the United Nations. We most certainly consider the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations a joyous occasion, even as we share the concern expressed by the Secretary-General and others about the functioning of the Organization.

The Netherlands' support for the United Nations fits in with an age-old international orientation of the Dutch people. For centuries the Dutch have been an outward-looking nation. This is partly due to the situation of the Netherlands as a country located at the crossroads of different cultures, partly to our maritime and trading traditions.

We have always attached great importance to the promotion of an international order based on the rule of law rather than on the rule of force. The eminent Dutch jurist, Hugo Grotius, is sometimes called the father of international law. The city of The Hague was chosen as the venue of the great peace conferences of 1899 and 1907 and today it hosts the International Court of Justice. We have undertaken far-reaching commitments in acceptance of the jurisdiction of the Court and welcome all actions that may strengthen the authority of the Court, because we see this as the corner-stone of the new international system envisaged in the Charter. Similarly, we have consistently implemented the decisions and appeals of the Security Council even if these seemed to run counter to our national interest.

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(Mr. van Aardenne, Netherlands)

Why should Governments consent to having their national priorities overruled? Because mankind is clearly confronted increasingly with problems that cannot be solved on a nation-by-nation basis. The pollution of the environment is just one example. In many cases, solutions that seem rational from the viewpoint of national interest may ultimately add up to collective folly. Consequently, a steadily increasing number of global problems require world-wide co-operation in which national interests are reconciled with the legitimate concerns of the world as a whole. Such international co-operation needs a comprehensive framework or, as formulated in Article 1 of the Charter, "a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations", as an indispensable institution both for the world of today and, even more, for the world of the future.

(Mr. van Aardenne, Netherlands)

In three respects the United Nations has already surpassed its predecessor, the League of Nations: by its age, its membership, and its scope of activity. Indeed, that justifies warm and sincere congratulations, particularly to all those who, through their relentless efforts, have made the system work. Some of the old hands are still amongst us and serve as a source of inspiration to new generations of international civil servants; others have left this world, but their memory still inspires us.

A famous French saying is "Tout commence par la mystique et finit par la politique". As many speakers have already said, the United Nations was founded four decades ago at a time of high expectations. Looking at the world of today, we all realize that the Organization has met those expectations only to a limited extent. In particular, the United Nations has not been able so far to establish an international order based on the rule of law instead of on the rule of force. Yet, this should not be a reason for losing sight of that perspective. The United Nations remains the principal instrument for working towards that goal. All Member States share the responsibility for preserving and reinforcing this precious instrument and for not letting it falter and disintegrate. The United Nations can achieve no more than its Members allow it to achieve. In many instances the United Nations chain has proved to be as strong as its weakest link. Up to now its role is limited, because its Members have difficulty in striking a just balance between national priorities and those of the world community at large. All too often its effectiveness is hampered because national delegations seem to be addicted to riding political hobby-horses. This applies also to part of the work of the specialized agencies which may be harmed by unnecessary politicization.

(Mr. van Aardenne, Netherlands)

The instrument itself is a good one. Though formally speaking the United Nations is an Organization of States, its intrinsic purpose entails much more than looking after the interests of States. Significantly, the Charter opens with the words "We the peoples", not "We the Governments", for the ultimate purpose of the United Nations is the protection and advancement of the interests of the human being. Precisely from that viewpoint, the United Nations has already amply proved its capability for meaningful action. Whereas in the field of peace and security the United Nations has not been able to fulfil the expectations that were widely held at the time of its founding, in other fields it has achieved much more than was foreseen then. I mention in this context the creation of a comprehensive body of international norms and standards in a large number of fields, as well as the creation of various machinery to monitor compliance with those norms. I may mention the pioneering role of the United Nations in organizing international co-operation with regard to the population problem, protection of the environment, combating racism, and emancipation of women. One major problem that was not foreseen in 1945 is that of development, which has now evolved into one of the central concerns of the entire United Nations system. Through technical co-operation in the field, as well as through its conceptual role, the United Nations has contributed in a substantial way to the development process in many countries. Much remains to be done and improvements are needed, but the importance of those United Nations activities is uncontested.

If we compare the United Nations with its predecessor, the League of Nations, we may say that the innovative character of the new Organization is most strikingly illustrated by its dedication to the cause of human rights. The central issue is the duty of States to respect the fundamental right of the individual to freedom in

(Mr. van Aardenne, Netherlands)

all its aspects, including political and social. In the implementation of these freedoms much remains to be done, but there is real progress in the development of norms for which Governments are held accountable. Working for human rights does not mean only countering the arbitrary exercise of State power; it also means liberating the energy of human beings and opportunities for development of the individual. The concern of the United Nations with basic human dignity has also pervaded its efforts at abolishing the colonial system, combating racism and apartheid, relieving the plight of refugees, improving the status of women and the participation of young people in the development of society - a special focus in this year designated by the United Nations as International Youth Year. The wish to promote equal opportunities for both nations and individuals within nations inspires its efforts at coping with the problems of economic and social development. We may even say that, in the last analysis, the right to life underlies its efforts at preserving peace and security. All these efforts can be seen as steps in the direction of building a safer and more just international order, for the benefit of future generations.

Having said that, I should like to make some observations on the problems immediately at hand. My Government has supported the recommendations made by the Secretary-General in his report to the thirty-seventh session for better use of the instruments provided in the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security. We would have wished that the international community had seen fit to act upon those proposals. Once more, we welcome the suggestions made by the Secretary-General in his report to the present session. They strike us as pragmatic and extremely sensible. We, too, think that the Security Council should concentrate its attention on a limited number of urgent problems. We support the

(Mr. van Aardenne, Netherlands)

Secretary-General's plea for a greater degree of intergovernmental consultation within the General Assembly. We share his concern that, if improvements are not made in this respect, the political process in the General Assembly will deteriorate. And, finally, we fully support a more active role for the Secretary-General and a wider and earlier use of fact-finding and observation. Divisive rhetoric has shown itself to be counter-productive.

During the past 40 years the world has changed dramatically, and so has the United Nations. The Organization will have to continue to integrate new developments and new ideas and should not allow itself to get entangled in clichés and empty rhetoric. It is sometimes said that there are only two sorts of international organizations for most persons: those that make them yawn and those that put them straight to sleep. During the past few years the United Nations featured in neither category. On the contrary, on many occasions it has succeeded in raising the adrenaline factor of people who deal with it. Part of the irritation can be ascribed to legitimate differences of views among various groups of countries. There is no handy solution for those differences.

Other difficulties, however, can in principle be solved. We should, for instance, apply strict standards of quality control and make sure that the United Nations produces analyses and services that live up to the highest standards. In order to bring that about Member States will have to practise self-restraint. They should not burden the Secretariat with trivial assignments; they should allow the Secretary-General to staff the Secretariat with the best international civil servants, and they should allow the the freedom to fulfil the mandate with reasonable independence.

(Mr. van Aardonne, Netherlands)

The United Nations offers an indispensable forum for a world-wide exchange among nations about their interdependence and the interrelationships among various global problems, as well as about the crucial interaction between international and domestic policies. The Netherlands is eager to see the United Nations fulfil this important role during decades to come.

In his report to the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly, the Secretary-General proposed that the Governments of Member States should recommit themselves, consciously, to the Charter. On behalf of the Government and the people of the Netherlands, I wish to renew the following pledge made by the Netherlands Prime Minister De Jong on 20 October 1970, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations:

(Mr. van Aerdenne, Netherlands)

"My colleagues from ... the Netherlands Antilles and I solemnly rededicate ourselves to the Charter."

"We repeat our promise to contribute with all our energy to the establishment of peace and security."

"We accept the provisions of the Charter for the peaceful settlement of international conflicts."

"We promise to strive for the goal of general and complete disarmament."

"We accept the obligation of the Charter to work for the respect for and the strengthening of international law."

"We support the new development strategy."

...

"We shall live up to the objectives of the United Nations and we shall support every effort to make the United Nations a more effective instrument for peace, justice and progress."

"May God grant that our work will redound to the benefit of mankind."

(A/PV.1874, paras. 63-68, 70, 71)

MR. ANDREOTTI (Italy) (interpretation from French): This meeting is not only an occasion for celebration but, also an occasion for reflecting on and renewing our commitment to the values which unite us.

The year 1945 remains indelibly imprinted on the minds of peoples and individuals. At the time that the most tragic and devastating of global conflicts was ending and the dawn of a new hope was breaking over the world, the atomic era was beginning: an event whose immense significance it is difficult, from a distance of 40 years, to calculate exactly, but which nevertheless introduced into international life, besides fantastic possibilities for peaceful progress, disquieting shadows over the future of the Earth.

(Mr. Adreotti, Italy)

Against this background the United Nations was born. The idea of a universal organization to replace the League of Nations was conceived amid the ruins of war; it was therefore logical that its primary purpose should be to avoid a third and even more disastrous conflict by establishing a system of collective peace and security. These objectives are clearly stated in the preamble to the San Francisco Charter, which affirms the determination of the peoples of the United Nations "... to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war".

The founders of the United Nations, however, did not confine themselves to the enunciation of ideals and principles. They also laid down a practical and articulated system of norms of conduct, of means of promoting the search for peaceful solutions and of measures aimed at preventing conflicts and restoring peace. This system - it is well to recall - involves a commitment by all Members of the Organization, without distinction, to refrain from the threat or use of force in their international relations.

The San Francisco Charter also introduced - and this was an innovation of profound historical significance - the principles of equality and self-determination of peoples, respect for human rights, fundamental freedoms and international solidarity in economic, social, cultural and humanitarian development. This set of principles form a whole that cannot be divided arbitrarily or considered in a selective manner. These principles have been applied in practice by the United Nations and its specialized agencies which, in fact, cover every aspect of human activity that can be organized on the international level.

Forty years after the founding of the United Nations it is appropriate to ask ourselves whether and how the Organization has fulfilled the historic tasks assigned to it.

(Mr. Adreotti, Italy)

Today we hear from different quarters criticism - some of it harsh - of the United Nations system. In some cases we may feel a real sense of disillusionment about the machinery, the limitations and even the values of multilateralism.

In spite of all this, the United Nations has been a constant, irreplaceable meeting point, a highway along which we may direct our vast international energies towards peace, co-operation and progress.

Notwithstanding its undeniable shortcomings, the role of the United Nations in the defence of peace and security, in the preservation of areas of stability and in the search for negotiated solutions, has been of fundamental importance in the last 40 years. When the United Nations has failed in its mission, it has not been through lack of will, but rather because the action of its organs has been impeded by the clash of political views, because its recommendations have been disregarded, and because selfish interests have prevailed over the interests of peace, security and co-operation.

While it is proper to refer to these failures, it is also fair to admit that in many other cases, the organs of the United Nations have been able to make full use of the powers conferred upon them by the Charter and have shown themselves capable of effective and long-term action.

In this connection, we must recall, first, the peace-keeping operations, some of which are still going on and in which Italy is proud to have played an active role.

Secondly, the United Nations, we must also recall, has acted as host for or encouraged negotiations on the main controversies which beset mankind, negotiations which still represent the surest and most reliable reference point for the parties concerned.

(Mr. Adreotti, Italy)

Finally, we remember with admiration and respect the initiatives taken by the Secretaries-General from 1945 onwards as splendid examples of wisdom and dedication to peace.

Apart from these peace-keeping operations, the United Nations deserves our gratitude for the vast and important range of activities it has undertaken in favour of decolonization, economic, social and cultural progress, and human rights.

The historical process which has brought independence to so many peoples has found in the United Nations a political reference point that has proved quite irreplaceable. Within the United Nations the newly independent countries have encountered not only a forum for meetings and debates but the surest means of presenting their views to an international audience.

In this context, the results of the work of the United Nations and its specialized agencies have been and remain impressive. How can we forget the eradication of formerly invincible diseases, the improvement of child health, the assistance provided to some countries in connection with their drug-control efforts so as to induce farmers to grow substitute crops, the economic and social rehabilitation of depressed areas, the work done to combat the terrible scourges of drought and hunger in Africa and other regions of the globe, and the defence of human rights and freedoms that have been violated.

Just as impressive has been the work done in the field of legislation. This has resulted in a very important series of documents such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and then the Convention on Human Rights, the Convention on the Law of the Sea and the major agreements on the control and limitation of armaments, which have become part of our collective conscience and an essential component of our modern civilization.

(Mr. Adreotti, Italy)

Rather than ask ourselves what the United Nations has failed to do, we should ask ourselves today what the world would be like if the United Nations had never existed. We should do so, not in order to contemplate with sterile complacency the results achieved, nor in order to close our eyes to the defects and failures of the collective system, but rather to find the inspiration for a renewed commitment to the values which the United Nations embodies and defends.

The world has certainly become smaller and more dangerous, but also richer in possibilities.

In these 40 years there have occurred irreversible examples of freedom and of national and individual progress. And here also lies the merit of those who, in 1945, launched us on our great adventure. Their aim was certainly to prevent war, but also to open up before the world the hope of improving the human condition. In this new situation we are perceiving ever more clearly the interdependence which now binds, for better or worse, all the countries of the world, brought closer together by the possibility of instant communication, the unprecedented increase in human, cultural and commercial exchanges, and the global nature of world security.

The question of economic co-operation arises here as elsewhere in the world. We are all well aware of this. Many statements made before this Assembly during the present session have dealt with economic problems and with indebtedness.

The idea of the interdependence of actions taken in the economic field has also been put forward. It has had the advantage of posing the problem of well-being as a problem whose solution depends on international co-operation.

(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

Nowhere more than in the economic field must we be wary of misleading perspectives. The economic health of each presupposes above all that wealth is produced. In a world open to co-operation, this may be obtained in conformity with the principle of the optimum distribution of the factors of production. However costly they may be in political, economic and social terms, the processes of positive and negative adjustments must go forward.

It is here, it seems to me, that interdependence lies. The political action of Governments, that of the international financial institutions and the banking system must be consistent with this objective. We look to international trade as a vehicle of well-being. No one can think, without deceiving themselves, that they can shift their difficulties on to others. The path of protectionism is the easiest, but it is also the path of nationalism which is first economic, and then political.

No State, however great, can escape this requirement. No one, however rich, can act alone on the world stage.

Ours is an imperfect community, like all communities made by men, not always capable of banishing egoism and violence from their own hearts. In its organized form, which finds in the United Nations its universal expression, our community has been endowed with a wealth of idealism. People with different backgrounds, different histories, different political, cultural and religious formations, are called upon to get to know each other and to debate in this great arena common principles and common rules of conduct.

Our Organization can be improved in ways suggested by experience. We perceive that the real problem is one of political will.

The maintenance of peace can be pursued by applying faithfully the principles which are ours, by using our machinery. The powers which the Charter confers on the organs of the United Nations - and I have in mind in particular the Security

(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

Council and the Secretary-General - are extensive. Effective action by the Security Council is essential.

The General Assembly which, according to the Charter, is a truly sovereign organ, bearing within itself the potentialities derived from its being an equal and democratic forum, must direct its debates and its resolutions towards more precise and more productive objectives.

If everyone displays this necessary political will and with the appropriate procedural amendments now under study, it will certainly be possible to make of this Organization the highest and most significant point of international co-operation.

Italy firmly believes in multilateral co-operation and its own conduct is strictly inspired by this belief.

Since its foundation, the Italian Republic, born of resistance to domination and tyranny, has endorsed even in its Constitution the great ideals which inspire the San Francisco Charter. Today, Italy is an open, democratic country, advancing progressively and strongly inspired by the ideals of international solidarity. In Italy, human rights and basic freedoms play a fundamental role both in respect of our own citizens and of people of any other nationality. In our relations with our neighbours, we have strictly followed the path of peaceful negotiations, obtaining results of which we are proud and which constitute a positive contribution to the maintenance of conditions of peace and stability. We have based our action in the world context on our ideals of solidarity and international co-operation.

Based on the same principles is our participation in the Atlantic Alliance, an example of that association for regional security which is fully recognized in the Charter, and our wholehearted participation in the European Community is also derived from those principles - a strong Community composed of countries which have

(Mr. Andreotti, Italy)

rediscovered their identity and their history, overcoming old rivalries and profiting from their common heritage; an open Community which does not retreat into itself but which strives, through the development of its relations with third countries, to strengthen conditions for generalized well-being and world peace.

Our Organization today must face terrible and sometimes agonizing challenges. I am thinking of the struggle against terrorism, which must be conducted with determination; I am thinking of the struggle against the scourge of drugs, which threatens our younger generations and which cannot be relaxed; I am thinking, finally, of the struggle against hunger which must be won, if we wish to eliminate forever the main causes of the uncertainty and insecurity threatening our prospects for the future.

I should like to conclude by quoting the words spoken in 1945, in the first Parliamentary Assembly of the reborn Italian democracy, by Alcide De Gasperi. Commenting on the moral testament of President Roosevelt, he said:

"Italy recognizes that a just and fruitful peace can be founded only on the principles and purposes for the achievement of which the United Nations has fought war; and, in particular, on respect for international law, on faith in the dignity, worth and rights of the human person and on the assurance that all nations enjoy the essential human freedoms: freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want - which generates a healthy and peaceful life for the inhabitants of every country in every part of the world - and freedom from the fear of any act of aggression by any country against any other: the four freedoms!

"This is not a vision of a distant Utopia. Let us work to ensure that nobody can doubt it."

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The next speaker is the Minister for External Relations and Co-operation, and Special Envoy of the President of the Republic of Burundi, His Excellency Mr. Laurent Nzeyimana.

Mr. NZEYIMANA (Burundi) (interpretation from French): Exactly one month ago, on 23 September, I had the privilege of developing from this rostrum on behalf of the Government of Burundi the viewpoint of my country on the main questions which this session and the international community are facing.

It is a very great honour for me to be able today to communicate to this Assembly the message which His Excellency the President of the Republic of Burundi wished to address to the United Nations on the occasion of its fortieth anniversary.

In doing this, President Bagaza wished solemnly to express on behalf of the Government and the people of Burundi their deep appreciation of the role and of the action of the United Nations, with its incomplete and imperfect results, to be sure, but also results which were on the whole positive. He also wished to express the hope that the peoples and nations of the world, especially the people of Burundi, continue to place in the United Nations. Finally, he wished to renew Burundi's active support for this universal institution. Succinctly put, it is a message of esteem, of hope and of commitment. Here then is his message:

"Forty years ago mankind, morally and materially bruised by two widespread wars within the space of 20 years, found itself in disarray, and many peoples completely dispossessed and deprived. The inter-war period itself had been characterized by a period of serious crisis and economic instability.

"Learning a lesson from these disasters and from the long history of the world, consisting of centuries of war, of poverty and of hindrances to liberty, the eminent leaders of that time were inspired to pin henceforth the

(Mr. Nzeyimana, Burundi)

hope of peoples on solidarity and co-operation of all countries and of all nations and on the defence of peace and the search for happiness for all.

Thus the United Nations was founded to be a catalyst for these ideals.*

* Mr. Moseley (Barbados), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Nzeyimana, Burundi)

"Since that time profound upheavals have changed the face of the world: scientific, technical and economic progress has considerably improved the well-being of many countries of the world; many nations freed from colonial dependence have made their voices heard on the international scene; the conquest of outer space is no longer a dream.

"Nevertheless, this world, which has been able to accomplish enormous progress in all those areas, is still characterized by striking contrasts. In spite of the mechanisms and legal instruments available for the peaceful settlement of conflicts, many regions of the world are still disturbed by tension and war. In spite of the universally recognized principles of the right to self-determination of peoples and the equality of man, nations are still subject to foreign domination and racial discrimination. At a time when States are interdependent and must co-operate with one another, it is inadmissible for millions of human beings still to be sacrificed to strategic and economic interests endlessly. For that reason we welcome the courageous decision of those nations and financial groups that have just firmly ended their collaboration with the inhuman apartheid régime. In the same way, the history of man, rich in lessons, will one day teach Israel that force has never governed the principles of morality and international law.

"Today, the immense majority of peoples still suffer cruelly from poverty, ignorance and disease, although the natural resources, technological capacity and financial resources of the earth are considerable. A handful of countries experience over-production and over-consumption of various products, while very many others live in the most complete deprivation, the victims of inequality of trade.

(Mr. Nzeyimana, Burundi)

"Finally, man's aspirations to peace and collective security are still seriously compromised by an alarming competition in weapons, which absorbs immense resources, to the detriment of the true well-being of mankind.

"Thus the threats are serious, but the aspirations are great and the needs are urgent. No country, no matter how big or powerful, is capable of dealing alone with these internal or general challenges. Only through the concerted efforts, solidarity and interdependence of all nations can this be done, in the interest of all. The United Nations, its various specialized agencies and other forums of international co-operation provide an ideal, indispensable framework.

"The people and Government of Burundi, on whose behalf I am addressing this message to the Assembly, are more than ever committed to those ideals.

"In the name of this faith in the interdependent destiny of mankind, I again pay homage to the great family of the United Nations and the eminent personages who have the ennobling task of guiding it and to this Assembly as our Organization celebrates 40 years of existence."

The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the Minister for Education and Special Envoy of the President of the Yemen Arab Republic, His Excellency Mr. Hussein Abdullah Al-Aamri.

Mr. AL-AAMRI (Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): At the outset I wish to convey to the Assembly the good wishes of Colonel Ali Abdullah Salah, President of the Yemen Arab Republic, Commander General of the Armed Forces and Secretary General of the People's Congress. He has conferred on me the honour of allowing me to represent him on this historic occasion, and I shall now read out his message to the Assembly, as follows:

(Mr. Al-Aamri, Yemen)

"The Charter of the United Nations, which was drawn up 40 years ago to lay the basis for peace and to bring peace between peoples, disseminate freedom and reaffirm the need to preserve international peace and security, was indeed the embodiment of the aspirations and hopes of all the peoples of the world after the suffering and the scourges of two world wars in the brief space of two decades. We all know what scourges those wars were and we all know about the tragedies that befell mankind; we are all aware of their unprecedentedly devastating effects, unequalled in the history of mankind.

"The aspirations and hopes of the peoples were clearly evidenced in their determination to make the outbreak of another war impossible. Those aspirations are enshrined in the inspiring words that head the preamble to the Charter - 'we the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war'. In addition to those stirring words, the purposes and principles of the Charter were formulated to govern relations between peoples and countries in such a way as to promote understanding and co-operation, without inequity of any kind. The Charter reaffirms full equality regarding the rights and duties of States and the need for a climate of freedom, in which international peace and security would prevail in the interest of all peoples. It calls upon all States to live in peace and to unite their efforts to bring about international peace and security. It commits all Members of the United Nations to take into account all the principles enshrined in the Charter, such as those of equality, the right of peoples to self-determination, the non-use of force, the peaceful settlement of international disputes and non-intervention in the internal affairs of others.

(Mr. Al-Aasri, Yemen)

"The creation of the United Nations reflected the feelings of the peoples of the world and their understanding of the importance of peaceful coexistence on the basis of strict adherence to principles which would be enshrined in the Charter and to the resolutions subsequently adopted by the Organization, thus guaranteeing mankind's continued existence, prosperity and progress.

"The peoples today, as they did 40 years ago, look to the United Nations with great hope and with faith that it will achieve its lofty objectives, but they realize that States, individually and collectively, must persist in their relentless struggle for the achievement of peace, because today there is no other choice.

"Looking at the international arena with its various problems and crises, we can feel reassured by the achievements of the United Nations in the political, economic and social fields. It has helped give many developing countries increased confidence in the Organization and its historic goal. The United Nations has always been a forum for and a supporter of the persecuted and the colonized peoples and countries. It has always defended their right to freedom, independence and progress. The creation of the United Nations made possible the decolonization of many parts of the world, and many peoples of the world have regained their independence and their national sovereignty in their own territories, especially since the adoption by the General Assembly 25 years ago of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

(Mr. Al-Asmri, Yemen)

"Furthermore, we are all aware of the very important role played by the United Nations in assisting the developing countries to establish and implement programmes of economic and social development, to which it has contributed technical and other expertise.

(Mr. Al-Ramri, Yemen)

When the international economy required an open and free dialogue between developed and developing countries, the United Nations took the initiative and fostered and promoted this dialogue. Thus it has continued its role as an arena for calm dialogue between different doctrines, contrasting interests and conflicting ambitions. In this respect we hope that this dialogue between the North and the South will lead in the end to the foundation of a new international economic order based on justice, equality and mutual benefit, without injustice or inequity.

The preservation of peace and security in all parts of the world, and the protection of peace and security in the face of all the threats that beset them, calls upon us all to draw inspiration from the spirit of the United Nations and to adhere to the principles and purposes of its Charter, which represents a prominent and shining landmark in the history of mankind. This requires some States to give up their aggressive policies and practices. They should renounce those positions that contravene the will of the international community and defy the Charter and resolutions of this Organization.

In the Middle East region, which is a vital area, Israel is pursuing an arrogant racist policy. It is expelling the original inhabitants of the area from their land and it rejects the right of the Palestinian people to regain its land and to establish its independent State on its national soil, not to mention the methods it adopts in the achievement of its wanton scheme. We cite such measures as the brutal means it uses for torture of various kinds, and acts of aggression against the sacred religious places.

The matter does not stop there; in fact, it extends to affect other States in the Arab region, some near and others at a distance. After Israel perpetrated its act of aggression against Lebanon in June 1982, and after all the butchery and carnage it perpetrated there, it continues to occupy some of the land of this

(Mr. Al-Aamri, Yemen)

fraternal country under totally unconvincing pretexts. From time to time it carries out acts of aggression against other Arab States. Recently - at the beginning of this month in which the United Nations celebrates its fortieth anniversary - in an attempt to flex its muscles, we have seen the Israeli aircraft bombing the sister State of Tunisia, as if Israel wanted to prove to the world at large that it was capable of reaching any land, no matter how far.

In all its criminal practices and its flagrant violations, Israel does not pay the least respect to the United Nations and does not heed any resolution the United Nations adopts, since it is confident that our Organization is incapable of imposing sanctions on it or of putting an end to its practices, given that someone is keen on defending Israel and on justifying all its acts of aggression. It is no secret that the United States is playing a very important role in protecting Israel inside this Organization. In addition, it assists and supports Israel to make it a strong and superior Power.

We in the Yemen Arab Republic take this opportunity to renew once again our appeal today to the United States of America to review its totally biased policy in favour of Israel. We call upon it to renounce those unjust positions in the interest of peace in the region and the world at large. We call upon it to side with justice and truth on the basis of its responsibilities as a super-Power.

The Yemen Arab Republic wishes to express its appreciation to those States that side with Arab rights and support the right of the Palestinian people in its struggle, exerting efforts for the achievement of a just and comprehensive solution to this problem - which we have not yet solved because of Israeli intransigence.

With regard to the question of Afghanistan, this continuing problem without a solution is a source of instability in the region and hence a threat to peace and security. Therefore, our Organization has to intensify and redouble its efforts to find a speedy solution to this problem. The Yemen Arab Republic calls upon all

(Mr. Al-Aamri, Yemen)

segments of the Afghan people to have recourse to negotiation to achieve a formula ensuring a solution to their problem peacefully and without armed conflicts. This would make it clear to all parties that they should not interfere in the affairs of the Afghan people.

The United Nations has always supported putting an end to the arms race and to the production and proliferation of nuclear weapons. It is called upon once again to reaffirm the need to exclude outer space from the feverish nuclear race. It should call for the freezing and reduction of nuclear arsenals, the prohibition of all nuclear tests in all environments, as a prelude to the liquidation of all kinds of weapons of mass destruction.

Other dangerous weapons, in addition to those I have just cited, are chemical weapons, which have been used recently. United Nations resolutions on the prohibition of the use of chemical weapons are very clear and need no reaffirmation. Since the Yemen Arab Republic is a neutral and peace-loving country, it is only natural that it should support all the resolutions of the United Nations in this direction.

We also share the international community's concern and fear at the possibility of the outbreak of a third world war in which those frightful devastating weapons could be used. The future of mankind and life on Earth are threatened with annihilation unless efforts are joined and goodwill and good faith forthcoming to protect mankind from the threats facing it as a result of the arms race and of current trends towards the production of more weapons.

If this joint objective is achieved by the States and the peoples of the world, it will be possible to devote the human and material resources that are now squandered on the production of weapon to freeing the peoples of the world from famine and disease and from the serious lack of capabilities to confront the

(Mr. Al-Aswari, Yemen)

problems facing humanity. All of mankind will then be in a position to develop its communities and to flourish economically and socially.

Despite the historical achievements of the United Nations, there remains the question of the Palestinian and the Namibian peoples and the continued authority of the white minority in South Africa - these are all matters that offend our consciences. They contravene the basic aspects of freedom and rights on which the Charter rests. Therefore, it is incumbent upon the international community to co-operate with the Organization to counter those colonial and Zionist entities and achieve a better world.

In conclusion, the Yemen Arab Republic takes this opportunity to reaffirm the need for reconsidering international relations so that the concepts of mutual respect and equity will prevail in relations among States and countries. This is a requirement of international law and the principles of the Charter.

I should like to express our thanks and appreciation to the Secretary-General for his valuable efforts in the achievement of the purposes and principles of our Organization and its Charter.

The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Special Envoy of the President of the Republic of the Ivory Coast, His Excellency Mr. Simeon Ake.

Mr. AKE (Ivory Coast) (interpretation from French): Professional and personal bonds allow me to affirm without hesitation that the General Assembly could not find a better qualified President than you, Sir, with such a wealth of experience and comprehensive knowledge of the United Nations, to conduct the work of its fortieth session. Your diplomatic career has gone hand in hand with the life of the United Nations. I address to you my cordial congratulations. I am sure that under your presidency decisions will emerge that are commensurate with the great hopes the international community places in this session.

My congratulations also go to your predecessor, Mr. Lusaka of Zambia, whose great qualities, with which we are familiar, allowed him to preside with competence and dignity over the thirty-ninth session.

Finally, I cannot forget the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, whose devotion to the cause of the United Nations and its noble ideals cannot be praised too highly. I should like to assure him of my Government's full readiness to assist him in carrying out successfully the lofty task that has been entrusted to him. We renew our full confidence that he will be successful in his mission.

Now I have the signal honour and great privilege of delivering to this Assembly the message addressed to it by His Excellency Mr. Felix Houphouet-Boigny, President of the Republic of the Ivory Coast, on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations:

"On 24 October 1945 the United Nations was born when on that date the Charter of our Organization, signed on 26 June of that year at the close of the San Francisco Conference, came into force. Its founders aimed at making

(Mr. Ake, Ivory Coast)

it an instrument to limit the unbridled power which States had had before then, the abuse of which had inevitably led to the First and Second World Wars. As one of them said, it was created:

'to put an end to the system founded on unilateral actions, on exclusive alliances, on spheres of influence and on the balance of power, as well as all the other expedients that had been resorted to for centuries and had always failed'.

"The Charter entrusted to it the mission of maintaining international peace and security so as to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, to work for justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law, to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom and to encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. To achieve these aims, it is incumbent upon it to develop friendly relations among nations, to achieve international co-operation by resort to international institutions to resolve international problems of an economic, social, intellectual or humanitarian nature and to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations.

"On 24 October 1985, how can one not reflect on the road travelled by the United Nations in the achievement of those objectives over 40 years of existence?

"Since its inception the United Nations, an international organization with a universal mission, which today has as Members almost all the States of the international community, has successfully carried out several peace-keeping operations. It has greatly contributed to the establishment of a climate of confidence in the world, and as a result it has reduced

(Mr. Ake, Ivory Coast)

international tensions and saved mankind from a third world war, despite the many conflicts in which blood has been shed around our world. It has played a not inconsiderable part in the spectacular economic and social progress and development of science and technology since the Second World War. It can pride itself on having furthered the codification of international law, of having created awareness of the important problem of the protection of human rights, and on having, by its adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Covenants and Conventions adopted thereafter, given the world a true international human-rights code and played a crucial role in the area of decolonization. It has assisted in developing among peoples the belief that catastrophes and natural disasters that afflict any one of them should not leave others indifferent.

"But economic growth has not been equitably distributed throughout the different regions of the world. They have not all profited to the same degree from social progress. They have not all witnessed the same development of science and technology, and as a result they do not enjoy equal mastery of the means of production. A considerable portion of mankind struggles desperately against poverty, malnutrition and famine, and for those people the hopes aroused by scientific and technological progress go hand in hand with uncertainties and disquiet, the result of an economic crisis that may jeopardize their development and is marked by external debt the burden of which is made heavier by rising interest rates, monetary instability, anachronistic protectionism and a kind of shortsighted economic nationalism, as well as by violent fluctuations, generally downwards, in the price of commodities and, as a result, in export revenues.

(Mr. Ake, Ivory Coast)

"The progress made by the United Nations in the protection of human rights should not lead us to forget that racial discrimination is rife in many parts of the world, more particularly in South Africa in the form of the hateful system of apartheid, which has been enshrined in its Constitution. This unpunished violation of human rights is accompanied by the violation of the right of peoples to self-determination and by the scarcely disguised refusal of the South African Government to co-operate in the implementation of the United Nations plan for the accession of Namibia to independence. That led to acts of violence followed by bloody repression, a threat to international peace and security.

"Nor has the United Nations been able to prevent or put an end to certain conflicts and situations resulting from violations of the principles of the Charter such as the peaceful settlement of international disputes, the non-use of force or the threat of force, either against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State or in any other way incompatible with the purposes of the United Nations. This can be seen in the Middle East, Western Sahara, Chad, Afghanistan and Kampuchea. It can also be seen in the war that pits Iran and Iraq against each other and in certain situations prevailing in Latin America.

"A far greater concern seems to be the impotence of the United Nations in preventing the danger posed to the world by nuclear weapons and the unbridled arms race. With the invention of those weapons towards the end of the Second World War, mankind, which earlier had not had, as has been written, 'the power to reject its own suicide because it did not have the means to allow it to commit suicide', is now 'in possession of the means of its own death'. In addition to the threat of a nuclear apocalypse, the arms race increases

(Mr. Ake, Ivory Coast)

general insecurity and weakens the United Nations' ability to ensure the maintenance of international peace and security.

"The maintenance of international security is a fundamental demand of human reason, and in the minds of the authors of the Charter constitute the essential objective of the Organization. The Charter's aim is to substitute for the illusory security of the arms race a collective system of international peace and security, conferring particular responsibility on the great powers and a preponderant role on the United Nations Security Council.

(Mr. Ake, Ivory Coast)

That system should inevitably lead to the limitation of armaments and to disarmament. But it is predicated upon that the permanent members of the Security Council acting in a concerted and unanimous manner in any action they decide upon and undertake in the case of a threat against the peace, a breach of the peace or an act of aggression. But instead of this, they more often present the distressing spectacle of a clash between conflicting political ideologies. They show no real desire to seek and to find the real substance of peace. They fight through others. Today we are seeing a latent, persistent, depressing conflict between a world that wishes to remain as it is - that is, a liberal world - and another world, which is trying to establish itself on the ruins of the former. There is a danger here as serious as the danger of Nazism. It is most important to seek to eliminate this - not by force, as was done in the case of Nazism, but by a real desire to sit down without any reservations at a negotiating table in order unequivocally to design and flesh out a state of peace conducive to the well-being of mankind, each party being free to retain the ideology that suits its own philosophy of life.

"But if it is necessary to meet in Geneva, in Vienna, in Stockholm or elsewhere to speak of disarmament, we must also first destroy the bastion of mistrust and fear that has grown out of the arms race, which still exists between the two blocs that seek to divide up the world. The leaders of those two blocs can only achieve that goal if they impose upon themselves the duty that mankind expects them to carry out - that of engaging in a true, honest and trusting dialogue which would reassure all parties and would aim at a modus vivendi whose common objective is the happiness of the human race. However utopian this may seem at first glance, that dialogue is nonetheless

(Mr. Ake, Ivory Coast)

essential and urgent if hopes are to be fulfilled and there is to be any certainty for the survival of mankind, for fraternal coexistence, for union in diversity and for peaceful coexistence among States.

"There can be no real progress on the difficult process of disarmament so long as there is no common political will to achieve it, the result of a clear awareness of the imperious duty to guarantee the survival of the human race. This should not remain at the stage of statements that have no sequel, as has been the case to date, but should be expressed in practice. Such a determination will assuredly be of benefit to all of mankind and not to one bloc over any other, for there is no limit to the field of action of the human intelligence in the service of the happiness of mankind, the genuine happiness of mankind. The enormous resources at present absorbed by armaments could thus place the achievements of science and technology at the service of works of life and no longer for the harmful achievement of works of death.

"The primacy of life over other human values would be recognized and, with that, the primacy of the right to life over other human rights - the right to life, the religious respect of which would allow us to hope for a world without war, without violence and without terrorism, a world of real peace and real solidarity.

"Action by the United Nations and by agencies in the United Nations system towards a better understanding and greater awareness and knowledge of world problems in the economic and social sphere and full recognition of interdependence with a view to the development of international co-operation in solidarity, equality and universality, conceived as a genuine give and take, would meet with a favourable response. Conditions could then be assembled for carrying out in harmony and concord the structural changes necessary to the implementation of the new international economic order so

(Mr. Ake, Ivory Coast)

dear to all, which is a prerequisite to an equitable distribution of economic growth in the various regions of the world.

"It is thus important on this fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations that Member States consider without complaisance the activities and experiences of the Organization and the difficulties it has encountered, and seek ways and means that would make it possible to enhance its effectiveness and to make of it a system which in future could genuinely preserve peace and contribute more than in the past to the improvement of the human condition, an ideal framework for dialogue where efforts of Members in favour of international peace and security and economic and social progress for nations could truly be harmonized. With this end in view, we make an urgent appeal to the great Powers to display a genuine desire for peace and not to entertain any idea of resorting to highly sophisticated weapons - weapons of mass destruction - for no one would be spared if by ill fortune a disaster were to be triggered. We call on them to sacrifice everything to peace while there is still time and to take inspiration from creative love rather than from destructive pride and hatred.

"The Ivory Coast for its part on this fortieth anniversary wishes solemnly to reaffirm its deep devotion to the principles and purposes of the United Nations and to renew its firm commitment to promoting its noble ideals of peace and freedom, of justice and progress.

"Long live the United Nations. Long live peace, friendship and co-operation among peoples."

The meeting rose at 6.40 p.m.