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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SIXTY-NINTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Friday, 8 November 1985, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. DE PINIÉS (Spain)  
later: Mr. HEPBURN (Vice-President) (Bahamas)

- Report of the International Atomic Energy Agency: [14] (continued)
  - (a) Note by the Secretary-General transmitting the report of the Agency
  - (b) Draft resolution
- Solemn appeal to States in conflict to cease armed action forthwith and to settle disputes between them through negotiations, and to States Members of the United Nations to undertake to solve situations of tension and conflict and existing disputes by political means and to refrain from the threat or use of force and from any intervention in the internal affairs of other States [146]

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The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 14 (continued)

REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY

- (a) NOTE BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TRANSMITTING THE REPORT OF THE AGENCY (A/40/576 and Corr.1)
- (b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/40/L.8)

Mr. PHILIPPE (Luxembourg) (interpretation from French): On behalf of the European Community, its member States, Spain and Portugal, I wish to express our thanks to the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) for the interesting report he has submitted on the Agency's work in 1984.

We have always supported and continue to support the objectives set for the IAEA, namely, the development of the contribution of atomic energy to peace, health and prosperity throughout the world and the prevention of nuclear proliferation. These objectives are important and we are especially satisfied at the extent to which the IAEA has succeeded in achieving them. Indeed, the IAEA can be considered a good model of fruitful international co-operation within the framework of the United Nations system.

(Mr. Philippe, Luxembourg)

The annual report for 1984 points to a substantial new growth in installed nuclear capacity throughout the world. In 1984, 13 per cent of total electric power production came from nuclear energy. That pace of growth cannot be maintained in future years, but even so the share of nuclear energy in a diversified range of power sources will remain substantial. The IAEA must promote fresh growth in the role played by nuclear energy if the nuclear option proves to be the best choice. We have noted with interest the progress made to date in the study of small and medium-sized reactors. Small reactors could prove to have considerable advantages for many countries.

The IAEA must also help create conditions for the safest possible use of nuclear energy. We appreciate and support the activities of the Agency in the field of nuclear safety. The safety of all nuclear facilities is of great importance, among other things for the future of nuclear energy. The annual report indicates that an important part of the Agency's activities - namely the nuclear safety standards programme - is expected to be completed in 1985. We took part in the preparation of that programme and support its implementation.

The report also mentions certain specific new initiatives, including the creation of an advisory group on international nuclear safety. Although the responsibility for regulating nuclear safety still falls to each member State concerned, it is useful to bring together experts in this field. It is certainly worth while to urge all operators and builders of nuclear facilities to consider carefully all aspects of technical safety.

Among the promotional activities of the IAEA, the technical assistance programme is of great importance.

The European Community is among the principal contributors to the technical assistance activities of the Agency, both through our contributions to the regular budget and through our voluntary contributions to the technical assistance and

(Mr. Philippe, Luxembourg)

co-operation funds and additional donations. In spite of the difficulties that this can cause some of us, at the last General Conference we joined in the consensus in favour of a substantial new increase in the indicative planning figures for the technical assistance and co-operation funds for the years 1987-89. That increase will take us well beyond the target of \$US 40 million for those funds. If to that sum are added the other financial resources and contributions in kind available to the IAEA for its technical assistance activities, it is clear that the Agency is fulfilling its function as an essential international instrument in regard to peaceful nuclear co-operation.

The application of nuclear techniques to agriculture and medicine is of special importance to many developing countries. Along with the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) the IAEA has been developing a broad range of projects of direct interest to the developing countries and also to those countries for which nuclear electricity is still a far distant goal.

With regard to nuclear physics, special mention should be made of the International Centre for Theoretical Physics at Trieste, and with regard to marine research of the International Marine Radioactivity Laboratory in Monaco.

We reaffirm our support for the IAEA safeguards system. The safeguards system is an essential element of the non-proliferation policy and at the same time a good example of measures that can contribute to establishing international trust and an agreed verification programme.

We note that at the end of 1984 98 per cent of the nuclear facilities known by the Agency to exist in non-nuclear-weapon States were subject to IAEA safeguards. Additional progress could be made and we should like to reaffirm our fullest possible support for the principle of the acceptance by all member States of IAEA safeguards in connection with all their peaceful nuclear activities. In this connection we take note of the progress made in recent months with the beginning of

(Mr. Philippe, Luxembourg)

IAEA inspections in some nuclear facilities of the Soviet Union and the announcement by China that the Government of that country is prepared to embark upon negotiations on subjecting several of its civilian nuclear facilities to IAEA safeguards.

We have noted with satisfaction that the Agency considered it reasonable to conclude that in 1984 also all the nuclear materials under its safeguards system continued to be used for peaceful nuclear activities. It is essential to international nuclear co-operation that States can be confident that nuclear exports are being used exclusively for peaceful purposes. In this connection, it is highly desirable not only that States accept the application of IAEA safeguards throughout their territory but also that there be no doubt as to the technical validity of the safeguards measures. The secretariat of the IAEA deserves our full support in efforts to improve the present system. This could mean the introduction of more effective techniques or modification of safeguards strategies and concepts. One possibility would be to give effect to the provision of the Statute of the Agency concerning the establishment of an international storage system for plutonium. We noted that the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which took place last month in Geneva, recommended that the IAEA establish an effective international system for plutonium storage, approved at the international level, in conformity with article XII (A) 5 of its Statute.

We warmly welcome the progress achieved by the Committee on Assurances of Supply. It has reached a decisive stage in its attempts to formulate a set of principles in the area of international peaceful nuclear co-operation. International nuclear exchanges and co-operation can prosper only if the parties concerned can reach agreement on assurances of non-proliferation and security of supplies. We hope that the Committee on Assurances of Supply will succeed in

(Mr. Philippe, Luxembourg)

finding solutions to the remaining problems and we shall collaborate in those efforts in conformity with our nuclear policy and our policy of non-proliferation.

The sixth session of the Preparatory Committee of the United Nations Conference for the Promotion of Co-operation in the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy has just been held in Vienna.

(Mr. Philippe, Luxembourg)

The subjects treated at this Conference are, of course, of importance for the work of the Agency. We believe that the work concerning the peaceful uses of nuclear energy should be directed at strengthening IAEA objectives and bringing about progress in the implementation of its Statute.

The Third Review Conference on the Non-Proliferation Treaty ended about a month ago with the adoption of a substantive Final Document. The result of that Conference provided a clear indication of the support given by a growing number of States parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty to the objective of non-proliferation set forth therein. It also indicated that there exists a real political will in the international community to achieve the aim of non-proliferation. This is important for the IAEA.

The course of the debate at the 29th General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency and the decisions taken on several delicate issues demonstrated the wisdom of the majority of States members and their will to maintain the effective instrument of peaceful nuclear co-operation that that Agency represents. For their part, the European Community, its member States and Spain and Portugal certainly wish to continue their close co-operation with the Agency in the field of safeguards and in its other activities.

Finally, I wish to congratulate the Director General, Mr. Blix, on having been appointed for a second term. The member States of the European Community, Spain and Portugal were happy to support the renewal of his appointment.

Mr. SWELL (India): We are happy to have before us the annual report for 1984 of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and to note that during the year under review 34 nuclear-power plants, with a total capacity of 31.8 GW electricity, increasing the world's installed capacity to 220 GW electricity, were commissioned. This is testimony to the increasing acceptance of nuclear power as the cheapest and safest source of energy. The Director General of the Agency,

(Mr. Swell, India)

Mr. Hans Blix, can legitimately claim credit for this acceptance and I congratulate him in absentia on his unanimous reappointment as Director General. We have no doubt that in the next four years he will put more purpose and energy into the work of the Agency and for our part we shall give him all the co-operation necessary.

Having said that, I would however also voice my disappointment. Almost all these new nuclear plants have been set up in industrialized States. The report itself says,

"Outside the industrialized States no new nuclear plant was connected to the grid; construction work started on only one new plant. Financing difficulties remained the major problem for the further expansion of nuclear power in such countries." (GC(XXIX) 748, para. 8)

As I said earlier, it has now been almost universally accepted that nuclear power is cheapest and safest, and its practical application in various fields - such as agriculture, medicine and food preservation - is immense. It is the power of the future. Industrialized countries have realized this. France, Belgium and Japan, for example, hope that by 1990 70 per cent, 40 per cent and 20 per cent respectively, of their electric power requirements will be generated by their nuclear-power plants. But it is the developing countries that most need nuclear-power plants to cope with their energy requirements and other problems, and the Agency should find ways and means of playing a more effective role in this respect. Financial difficulties should not be allowed to prove insurmountable and all efforts should be made to overcome them.

I am happy to say that in the matter of developing nuclear-power energy my country has made steady and significant progress. It has, for example, a programme to produce 10,000 MW of electricity by the end of the century from its nuclear-power plants. Two new reactors of 235 MW each have gone critical and the availability factor of some of our nuclear stations built earlier has appreciably



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improved. Our 40 MW research reactor, CIRUS, has been in operation trouble-free for the last 25 years and has been used for research and isotope production for application in medicine, agriculture and industry. But as this reactor has a finite life a new 100 MW research reactor, DHRUVA, was constructed at the same site and went into operation on 8 August 1985. DHRUVA was entirely designed and erected by our own engineers with Indian components.

The second of our two new nuclear-power reactors at Kalpakkam, in one of our States in the south, went critical on 12 August 1985 and, with a capacity of 235 MW electricity, it demonstrated that we have mastered the necessary technique. Construction of four more power stations is at present under way and sites and approvals for four more such standardized power reactors have been announced during the year.

(Mr. Swell, India)

Our scientists have also taken up the planning and designing of larger, pressurized heavy-water reactors with 500-megawatt electricity (MWe) capacity. Designs are complete, and sources for the equipment have been identified within the country. Thus, while going ahead with our programme of constructing 235-MWe reactors, we hope that with the pressurized heavy-water reactors with greater capacity we can achieve our target of 10,000-MWe capacity by the turn of the century. Our present fuel-cycle strategy is three phased, starting with the use of natural uranium in pressurized heavy-water reactors, followed by plutonium-fuelled fast-breeder reactors and eventually proceeding to the utilization of the thorium-uranium 233 cycle. Our country has an abundant supply of thorium.

We have long recognized the practical application of nuclear energy. We are using isotopes for irradiation in medicine, industry and agriculture. The application of isotopes is also to be extended to the treatment of sewage, and approval by our Government is expected for the preserving of certain foodstuffs by irradiation. Facilities have also been made available to some of our universities, which have been provided with a 120 million electron-volt alpha-particle variable energy cyclotron, built indigenously, for the study of basic nuclear physics and chemistry. The cyclotron is being used for the production of some short-lived isotopes for diagnosis and treatment. A new centre, the Centre for Advanced Technology, has been set up in central India at Indore, and it is expected to be operational by the end of the year for pursuing research on laser and high-energy accelerators.

While we are doing all this within our country, we are also aware of the benefits of the Regional Co-operative Agreement for Research, Development and Training Related to Nuclear Science and Technology (RCA), which is one of the planks of the Agency. The RCA programme began in the fields of using isotopes in

(Mr. Swell, India)

agriculture and medicine, but, in our assessment, its greatest importance in the future will lie in co-operation among neighbouring countries in the generation of nuclear power. Regional co-operation can also help in training human resources, and we would like to urge the Agency to give gainful employment to the trained manpower which is now available in third world countries rather than draw its personnel from a few donor countries. Another aspect of regional co-operation should be mutual trade in nuclear power between neighbouring countries in the third world on the lines along which neighbouring European countries are at present buying and selling excess electrical power to one another.

We stress that nuclear energy should always be used for peaceful purposes. In this connection we have voluntarily placed some of our nuclear facilities under the scope of the Agency's safeguards. The safeguards inspectors have carried out their task in a satisfactory manner. Our own scientists and engineers have achieved improved efficiency in the operation of our reprocessing facilities during the various safeguards campaigns.

However, we reiterate that those safeguards should be universal and that all nuclear facilities, including nuclear-weapon facilities, should be brought under the scope of safeguards. It was in this respect that we have had a principled objection to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), which remains unequal and discriminatory. In terms of the Agency's Statute, all member countries are equal, and we cannot accept the position that some countries are more responsible than others and morally superior to others. Nor can we accept the position that nuclear-weapon States are invested with a certain status and legitimacy for the possession and stockpiling of nuclear weapons. Today, those nuclear-weapon States, especially the two super-Powers, are taking their deadly rivalry to the realm of outer space and posing an increasing threat to the existence of our planet.

(Mr. Swell, India)

In this connection we cannot but express our total disappointment with the lack of progress in disarmament. We hope that something positive will emerge from the summit meeting between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev in Geneva this month. I cannot do better here than quote from the recent letter released to the press and addressed to President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev by the six Heads of State or Government of Argentina, Mexico, Sweden, India, Tanzania and Greece. The letter states:

"Your meeting offers a historic opportunity to step boldly out of the vicious circle of the escalating arms race. We hope that through the demonstration of will to establish mutual confidence by overcoming differences new impetus will be imparted to your bilateral negotiations and also to multilateral negotiations in Geneva, Stockholm and Vienna. ... The responsibility entrusted to you is indeed awesome. We are convinced that the international community will support you in your endeavours. For our part, we reiterate our readiness to work together with you for the common security and survival of humanity."

In conclusion, I would like to say that India is always willing to co-operate in furthering the objectives of the Agency. In respect of the Agency's Technical Assistance and Co-operation Fund, we are prepared to make available fellowships for training of personnel from developing countries, and we would also contribute our share to the RCA activities. But, in regard to safeguards, agreement in terms of the Agency's Statute should accrue from sovereign volition. We hold that the roots of the functioning of the Agency are twofold: the commitment of non-nuclear-weapon States to use the atom only for peaceful purposes and the commitment of nuclear-weapon States to rid the world of the threat of a nuclear holocaust. Behind those should be the norms of sovereignty, equality, reciprocity and universality.

Mr. HAMRA (Sudan): I should like to start by commending the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) for the comprehensive annual report on the activities of the Agency during 1984 which he has submitted to this body. IAEA has undoubtedly made a tremendous positive contribution in the development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, and we should note this in our appraisal of the achievements of the United Nations system during the past 40 years. Since its establishment the Agency has to its credit tremendous achievements in the application of nuclear energy for development and peaceful purposes, thus enhancing the efforts of developing countries in various fields, especially the fields of food and agriculture, industry, hydrology and the life sciences, in addition to its technical co-operation activities.

We note with appreciation the increase in the value of technical assistance provided in 1984, which was 22.4 per cent higher than in 1983. The rate of disbursement of the various components of the technical assistance and co-operation funds, and assistance in kind, was also generally high, providing a positive signal to developing countries, the main beneficiaries of technical assistance. We should like to welcome this trend, and at the same time express concern about the dwindling technical assistance and co-operation resources for the coming years, in view of the negative impact of this on developing countries, particularly the least developed among them, especially in the context of the measures the Agency intends to take to increase the involvement of the least developed countries in its technical co-operation programme and thereby the amount of assistance they receive.

I should like to refer, in this regard, to the role of the Agency in enhancing technical co-operation activities in the area of food and agriculture in the drought-stricken and famine-stricken African countries by upgrading the contribution of the United Nations system in mitigating the emergency situation in Africa. We take note, with appreciation, of the two missions the Agency sent to

(Mr. Hamra, Sudan)

Africa to explore the possibility of assistance in the area of animal production and to study the potential for food irradiation. We hope that more efforts will be undertaken in the future to identify specific projects for the development of water resources, especially underground water, with the aim of replenishing water in these areas. We in Sudan, for example, have already developed a well-defined programme for combating drought and desertification in the affected areas, and our National Research Council has identified certain projects whose implementation requires modern technology, including the application of isotopes. It is our hope that the Agency, in its effort to face the emergency situation in Africa, will lend its support for the implementation of these and other related projects in close co-ordination with other international organizations.

While commending the safeguards system of the Agency, my delegation wishes to refer to the relevant recommendations of the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the need to study further these recommendations with a view to giving them practical effect in order to enforce the system and improve its efficiency and effectiveness. We endorse the call on the parties to the Treaty to continue their political, technical and financial support of the safeguards system and to provide the necessary resources to ensure more effective implementation of the safeguard measures. Otherwise the credibility of the system will be at stake, with the present zero-growth budget of the Agency.

International peace and security will not prevail without the co-operation of all States and their commitment to international instruments and the resolutions of the United Nations and other international organizations, including IAEA. In this respect, I should like to express the concern of my delegation about the refusal of two States, namely, South Africa and Israel, to become parties to the Treaty on the

(Mr. Hamra, Sudan)

Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and to the safeguards system of the Agency. The international community should find the necessary means of dealing with those two States and ensuring their accession to that Treaty, and the placing of their nuclear power facilities under the Agency's safeguards system for regular inspection. This will be necessary in order to meet the recommendation of the Third Review Conference on the continued pursuit of the principle of the universal application of IAEA safeguards to all peaceful nuclear activities in all States.

In conclusion, we wish to extend our congratulations to Mr. Blix, Director General of IAEA, on his election for a second term and to state that we shall lend him our full support in carrying out his important role in enhancing the activities of the Agency, especially its technical co-operation programmes for developing countries.

Mr. SHAKER (Egypt) (interpretation from Arabic): I wish first to convey our congratulations to Mr. Blix on his re-appointment as Director General of IAEA for a further term of four years. We wish him all success in the performance of his important tasks.

I should like to congratulate Mr. Blix also on the valuable annual report of the Agency he has presented. I need not deal with all the various aspects of the report, which received all due attention at the twenty-ninth session of the General Conference of the Agency, which was held last September. At that General Conference the delegation of Egypt stated its views on the various activities of the Agency. Furthermore, the statement made by Mr. Blix to the General Assembly has helped to clarify the basic aspects which occupy the attention of the Agency and which will continue to do so in the coming years.

(Mr. Shaker, Egypt)

In this statement I shall confine myself to laying emphasis on certain aspects of the activities of the Agency and of Egypt's position with regard to these activities. The importance attached by Egypt to the role played by the IAEA in the promotion of the peaceful purposes of nuclear energy and the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is genuine and long-standing. Its importance has increased in the light of the increased activities of the Agency over the past years in the fields of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and the monitoring of such uses. Egypt is about to use nuclear energy to generate electricity. It has concluded a number of agreements with the countries that produce nuclear equipment and materials in order to receive help in building nuclear reactors to cope with the increasing demands for electricity in our country. Egypt, like the other developing countries, is in dire need of the help of the IAEA in all the steps of the implementation of its peaceful nuclear programmes, particularly with regard to the location and building of such reactors and their proper operation in such a way as to guarantee safety and security for our citizens.

On this occasion I cannot fail to express my thanks to the IAEA for the continued constructive role it plays in regard to the eradication of the Mediterranean fruit fly, which is one of the most ambitious programmes carried out by the Agency so far. The Agency had estimated the cost of that project at \$50 million.

The aspect that draws our attention in the statement made by Mr. Blix before the General Assembly is the great importance he attaches to the implementation of the decisions of the Third Review Conference of the States Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which was held in Geneva in August and September of this year, in particular in the fields of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, the financing of energy projects in developing countries, and the



(Mr. Shaker, Egypt)

protection of nuclear facilities. It can be rightly said that the Third Review Conference has produced new, fresh and attractive ideas in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. If these ideas bear fruit in the coming years, they will give a huge impetus and a new dimension to the peaceful uses of nuclear energy for the benefit of all and in particular of the developing countries. We are confident that IAEA and its Director General will attach all due importance to the decisions and resolutions of the Third Review Conference which fall within the competence of the Agency.

As for the safeguards system, we commend the efforts of the Agency in this important and vital field, especially in the light of the increased responsibilities shouldered by the Agency under the NPT.

We seize this opportunity to reaffirm the necessity to place all nuclear facilities in both South Africa and Israel under the safeguards system of the IAEA.

The role played by the Agency in the application of safeguards with respect to the peaceful uses of nuclear energy gives it a primary role in controlling certain other activities in the control and limitation of nuclear weapons, including the production of fissionable material for military purposes as well as the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones, a matter to which Egypt attaches particular importance, especially as regards the establishment of such a zone in the Middle East.

These are some of the aspects I wished to emphasize on the occasion of the consideration of this item by the General Assembly. We will soon have a further opportunity to speak about the forthcoming conference on the peaceful uses of nuclear energy when it will be considered by the General Assembly. Here, we would like to place on record our appreciation for the efforts made by the IAEA to prepare for this important conference.

Mr. BUTLER (Australia): The formation of the International Atomic Energy Agency is among the great achievements of the nuclear age. The Agency represents the common recognition that nuclear energy must be controlled internationally if we are to enjoy its benefits and at the same time maintain peace.

The events of this past year, during which the Agency has continued its work under the thoroughly professional directorship of Mr. Hans Blix, has served to reinforce that common recognition.

Those of us who met in Geneva during September to review the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons took that important opportunity to state in clear and unequivocal terms our continued support for the nuclear non-proliferation régime. We recognize, too, that the IAEA plays a vital role in ensuring that the non-proliferation régime not only remains intact, but is progressively strengthened through the increasing acceptance by States of IAEA safeguards on their peaceful nuclear facilities.

Australia remains a strong supporter of the Agency. We were a founding member and we are deeply committed to the principles and purposes of its Statute.

Today we are considering once again the report of the IAEA to the General Assembly. That report, introduced in this Assembly on 31 October by Mr. Blix, shows clearly that, during the past year, the Agency has fulfilled the important functions with which it was entrusted.

There are a few points in Mr. Blix's statement on which I would like to comment very briefly, and these refer to the question of IAEA safeguards.

Australia has a considerable portion of the world's uranium. We export some of that uranium, always for strictly peaceful purposes. So we continue to lend our strong support to the extension of the IAEA safeguards régime to all peaceful nuclear activities, including the transfer of nuclear material in all States. In this respect, we noted with satisfaction the reiteration in Mr. Blix's statement

(Mr. Butler, Australia)

of paragraph 11 of the Final Declaration of the Third Review Conference of the States Parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and of the succeeding references to the call on both Israel and South Africa to place all their nuclear facilities under IAEA safeguards.

We agree with Mr. Blix's argument that, rather than regarding the IAEA system of verification as intrusive or an inroad on sovereignty, we should instead, and I quote Mr. Blix, "view the verification system as a service to a sovereign State wishing to create confidence which it cannot equally well create by itself" (A/40/PV.56, p. 13).

In conclusion, Australia has taken note of Mr. Blix's concluding remarks about the administration of the Agency. And so I am happy to say on behalf of the Australian Government that I want to convey to Mr. Blix and, through him, to his staff, our appreciation and congratulations for the great skill and dedication with which they have discharged their difficult task. Quite simply, they continue to do the international community a great service.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/40/L.8.

May I take it that the General Assembly decides to adopt the draft resolution?

Draft resolution A/40/L.8 was adopted (resolution 40/8).

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I shall now call on the representative of Pakistan, who wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

May I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and to five minutes for the second and should be made by representatives from their seats.

Mr. R. KHAN (Pakistan): In his statement, copies of which were made available to delegations, the representative of the Soviet Union said that the world community has been expressing increasing concern over the nuclear ambitions of certain countries; among those he named was Pakistan. The Soviet representative's mention of Pakistan as a country whose nuclear programme is supposedly causing concern to the international community is a unique exercise in propaganda, and absurd propaganda at that.

Perhaps the Soviet representative's remark could have carried some credibility if the Soviet Union's own nuclear programme were innocent. But as we know, the Soviet Union is a country whose nuclear arsenals have the capability of destroying our planet many times over. The existence of such an arsenal is a threat to the survival of our planet. In our view, the maintenance of such an arsenal is immoral and a continuing sin against life.

It is surprising that the representative of such a country should have expressed concern at the so-called nuclear ambitions of Pakistan, a country which has affirmed, at the highest level and repeatedly, that its nuclear programme is devoted exclusively to peaceful purposes.

(Mr. R. Khan, Pakistan)

Only last month, in this very forum, addressing the commemorative meetings of the General Assembly, the President of Pakistan, Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, stated the following in categorical terms:

"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". (A/40/PV.47, p. 7)

The President of Pakistan has offered a number of concrete proposals for keeping our region free of nuclear weapons. In what has been acknowledged by the international media as a generous offer, the President of Pakistan made the following proposal:

"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."

(A/40/PV.47, p. 8)

I might mention that, within the United Nations framework, Pakistan initiated the 1974 proposal for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia. Since then, that initiative has been consistently maintained. Rather than fabricating charges about Pakistan's nuclear capabilities, the representative of the Soviet Union would do well to support that initiative. He should pay heed to what Pakistan has been saying in this context in the United Nations, and he should not ignore the offers that have been made repeatedly by Pakistan to keep our area free of nuclear weapons.

It is regrettable that, instead of showing deference to these initiatives taken by Pakistan in the United Nations, initiatives which have the support of a large majority of the United Nations membership, the representative of the Soviet Union has chosen to engage in blind and baseless propaganda.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Assembly has thus concluded its consideration of agenda item 14.

## AGENDA ITEM 146

SOLEMN APPEAL TO STATES IN CONFLICT TO CEASE ARMED ACTION FORTHWITH AND TO SETTLE DISPUTES BETWEEN THEM THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS, AND TO STATES MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO UNDERTAKE TO SOLVE SITUATIONS OF TENSION AND CONFLICT AND EXISTING DISPUTES BY POLITICAL MEANS AND TO REFRAIN FROM THE THREAT OR USE OF FORCE AND FROM ANY INTERVENTION IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER STATES: DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/40/L.12)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): If I hear no objection, I intend to close the list of speakers on this item at 5 p.m. today.

Mr. MARINESCU (Romania) (interpretation from French): Romania requested the inclusion of this new item on the agenda of the General Assembly at the present session because the persistence of armed conflicts and tension in various parts of the world and the emergence of new sources of tension and conflict constitute a factor for the exacerbation of the international situation.

The present international scene is characterized by increased world interdependence, by the persistence of the arms race, in particular the nuclear-arms race, by the economic crisis and the instability which it only serves to heighten, and by the persistence of some conflicts and the emergence of new ones. All this constitutes a serious threat to the independence and security of all peoples and all States and to world peace and security.

(Mr. Marinescu, Romania)

It has become clear that the evolution of international life reveals a continuing danger of war, including that of a new world war that would inevitably become a nuclear catastrophe leading to the destruction of the very conditions of life on earth.

While the peoples of the world have for 40 years succeeded in preventing the outbreak of a new major conflagration on our planet, so-called local conflicts and wars have continued to break out and have been lasted for years, some of them for decades, while the policy of force and the threat of force, the consolidation and the carving up of the world into spheres of influence has continued with vigour.

Today those conflicts and wars continue to cause immense losses in human lives and material resources. They irretrievably cancel for long periods of time the development efforts of many countries of the world, especially the developing countries. Such conflicts and wars, be they extensive or limited, can only weaken the countries concerned and serve the imperialist policy of domination and subjugation.

At the fortieth anniversary session of the United Nations, as we attempt to review the road we have travelled and try to devise ways and means of building a better world, Romania believes that determined action without delay to resolve all the conflicts and disputes between States by peaceful means is a matter of the greatest urgency. Romania has consistently maintained that we must for ever renounce the threat or use of force in the solution of international disputes and we must act with a complete sense of responsibility so as to end the conflicts in various parts of the world and proceed to resolve controversies between States exclusively by political means and by negotiations. In our view, it is in the

(Mr. Marinescu, Romania)

interest of every people, of the cause of peace, of the security of mankind and of progress and development that all States should refrain from resorting to military measures and to hostilities against other States and should exert every effort to resolve all conflicts and disputes between them exclusively by peaceful means.

Romania is dedicated to promoting a broad policy of dialogue and co-operation with all States of the world, whatever may be their social system - a policy based on the generally accepted principles of international law - in order to ensure the constructive solution of the great problems facing mankind. My country has worked ceaselessly to place at the very foundation of its relations with all States and uphold broadly in international life the principles of full equality of rights, respect for the independence and national sovereignty of States, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, and rejection of the threat or use of force. We are firmly convinced that only such a policy, close co-operation and strengthening of the independence of each nation and of peace throughout the world can guarantee that the aspirations of all the peoples of the world to freedom, well-being and progress will be met.

Our position is that the United Nations Charter has enshrined the principles of peaceful settlement of disputes between States, non-resort to force and the threat of force in international relations. Other instruments adopted by the United Nations by consensus, such as the 1970 Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States and the 1982 Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes, have developed those principles and appealed to States to implement them fully in their relations.

In the present international situation we must clearly redouble our efforts to ensure the increased effectiveness of those principles and implement them



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generally in international relations. This should increasingly become one of the key concerns of all States and the United Nations.

In view of the obligations assumed by States and the important role devolving upon the United Nations to prevent and settle international conflicts, and promote relations of understanding, co-operation and peace among all States of the world, we are deeply convinced that urgent and more determined efforts are necessary by States in conflict, by all States of the world and by the competent United Nations organs so as speedily to settle, by peaceful means, conflicts, states of tension and disputes.

In this regard, Romania believes that the General Assembly should address a solemn appeal to States in conflict to cease armed action forthwith and move on to the settlement of their disputes by peaceful means, especially by negotiations. As the experience of history shows, resort to arms does not lead to lasting solutions of problems; it only complicates them, with all the dangerous and negative consequences that that implies. On the other hand, negotiations and consideration of problems with the participation of all the parties concerned in a spirit of respect for their legitimate interests represent the only reasonable method, in conformity with the interests of peoples, peace and international understanding.

At the same time, it is important once again to address to all States of the world an appeal comprehensively and unfailingly to implement the undertakings they have assumed to settle by peaceful means, notably by negotiations, the disputes between them, to refrain from the threat or use of force and from any interference in the internal affairs of other States.

At the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, whose principal mission according to the Charter is the maintenance of international peace and security, we consider that Member States should resolve to act with greater determination to

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make full use of the framework, machinery and means available to the Organization for the settlement of conflicts and disputes between States.

In view of the important prerogatives conferred upon the Security Council as the organ entrusted with primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, Romania believes that the Council should be asked to act without delay in present cases of conflict and tension in various regions of the world. In our view, it could do so by recommending appropriate means and procedures for each case by, inter alia, designating representatives of the United Nations to enter into contact and discussion with the States concerned so as to find solutions by peaceful means to the problems between them. In our opinion, that would be an important contribution to the prevention of the aggravation of disputes between States, to the elimination of flashpoints of conflict and tension and to the establishment of relations, understanding, co-operation and peace among all States of the world.

The annual reports of the Secretary-General, particularly his latest report on the work of the Organization (A/40/1), contain many considerations and important suggestions concerning the strengthening of the Security Council's capacity to act in discharging the responsibilities incumbent upon it. Such a request, addressed to the Security Council, would be an expression of those same concerns and of Member States' desire that the United Nations and the Security Council should act more effectively to halt and settle conflicts and resolve all disputes by peaceful means.

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In this respect, we believe it is necessary to reaffirm the important role that falls to the General Assembly, the representative body of this Organization, which, according to the Charter and the practice followed for 40 years, can examine any question relating to the maintenance of international peace and security and all disputes between States, and can adopt recommendations on the subject.

Like the members of the Security Council, we believe it is very important to encourage the Secretary-General to play an active role in the framework of his functions under the Charter in order to promote efforts for the cessation of conflicts and the solution of disputes.

These are the main elements of United Nations machinery which are in a position to take action to prevent and settle conflicts and ease tension in the world.

In view of the nature of our Organization, which consists of sovereign and independent States, we believe it is necessary to address an appeal to Member States to make full use of this machinery for the settlement of disputes and international problems by peaceful means.

It also seems important to us to address an appeal to Member States to act resolutely, in conformity with their duties as Members of the United Nations and in the light of the purposes and principles of the United Nations, so that the Organization will be able to harmonize the joint efforts of States to strengthen peace and security, to settle the major problems facing mankind and to create the conditions necessary for the free and independent development of all peoples.

The Romanian Government takes the view that it is necessary to attach the greatest attention to the halting and solution of international conflicts, and to the search for peaceful solutions, chiefly by negotiations, of all international

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disputes. The adoption of this kind of solemn appeal and undertaking would demonstrate, as has been underscored by the President of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, the will of all peoples to respect the Charter of the United Nations, and would constitute a significant contribution to the policy of détente, to the improvement of the international situation, to the strengthening of confidence among States, and to disarmament and peace.

In view of the foregoing, I have the honour to introduce to the General Assembly the draft resolution in document A/40/L.12, which contains the solemn appeal that we propose should be adopted.

The draft was presented in this way following extensive consultations with many delegations. We believe that it represents the common denominator that may enable the Assembly, with the agreement of all its members, to address an appeal to the States in conflict to put an end to armed action and to move on to the settlement of their conflicts by peaceful means, and an appeal to all States of the world to abide by their international commitments as regards the non-use of force, non-intervention and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

Romania is convinced that the time has come for the General Assembly to draw attention to this extremely important and urgent issue in view of the necessity for the Organization to accomplish the mission that the peoples of the world have entrusted to it under the Charter, namely, to safeguard future generations from the scourge of war and to bring about the peaceful settlement of all international disputes.

Mr. WIRYONO (Indonesia): During the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, many Heads of State or Government drew attention to the distressing fact that some 150 armed conflicts have taken place since the founding of our Organization. It is true that, in a few instances, the United Nations has been able to bring about a cessation of hostilities and to restore peace or, as in the case of my country, to bring about an end to the conflict with the former colonial Power through the Organization's mediation efforts and recognition of Indonesia's independence. None the less, the General Assembly has on its agenda many items concerning conflicts that have been before the United Nations for decades, some even since its inception. Regrettably, we cannot but observe with mounting concern that this dangerous trend has not been arrested. Indeed, tensions and intermittent strife not only continue in many regions, but new conflicts are erupting while others loom on the horizon.

Indonesia therefore welcomed the initiative taken by Romania to issue a solemn appeal for a cessation of armed actions to be followed by negotiations to achieve a peaceful and durable settlement of disputes, as well as for Member States to contribute collectively to this process and to refrain from the threat or use of force and acts of intervention in the internal affairs of States.

It is pertinent to recall that, while still in its infancy, the United Nations was already faced with a paralysis in the functioning of its principal organs charged with the maintenance of international peace and security. Hence, realizing that the Organization was being used as an arena for competition and spheres of influence, rather than as a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations, and given the profoundly disturbing international situation of the times, the leaders of the newly independent States moved to consolidate their unity and solidarity in order to address the overriding problems before the international community,

(Mr. Wiryono, Indonesia)

principal among them being the Organization's inability to carry out its primary function to ensure peace and security. Nurtured by their common colonial legacy and their shared experience of the struggle for independence, they met in Bandung in 1955 at the Asian-African Conference to define together their concept of a world order based, inter alia, on eradicating colonialism, ensuring respect for fundamental human rights, halting the arms race and encouraging the peaceful settlement of disputes. And at the observance of the thirtieth anniversary of that Conference earlier this year in April, the participants reaffirmed the continuing validity and enduring relevance of the Ten Principles embodied in the 1955 Declaration on the Promotion of World Peace and Co-operation.

Emerging from the Bandung Conference and having consolidated their unity, the developing countries have striven to promote a greater sense of responsibility and commitment to the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter. Their paramount concern was, and continues to be, the need to strengthen the capacity and efficacy of the Organization for concerted and purposeful action. And that need is fully underscored by the undeniable fact that new threats to global peace, resulting from heightened great Power and bloc rivalries, from an intensified arms race, from increased recourse to the use or threat of force, interference in the internal affairs of States, aggression, foreign occupation, intervention and domination, have brought about a sharp deterioration in the climate of international peace and security.

(Mr. Wiryono, Indonesia)

The armed conflicts and confrontations that today afflict many regions of our globe are further exacerbated by a tendency on the part of the major Powers to view regional and local conflicts within the context of their global rivalries and to link eventual solutions to their wider strategies of mutual containment. Consequently, conflicts have become even more intractable and the risk of the non-aligned and other developing countries being dragged into this East-West polarization has correspondingly increased.

In facing up to the challenge posed by armed conflicts, our premise for action must remain based on consistent adherence to the principles and essential objectives of the Charter. However, in this task the international community is faced with a paradoxical situation. While on the one hand the imperative need to settle disputes peacefully is recognized, on the other hand the parties directly involved in conflict situations have not utilized the various mechanisms of the United Nations to end hostilities and to seek a negotiated settlement.

My delegation therefore supports the general thrust of the draft resolution's appeal to States in conflict to put an end to armed actions and to proceed to the settlement of their disputes by negotiations and other peaceful means. We also associate ourselves with the call for the Security Council to recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment with a view to settling disputes by peaceful means, as well as the reference to the roles of the General Assembly and the office of the Secretary-General in the areas of their competence under the Charter to promote the peaceful settlement of disputes. Indeed, our primary task must be to ensure a strengthened role for those principal organs in conflict resolution and the establishment of workable machinery for the defusion of crises before they become full-blown wars. However, to be successful, procedural and other improvements must be reinforced by a conscious commitment, especially by the

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permanent members of the Council, to the wider global responsibilities inherent in acceptance of the Charter.

It is only fitting that on this fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations the General Assembly should adopt the draft resolution before us as a reaffirmation of Members' commitment to strengthening world peace and security. Indeed, the draft resolution's appeal reflects the yearning of mankind for renunciation of the use of force as a means of settling international disputes, the resolution of the major issues confronting humanity and the assurance of conditions for the free and independent development of all peoples.

The adoption of the draft resolution, we believe, would have a salutary effect and make a contribution to the quest for a world free from war and conflict and an international community moving with ever greater determination to achieve peace, justice and prosperity for all humanity.

Mr. BOUZIRI (Tunisia) (interpretation from French): The Tunisian delegation feels that it is its duty to take part in the consideration of this new item which is on our agenda thanks to the felicitous initiative of Romania. The present critical situation in international relations and the propitious occasion of the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations should encourage us to think together about the best ways and means of strengthening the action of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security.

The solemn appeal is proposed at a time when the euphoria of the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary is giving way to the painful reality of the many conflicts and antagonisms that continue to tear our planet apart. While we regret that after taking stock of the past 40 years the Member States did not succeed in agreeing on a declaration on which so much energy had been expended, the renewed



(Mr. Bouziri, Tunisia)

commitment of the participants in the fortieth anniversary celebration to the purposes of our Organization gives us some ground for hope.\*

The noble efforts of the United Nations to maintain world peace since the Second World War cannot be denied, but the precarious peace that we are enjoying today contains the sparks that could set off an unprecedented explosion. The fortieth anniversary has just reminded us of the need to reaffirm our devotion to the purposes and principles of the Charter, and never has that need been more urgent and imperative.

Our world today is plagued by conflicts, some of which are older than the Organization itself. Others have arisen more recently, thus contributing to the crisis of confidence that the United Nations is now experiencing. That is all the more deplorable in that the international community possesses the institutions and machinery capable of promoting dialogue between States and resolving disputes by peaceful means.

While the vision of a new world made it possible immediately after the Second World War to lay the foundations of our Organization, to give it a Charter and to entrust it with the difficult task of maintaining international peace and security, the realities of today bring home to us forcefully the fact, that although the machinery still exists, the vision has faded.

There are many reasons for that - the propensity to violence and the use of force, narrow self-interests and nationalist excesses, polarization and the abandonment of multilateralism. Far from being inherent in the United Nations system itself, those evils reflect the international political scene, of which the United Nations is indubitably the sounding board. They serve to confirm the domination of blocs, which contributes greatly to the paralysis of the system.

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\* Mr. Hepburn (Bahamas), Vice President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Bouziki, Tunisia)

It is therefore wrong to blame the United Nations for the repeated setbacks, when solutions must be found to so many different problems. If conflicts persist and become chronic, it is because the parties concerned do not always have the necessary political will to solve problems. The task of the United Nations is made even more difficult by the retreat from multilateralism and the tendency of some no longer to have recourse to the services of the Organization.

The new realities demand the democratization of international life, which alone can strengthen our actions and give a free reign to the dynamic of peace.

Tunisia has always affirmed its commitment to dialogue and co-operation between States on the basis of the generally accepted principles of international law. We have done so with conviction, in keeping with a consistent foreign policy and in a desire to see right and justice prevail.

(Mr. Bouziri, Tunisia)

We should like to take this opportunity to express our profound concern at the persistence of armed conflicts and situations of tension in the world. We would like to mention in particular the menace of destabilization that threatens whole regions as well as sovereign independent States that want nothing but progress and well-being for their peoples, free of all interference in the internal affairs of others.

The dastardly unprovoked and unjustified aggression against my country, the persistence of the Palestinian, Namibian and South African problems; the interminable war in the Gulf; and the continuance of conflict situations in South-East Asia, South-West Asia and Central America demonstrate the need for a strong, solemn appeal.

As a result of criticisms of our Organization and the retreat from multilateralism, today the danger of destabilization, armed confrontation and interference in the internal affairs of States is a real threat, particularly to the security and sovereignty of small, weak States.

The Charter of the United Nations, which we all undertook to respect when we became Members of this Organization, lays down the principle of the settlement of disputes among States by peaceful means.

The Members of the United Nations are bound not to use force or the threat of force in international relations except in the specific case of self-defence. But even such cases, where certain Members of our Organization have exercised that right, there have been excesses and indeed sometimes flagrant violations, while Article 51 of the Charter has been invoked.

For our part, we believe that the Charter is clear in letter and spirit. It advocates recourse to peaceful means of which we are all aware to resolve disputes. States that have striven to strengthen the principles of the settlement

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of disputes by peaceful means and the non-use of force in international relations recognize the importance of such instruments of international law as the Declaration on the Principles of International Law Relating to Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States and the Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes.

Everyone is well aware of these rights and obligations under the Charter and other instruments of international law of which Members have become signatories. What we need at this stage is at least sufficient effectiveness to make it possible for the principles mentioned to be used as norms of conduct in international relations.

It is clear that the erosion of the role in the maintenance of international peace and security of the organs of the Organization, in particular the Security Council, is not the inexorable consequence of machinery that has suddenly ceased to operate. Although existing machinery does not reflect the necessary democratization of international life and hence is inherently incapable of bringing about an effective and efficient juridical order in the service of peace and justice, we believe it is clear that the ideological cleavages and short-term interests of various parties underlie the troubles of the Organization.

The current situation makes it imperative for us to rationalize existing procedures on the basis of a number of proposals that could do something to reinvigorate the Security Council. My delegation believes that the Security Council should possess the necessary means to carry out its task successfully. Discrete diplomatic action, fact-finding missions and other initiatives are all of definite importance in eliminating hotbeds of tension and conflict. The role given to the Secretary-General under the Charter should be stressed to the extent that he is required to promote efforts to bring about peace between States in conflict.

(Mr. Bouziri, Tunisia)

Tunisia considers that preventive action is one of the primary tasks of our Organization without which it would be doomed in most cases to being seized of conflicts that had already broken out, unable to quell them without applying the relevant measures provided for in the Charter.

Tunisia supports this appeal in the hope of seeing all States abide by the letter and spirit of our Charter.

Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia): The General Assembly's consideration of a solemn appeal to States in conflict to cease armed action and to settle disputes between them through negotiations if timely. The United Nations is a universal international forum and it is therefore the most appropriate forum to make a solemn appeal as proposed by Romania. The Romanian initiative represents a very important proposal against the backdrop of the present international situation.

Conflicts and disputes constitute a constant threat to international peace and security. Crises are not being solved; the use or threat of force, intervention and interference are being increasingly resorted to; instances of aggression and occupation are manifold.

International peace and security can be strengthened only if all countries, irrespective of their geographical location and size, feel secure. The extension of East-West confrontation to local and regional disputes complicates them further and renders their solution more difficult. Attempts to put the struggles of peoples for independence, self-determination and freedom into the context of East-West relations denies those peoples their right to decide on their own fate and to fulfil their legitimate aspirations.

It has been stated many times that in the past 40 years the outbreak of a new global war has been averted, and that is true. However, armed conflicts and wars waged in the last four years, mainly on the territories of non-aligned and

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developing countries, have claimed over 20 million lives and caused vast material damage.

The continuation of armed conflicts and wars causes immense damage to States and to the peoples involved in these conflicts and thwarts their progress and development. These conflicts and wars are also fraught with the risk of escalation and the military involvement of big Powers and blocs, which could precipitate global conflagration.

There is no realistic alternative to the cessation of armed action and the settlement of disputes peacefully on the basis of mutual respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the inviolability of legally established international borders, non-intervention and non-interference in internal affairs, respect for the right of peoples to choose freely their own development and abstain from pressure and the threat or use of force or any form of aggression.

(Mr. Golob, Yugoslavia)

Those principles, I would recall, are accepted as the basis of international relations, and violation of them has been condemned by this Assembly time and again. At the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, participating States have decided, through the adoption of the Final Act, to develop their relations with other States in the spirit of those principles. At their summit meetings non-aligned countries have also demanded strict observance of them. The principle of peaceful settlement of disputes is one of the basic principles of the policy of non-alignment. At the recent Conference in Luanda, Angola, the Foreign Ministers of the non-aligned countries pointed out that

"The principles of peaceful settlement of disputes and conflicts, through direct negotiations, mediation, or good offices accepted by the interested parties, or other measures included in the United Nations Charter, continue to be the key elements of peaceful coexistence as recommended by the non-aligned countries."

Recently, the great Powers have expressed their readiness to contribute in their dialogue to the solution of crises. However, it should be recalled here that just solutions have to reflect the aspirations and the interests of countries and peoples concerned. Any attempt to arrive at solutions that do not do that would be short lived and devoid of any substance.

The United Nations has on many occasions stopped aggression and helped States in dispute to come to a solution. But, in spite of significant achievements, it has not been fully successful in reaching political solutions to crises. This has been due, above all, to the negative attitude of some Member States and their attempts to solve these problems outside the United Nations, preferably in the narrow circles of the powerful.

(Mr. Golob, Yugoslavia)

In the fortieth year of the United Nations, it should be reaffirmed that the decisions of this body are fully relevant and that, provided the negative attitudes of some Member States are changed, this Organization of equals can be more effective in solving the disputes by peaceful means.

Mr. AL-ANSI (Oman) (interpretation from Arabic): It is especially important that today the General Assembly is considering agenda item 146, entitled "Solemn appeal to States in conflict to cease armed action forthwith and to settle disputes between them through negotiations, and to States Members of the United Nations to undertake to solve situations of tension and conflict and existing disputes by political means and to refrain from the threat or use of force and from any intervention in the internal affairs of other States". Our consideration of this item is all the more important because of the time frame in which we are discussing it - that is, just after the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, 40 years after the end of the Second World War and 25 years after the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The consideration of this item also comes after the regrettable failure to reach a consensus, on 24 October 1985, on a final statement embodying the opinions and the hopes of the overwhelming majority of Member States on the future of the Organization and the need for it to continue to play its important role in the service of the causes of international peace and security.

Oman is a third world country. There are some who attempt to consolidate the division of our globe into different, distinct worlds, according to their present industrial, economic and military capabilities. Thus, there is a strong first world, the West; and a strong second world, the East. As for the third world, despite the fact that there are more countries in it and that the circumstances in



(Mr. Al-Ansi, Oman)

which they now live are similar, it is divided into developing and least developed countries.

During the commemoration ceremonies in San Francisco last June and during our commemorative meeting in this Hall on 24 October last, on the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations and the signing of the Charter, it was noted that ever more energetic attempts are being made to treat the world as a whole, and the United Nations in particular, as the exclusive property of the East and the West.

If we closely and objectively examine the real cause for the fact that the problems of the world are still as serious and intense as they have been for the past 10 years, we will simply note this: If no limit is set on the rivalry between the major Powers and if there is not a brighter and more human picture of constructive co-operation between the countries and peoples of the world, on the basis of freedom and mutual respect, it will be impossible to achieve the goals of avoiding nuclear war, stopping the rivalry for spheres of influence, and eliminating the possibility of the outbreak of world wars which, in the past, have taken a toll of more than 25 million persons, or of regional conflicts, of which more than 20 million innocent people have been the victims since 1945.

We sincerely hope that the forthcoming summit meeting between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States, in Geneva on 19 and 20 November, will - as His Majesty Sultan Qaboos Bin Said has said:

"be an occasion for them to strengthen peace and humanity. I hope, also, that the two of them will work together to overcome ideological and political differences, for the common good of mankind".

(Mr. Al-Ansi, Oman)

We are trying to avoid the danger of a direct confrontation between the two super-Powers, as well as the continued use of the United Nations as an instrument to protect the interests of the strong. We believe that international resolutions must be implemented and we must therefore pay special attention to the solution of the most important problems with which we in the international Organization have been living. In the first place, the tragedy of the Palestinian people must be redressed, and an end must be put to the Israeli occupation of the Arab territories, first and foremost the Holy City of Jerusalem, in accordance with the relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. That would undoubtedly facilitate the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Secondly, in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions, an end must be put to the illegal domination by South Africa of the Trust Territory of Namibia. Thirdly, an end must be put to all forms of apartheid and racial discrimination, wherever they exist, and the people who are being oppressed by these inhuman practices must be given complete freedom to exercise self-determination and to achieve sovereignty. Fourthly, the situations of tension in Central America must be eliminated, and the peace and conciliation process based on the Contadora principles must be pursued.

On the basis of the firm conviction of all the parties concerned that a solution must be found to international problems such as the arms race and the proliferation of nuclear weapons, as well as to critical economic problems, urgent action must be taken to end regional conflicts and wars. In that connection, attention should be focused on reaching without delay a final and just solution to the Iraq-Iran conflict, which is a destructive war that has continued without any logical justification for more than two years and of which more than 1 million persons of the two neighbouring parties have been victims.

(Mr. Al-Ansi, Oman)

His Majesty Sultan Qaboos Bin Said, the Sultan of Oman and the current Chairman of the Gulf Co-operation Council, speaking at the opening of the deliberations of the sixth summit meeting in Muscat recently, said:

"We all regret the continuation of this war between two Moslem parties who are linked by a long history. It is a useless and senseless war. I call upon the two parties to put their differences aside and to seek a settlement through peaceful means. Our whole world takes a keen interest in seeing a happy end to this war".

For these reasons, we must all continue to give impetus to the sincere concerted efforts to secure the success of all efforts to put an end to this war through good offices, including the good offices of the Secretary-General and the Security Council. In view of the fact that Iraq is well known to be responsive to international good offices and accepts the arbitration and the resolutions of the international Organization, as manifested recently by its attitude towards the efforts of the Security Council, we call upon Iran to follow suit, in the interest of the welfare of the two peoples and to save the Gulf region from the dangers of the escalation of this war, which jeopardizes peace and security in the region and threatens the freedom and safety of international navigation.

Secondly, there is the solution to the problem of the Afghan people through the withdrawal of all foreign troops from its territory, leaving it to choose its future by itself, free from any form of external intervention.

Thirdly, there must be a solution of the problem of the people of Democratic Kampuchea, to enable them to live in peace and security in their own territory, through the withdrawal of all foreign troops.

In the light of these considerations, having seen the explanatory note dated 6 September 1985 addressed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Romania to the General Assembly, to which was annexed the preliminary draft of the draft resolution

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under consideration, and which also requested its urgent inclusion as a new agenda item, as indicated in document A/40/241 of 9 September 1985, we agree with the general thrust of the principles pertaining to the peaceful settlement of disputes between States whenever that is possible. We agree with all sincere attempts to prevent any form of intervention or interference in the internal affairs of others. After the great improvements made in draft resolution A/40/L.12 of 4 November 1985, I must say that, in view of the excellent bilateral relations between my country and the Socialist Republic of Romania, as well as the well-known and significant role of Romania in communication and dialogue between the different international parties, we support the adoption of the draft resolution on the understanding that there will be due regard for the sovereign, legitimate right of peoples and countries to self-defence and continuing support for the duties and responsibilities of the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and that its implementation will be consistent with effective support for the mandatory measures that should be taken against those parties which are in clear contravention of United Nations resolutions and the rules of the Charter of this international Organization.

On this basis, we reaffirm our full support for any positive steps that can achieve such noble, lofty objectives, steps based on the desire to serve the cause of international peace and security in all parts of the world.

For all these reasons, we shall unreservedly support the draft resolution in question. We hope that all other delegations will find it equally acceptable and will have no hesitation in voting for it.

Mr. THIOUNN PRASITH (Democratic Kampuchea) (interpretation from French):  
The delegation of Democratic Kampuchea is particularly pleased to associate itself with the congratulations addressed from this rostrum to the Socialist Republic of

(Mr. Thiounn Prasith,  
Democratic Kampuchea)

Romania which has taken the timely initiative of placing before the General Assembly on the occasion of its fortieth anniversary session, a proposal designed to address a "solemn appeal to States in conflict to cease armed action forthwith and to settle disputes between them through negotiations, and to States Members of the United Nations to undertake to solve situations of tension and conflict and existing disputes by political means and to refrain from the threat or use of force and from any intervention in the internal affairs of other States".

In his explanatory letter of 9 September last, requesting the inscription on the agenda of the fortieth session of the Assembly of this item as an additional, important and urgent question, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Romania stated that:

"The States and peoples of the world are deeply concerned at the persistence of armed conflicts and states of tension in different parts of the world, at the continual emergence of new sources of conflict and tension in international life and at the tendency to resort to force or the threat of force in relations between States, which pose a serious threat to independence and their security as well as to international peace and security". (A/40/241, p. 1)

The delegation of Democratic Kampuchea, representing the people of Kampuchea, a victim of the war of aggression and genocide known to all, shares the above-described motives of the Romanian Government which are in harmony with the deep aspirations of our people and its Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. Indeed, we sincerely hope that all of the conflicts raging throughout the world today, especially in the third world, will immediately come to an end so that the peoples and countries that have fallen victim to them, may rediscover their sacred rights to independence and national sovereignty, and may finally enjoy

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a peaceful environment that will permit them to devote themselves to their economic, social and cultural development.

The pursuit of such conflicts not only prolongs tragic situations and indescribable suffering for the peoples concerned, but also constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security. Moreover, we believe that this appeal is in all respects, both in its letter and in its spirit, in conformity with the cardinal principles of the Charter and of contemporary international law. For these reasons, my delegation warmly supports the text of the solemn appeal contained in draft resolution A/40/L.12, introduced by the Ambassador of Romania, with his usual convincing eloquence. We hope that this important appeal will be adopted by consensus by this Assembly, and above all that it will be heeded and given effect by aggressor States that are Members of the Organization.

For our part, in accordance with operative paragraph 1 of this appeal, we call on the aggressor country attacking Democratic Kampuchea to put an end to armed actions forthwith and to proceed to settlement by negotiations and other peaceful means of the conflict in Kampuchea started, as we all know, by the aggressor's invasion and occupation of a Member State of the United Nations and of the Non-Aligned Movement.

(Mr. Thiounn Prasith,  
Democratic Kampuchea)

It is in that spirit that my Government has consistently before this Assembly addressed appeals to the aggressor to put an end to its aggression against and occupation of Kampuchea. The latest appeal was that addressed by His Royal Highness Samdech Norodom Sihanouk who, on behalf of our Coalition Government, stated here that if the aggressor were prepared fully and unconditionally to withdraw its forces, Democratic Kampuchea would be prepared to conclude with it a treaty of peace, non-aggression and friendship, so that our two peoples and countries might at last live in friendship and co-operation.

The General Assembly has also been apprised of the admirable attempts made by the six countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) to provide a comprehensive political solution for the Kampuchean problem. Prompted by their noble aspirations to see the establishment in South-East Asia of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, the ASEAN countries have on several occasions formulated proposals to persuade our aggressor to accept a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. The latest proposal was that adopted by the ASEAN Ministers of Foreign Affairs at their annual meeting in Kuala Lumpur on 8 July 1985. In that document ASEAN addressed a new appeal to the aggressor against my country to engage in proximity talks with the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. Our Government firmly supported that proposal.

Finally, the General Assembly itself, on 5 November - and this was the seventh consecutive time it had done so - adopted a resolution by an overwhelming majority in which it called again for a political settlement of the problem of Kampuchea on the basis of:

"the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, the restoration and preservation of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the

(Mr. Thiounn Prasith,  
Democratic Kampuchea)

right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny and the commitment by all States to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea ..." (resolution 40/7, para. 2)

Whether they come from our Coalition Government, from the ASEAN countries, from the International Conference on Kampuchea or from the General Assembly, all those appeals, proposals, declarations and resolutions are designed to reach the same noble objective as those set forth in the solemn appeal contained in the draft resolution (A/40/L.12) - to put an end to the conflict in Kampuchea by a comprehensive settlement of this important problem which is threatening regional and world peace and security. However, as everyone knows, all those appeals, proposals, declarations and resolutions have been rejected by our aggressors and their protector. It must be drawn to the attention of the Assembly that not only have the latter failed to give them any consideration but that they have, on the contrary, shown their determination to impose their fait accompli in Kampuchea on the international community, as is demonstrated by their large-scale military operations conducted every dry season in Kampuchea and their manoeuvres designed to divide our Coalition Government and international support for our just cause.

We hope that the situation will take a favourable turn, that the aggressors will accept a commitment to concrete deeds and not just to words, by acting upon this appeal in good faith and by putting an end without delay to their aggression and occupation of Kampuchea and respecting at long last the fundamental principles of the Charter, including those in paragraphs 3 and 4 of Article 2 concerning the non-use of force or the threat of force in international relations and the peaceful settlement of disputes between States.



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We sincerely hope that they will also accept the provisions of paragraph 3 of the solemn appeal, which states:

"The General Assembly

"Requests the Security Council to act promptly, in accordance with its functions, in the cases of conflict and tension existing in different regions of the world, and to designate representatives of the United Nations to conduct and discuss with the States involved with a view to settling the existing disputes between them by peaceful means, eliminating situations of tension and conflict and establishing relations based on understanding, co-operation and peace among all States of the world." (A/40/L.12, para. 3)

But, there again, we know that our aggressors, even assuming that they subscribe to those words, will be careful not to follow that by concrete action, because that would run counter to their expansionist policy and their determination to replace international law, based on right and justice, by the law of the jungle.

Nevertheless, we remain convinced that it will continue to be up to our Organization and its determination to preserve at all costs the sacred principles of the Charter that govern international relations.

Mr. FAIZ (Bangladesh): At the outset, permit me to express our deep appreciation to the Romanian delegation for the timely initiative that it has taken to include this item on our agenda. It is indeed most appropriate that the current session, which marks the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, should be considering this important item.

Just a fortnight ago we concluded the commemorative session which was attended by a number of Heads of State and Government unprecedented in the history of the United Nations. It is an acknowledged fact that this world body, which was

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established on the ashes of the Second World War, has withstood the test of time and has given the world 40 years of freedom from global conflict. But mankind has not yet secured the genuine peace it had aspired to. We live from crisis to crisis and our world today is fraught with fear, mistrust, suspicion and tension. Tragic conflicts still disrupt many regions of our small planet, with untold human suffering, death and destruction. A sense of insecurity and mistrust among nations has led only to an armaments race which, in turn, has created greater insecurity. Our failure in the past to take effective and concrete measures in the sphere of disarmament has brought mankind close to the precipice of self-destruction.

Fortunately we have been able to avert the use of nuclear weapons during the past 40 years, yet millions of people have died and suffered due to armed conflicts and wars. During the last four decades, despite our solemn commitment to uphold the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter, some Member States, regrettably, have resorted to the use of force and committed acts of aggression against other States, thereby threatening global peace and security.

The present state of deteriorating international relations, as has already been pointed out by preceding speakers, clearly calls for our renewed commitment to uphold the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. The United Nations Charter and the Declaration of Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation amongst States are more valid today than ever before. As Members of this great world body we have assumed the obligation to refrain in international relations from the threat or use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of any other State.

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Similarly, Member States are committed to settling their disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered. It may be recalled that the Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes, which was approved by the General Assembly in its resolution 37/10 of 15 November 1982, had once again underlined these basic cardinal principles which must govern inter-State relations. It is a matter of grave concern for all of us that some Member States, in clear violation of these principles, have interfered and intervened in the internal affairs of other States. The violation or undermining of any of these sacred principles on one pretext or another must be rejected in clear and categorical terms.

Bangladesh is firmly and irrevocably committed to the Charter of the United Nations and to the principle of the sovereign equality of States, territorial integrity, the non-use of force, non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States, the right of every nation to self-determination, and the pacific settlement of disputes.

In his statement at the commemorative session of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, President Hussain Muhammad Ershad stated:

"The basis for Bangladesh's multilateral diplomacy, which, inter alia, derives from its strict adherence to the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States ... emanates from the lessons learned from that experience. We in Bangladesh have paid our highest tribute to the principles and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations by incorporating in our Constitution the nation's resolute commitment to it.

"For nations such as Bangladesh, the United Nations is thus both a defensive shield and the foundation of security." (A/40/PV.41, pp. 47-50)

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The developments of the last four decades have demonstrated that the United Nations survives by the collective will of its Member States. It is only we, the Member States, which can strengthen or weaken it. In spite of its weakness the United Nations remains the most appropriate and irreplaceable forum for finding solutions to all international problems. It should therefore be our common endeavour to enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations. It is in this context that my delegation attaches particular importance to the role of the Security Council, which has been entrusted with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

At the historic commemorative meeting held on 26 September 1985, all Council members agreed that there was an urgent need to enhance the effectiveness of the Security Council and also resolved to continue to examine the possibilities for the further improvement of the functioning of that important body. The Council, in accordance with its mandate, therefore should adopt concrete and effective measures with a view to settling disputes between States by peaceful means. At the same time, persistent efforts should be made to eliminate hotbeds of tension from different parts of the world. The General Assembly has also been entrusted by the Charter with an important role in the peaceful settlement of disputes and the maintenance of international peace and security. This important task of the General Assembly must be carried out effectively and fully. The peace-keeping role of the Secretary-General, as provided for under the Charter, should also be strengthened.

Bangladesh renews its appeal to all States in conflict to put an end to armed action immediately and to seek settlement of their disputes by negotiations and other peaceful means. We also urge all Member States to resolve conflicts and disputes among them by peaceful means and to refrain from the threat or use of

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force and any form of interference or intervention in the internal affairs of other States.

The United Nations has been described as the last hope for mankind. The only way we can strengthen it is through our firm and scrupulous adherence to the principles and purposes of its Charter. It is imperative for all of us to make full use of the framework provided by the United Nations for the peaceful settlement of disputes and international problems. Every effort must be made to strengthen this great world body for the maintenance of international peace and security and ensuring conditions for the social and economic development of all peoples in the world.

Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): In recent years the international situation has seriously deteriorated. The world faces the danger of sliding towards a nuclear confrontation. The causes of present tension lie in the stubborn attempts of imperialist forces to disrupt the existing strategic equilibrium, achieve military supremacy and dominant positions for the purpose of dictating to other countries and peoples. Of particular danger to mankind are the plans for militarizing outer space which would even further increase the threat of war. The difficulties of the present situation in the international arena are to a considerable degree due to the fact that existing hotbeds of armed conflict are not being eliminated and that, from time to time, new ones break out between States.

It is a matter of the utmost concern that whole regions of the world are aflame and bleeding from the wounds of armed conflict. After the Second World War, ominous embers of armed conflicts have time and time again burst into flame in various parts of the world and many of them continue to blaze to this very day. So-called small wars bring untold suffering to the peoples of the world and set back their social and economic development. In a number of regions of the world

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whole generations have grown up without ever having known true peace and thousands upon thousands of lives continue to be sacrificed on the altar of the interests of others.

We are not inclined to oversimplify any analysis of conflict situations, but it is clear that when, in one part of the world or another, a hot spot appears and threatens to burst into the flames of war, this dangerous course of events can be traced to a desire to intervene in the internal affairs of others, a reluctance to take into account the legitimate interests of other countries and peoples, and to attempts to dictate to those countries and peoples by force. Acts of aggression, the annexation of the territory of others, armed raids on peaceful towns and villages, and the policy of State terrorism, condemned by the United Nations, continue.

The fact that many regional conflicts have become chronic in character is a matter of the utmost concern for the socialist countries. The recent meeting held in Sofia of the Political Consultative Committee of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty emphasized the readiness of the States represented to co-operate actively with all interested countries in order to bring about the settlement of existing conflict situations as soon as possible and prevent the emergence of new hotbeds of tension in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other parts of the world.

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"Peace is indivisible" states the Declaration adopted at the Sofia meeting "and in the present tense international situation each local conflict threatens to escalate into a clash of large, even global, scale. It is therefore necessary decisively to put an end to the imperialist policy of force and interference in the internal affairs of other countries and to acts of aggression, to settle conflicts and disputes among States by peaceful means and to respect fully each nation's right to decide its destiny itself."

(A/C.1/40/7, p. 9)

In that connection, the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty declared their support for the proposal of the Socialist Republic of Romania that the fortieth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations should adopt an appeal to States in conflict to cease armed action forthwith and start negotiations, and to States Members of the United Nations to settle conflicts and disputes by political means. The Soviet delegation believes that the General Assembly's adoption of the appeal contained in the present draft resolution should serve as a further incentive for the mobilization of the efforts of States to eliminate armed conflicts and, in the first place, to cease all acts of aggression, including the total elimination of the consequences of such acts in accordance with the principle that no benefits or advantages must be derived by the aggressor from his act of aggression. The Soviet Union is convinced that conflict situations can and must be resolved by peaceful means, with due and full account being taken to the legitimate interests of all parties concerned. In this connection there must, of course, be absolutely no infringement or limitation of the inalienable right of every State to individual or collective self-defence, or of the right of colonial and dependent peoples to conduct a struggle for national liberation.

One of the most dangerous hotbeds of conflict on our planet remains the Middle East. A comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Middle East problem can be achieved only through the collective efforts of all the parties concerned on the

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basis of a complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, implementation of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent State, and guarantees of the right of all States in that region to independent existence and development. Peace in the area will not come about through the conclusion of separate agreements, but, rather, through the holding of an international conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations and with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Another extremely urgent problem is the normalization of the situation in Central America, where the peoples are struggling for independence and socio-economic progress. The States of Central America must be protected against threats, pressure and outright acts of State terrorism, and efforts made to resolve the problems of that region through political means, without outside interference.

The interests of peace require the adoption of effective measures to halt the acts of aggression being perpetrated by South Africa against neighbouring States, to ensure the immediate implementation of United Nations resolutions on the granting of genuine independence to the people of Namibia and to do away with the criminal apartheid régime, which is a threat to international peace and security.

An immediate end must be put to the war between Iran and Iraq, and the outstanding issues that divide them should be settled by peaceful means.

We must achieve broad support for efforts to bring about a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. The key to such a settlement is the cessation of armed, or any other, intervention from outside in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and a guarantee that such activities will not be resumed.



(Mr. Troyanovsky, USSR)

The promotion of peace and co-operation in Asia and in the Pacific Ocean area, the settlement of the problems of South-East Asia by political means and the strengthening of confidence and security in those regions and other parts of the world are of particular importance. The Soviet delegation shares the view expressed in the Romanian draft resolution that there is a need not only to ensure the elimination of existing armed conflicts by peaceful and just means, but also to do everything possible to see to it that the principles of the Charter of the United Nations with regard to the non-use of force, non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, respect for sovereignty and the peaceful settlement of disputes become a real rule of international life and that new dangerous hotbeds of armed conflict are prevented from emerging in the world.

The United Nations Charter confers upon the Security Council a clearly defined role in the maintenance of international peace and security and the peaceful settlement of disputes. It has also endowed the Council with an impressive array of preventive and enforcement measures to maintain or restore international peace and security. Had those measures been fully utilized in accordance with the provisions of the Charter throughout the 40 years of United Nations existence, the question of eliminating armed conflict would not be as critical as it is today. Nevertheless, many decisions of the Security Council, particularly those designed to eliminate crisis situations in the Middle East, in Central America and in southern Africa, still exist only on paper. Thus the task of ensuring unswerving compliance with the Council's decisions has assumed paramount importance.

The Foreign Minister of the USSR, Mr. Shevardnadze, in his statement at the commemorative meeting at this session of the United Nations General Assembly, said the following:

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"We are resolutely in favour of ensuring peace for all nations, as required by the United Nations Charter. This underlies all our efforts aimed at preventing and stopping armed conflicts in various regions of the world and at reaching a just settlement of explosive situations." (A/40/PV.48, p. 66)

The Soviet delegation supports the draft resolution submitted by the Socialist Republic of Romania. It is our belief that this draft resolution will become an important element in the persistent efforts of our Organization to eliminate acts of aggression, to settle conflict situations and disputes between States and to strengthen international peace and security.

Mr. SHERWANI (India): In his address to the United Nations General Assembly on the occasion of the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi stated:

"The United Nations was born amid hope and fear , hope that the holocaust of the Second World War would never be repeated, and fear that human wisdom and ingenuity might fail to control the atom. Gradually some sort of world order began to take shape. Much has been achieved: freedom and equality from colonialism and racism, an early consensus on development, the beginnings of a viable financial and monetary system, structures of international co-operation, collective striving for disarmament. But, from our point of view, there are also several negative aspects. Does it behove the powerful to put a brake even on the slow progress towards evolution of an order? How will it profit them to abort the hope and the faith that the United Nations system symbolizes? These disturbing trends have vitiated the dialogue between nations. Today, the post-Second-World-War international order, never very strong, shows wide cracks. Let us attend to them." (A/40/PV.48, p. 36)

The vision of the founding fathers "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" today faces a challenge it has never faced before. The nuclear peril poses a threat to our very survival. Suspicion, mistrust, discrimination and inequality characterize the relations between States. We welcome, therefore, the initiative taken by Romania for a twofold "solemn appeal to States in conflict to cease armed action forthwith and to settle disputes between them through negotiations" and to States Members of the United Nations to undertake "to solve situations of tension and conflict and existing disputes by political means and to refrain from the threat of use of force and from any intervention in the internal affairs of other States". (A/40/241, annex)

(Mr. Sherwani, India)

The existence of States in conditions of peace and stability would enable them to channel their resources for the improvement of the quality of life so that human beings can live in dignity and prosperity.

The solemn appeal contained in draft resolution A/40/L.12 expresses deep concern at the persistence of armed conflict, acts of aggression and situations of tension in different parts of the world, at the continual emergence of new sources of conflict and at the tendency to resort to force or the threat of force in relations between States which gravely endanger their independence and security as well as international peace and security. It solemnly appeals to States in conflict to put an end to armed actions and to proceed to the settlement of disputes by negotiations and other peaceful means in accordance with the United Nations Charter. It requests the Security Council to act promptly to find solutions to these conflicts and reaffirms the important role conferred by the United Nations Charter on the General Assembly in the fields of peaceful settlement of disputes and the maintenance of international peace and security. It further requests the Secretary-General to play an active role within the scope of his functions under the Charter to promote efforts for the peaceful settlement of disputes and conflicts between States.

It is appropriate that we focus attention on these important principles which should guide relations between States during the current session of the General Assembly, when the United Nations is entering its fifth decade. A reaffirmation by Member States of their commitment to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, especially those relating to non-use of force and the threat of force and the peaceful settlement of disputes, would greatly contribute towards ensuring conditions of peace and security. On the other hand, determining ways and

(Mr. Sherwani, India)

means of strengthening the effectiveness of the United Nations as the main instrument for maintaining peace and security would undoubtedly contribute towards achieving the desired goals.

The United Nations Charter was framed in the aftermath of the two world wars as a logical answer to the question of the maintenance of international peace and security and the joint promotion of economic development and social progress in this interdependent world. The main purpose of the Charter is to maintain international peace and security and to that end to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace. Under the provisions of the United Nations Charter, the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security has been vested in the Security Council, involving special obligations for its permanent members. Equally, the General Assembly as the universal organ has both moral and legislative authority to make recommendations on all matters under the Charter. Although the scheme of the Charter is basically sound, the United Nations has not lived up to the high expectations placed in it by the international community. In particular, the Security Council has not functioned as the effective instrument it was intended to be. This is mainly due to the lack of political will among States and the absence of a collegial approach among the permanent members of the Security Council.

In his report on the work of the Organization for 1985 the Secretary-General has made pragmatic recommendations with a view to enhancing the effectiveness of

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the United Nations. We hope that these recommendations will be seriously considered to pave the way for concrete, meaningful and realistic action in enhancing the effectiveness of the United Nations and generally revitalizing the United Nations as a whole. India stands ready to fulfil its obligations in this regard.

The principles of peaceful settlement of disputes, of non-intervention and non-interference are central to the philosophy of peaceful coexistence advocated by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. At the seventh summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, held in New Delhi in March 1983, these principles were reiterated.

The Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States adopted by the General Assembly in 1970 also reiterated these principles. It inter alia proclaimed that States shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

States in their mutual relations should be constantly guided by the principles of strict mutual respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, the inviolability of legally established international frontiers, non-interference and respect for the right of peoples to free national and social development. Further, all disputes should be resolved by peaceful means in full conformity with the purposes, principles and provisions of the United Nations Charter and the principles and objectives of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries without interference and without recourse to pressure, threat or use of force. During our commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations

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we hope that all States will commit themselves to adhere strictly to these principles, which remain the corner-stone of friendly and good-neighbourly relations between States.

Mr. WIJewardane (Sri Lanka): The item we are now considering, which has been included on the agenda of this session in consequence of the request by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Romania, is not of mere abstract significance. It provides a focus for the reiteration of certain principles which have acquired an abiding significance and presents a solemn appeal that is both timely and necessary.

(Mr. Wijewardane, Sri Lanka)

Throughout the world individual situations of instability and tension prevail, often breaking out into armed conflict, with disastrous consequences for the people of the States in conflict. This is not the occasion to undertake a listing of these situations, nor do we have the time to survey the root causes of these disputes and conflicts. What is most obvious, of course, is that while such situations persist the people of the countries directly concerned are called upon to make severe sacrifices in terms of human life and material resources, and to see the process of their peaceful development retarded and often set back.

Furthermore, these conflicts have adverse repercussions extending far beyond the territories and peoples of the States in conflict, threatening the peace and stability of neighbouring States and, indeed, regional peace and stability. Shock-waves could extend beyond the region to threaten areas far distant. The debates of the General Assembly reveal that there is an implicit realization of the danger of regional conflicts extending to other areas far removed. A few days ago the representative of Saint Lucia spoke of his country's concern about developments in far-off Kampuchea, and this is only one such case in point.

As man's frontiers are extended, new areas and fresh opportunities present hitherto unknown scope not only for development of man's material situation but also for the enrichment of his intellectual and mental potential. Previously uncharted and unknown expanses of outer space are now within the reach of man. Tragically, however, it is also becoming increasingly clear that the extension of mankind's horizons brings with it fresh areas in which there could be a clash of interests, new rivalries and the seemingly inevitable confrontation of opposing States and groups of States. My own country, Sri Lanka, has taken initiatives in the field of outer space to help ensure that the far reaches of outer space are preserved for exclusively peaceful uses for the benefit of all mankind rather than



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for military exploitation by a few. The search for peaceful means of conflict resolution, including the anticipation of possible new areas of conflict, must be intensified even as man's exploratory instincts open up new vistas for him.

Qualitatively, the yearning for peace has undergone hardly any change through the ages. New complexities have, of course, emerged, requiring new methods and fresh approaches to the problem of settling disputes and bringing calm to situations of tension.

Certainly, the conditions under which the United Nations was established 40 years ago in the debris of the Second World War have changed radically. The commemorative session of the General Assembly, which drew an unprecedented number of leaders from all over the world, analyzed the changing circumstances that prevail today. Nevertheless, the Charter of the United Nations still retains a relevance which must be constantly reiterated. One may hope that through constant reiteration the injunctions contained in the Charter will gain greater acceptance and influence and, most important, lead nations to observe them scrupulously. In very straightforward language the Charter contains the injunction that all Members of the United Nations shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace, security and justice are not endangered. The Charter also maintains that Members of the United Nations shall act in accordance with the principle that they shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State or act in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

The means of dispute settlement listed in Article 33 of the Charter - negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement,

(Mr. Wijewardane, Sri Lanka)

resort to regional agencies or arrangements and other peaceful means - offer the framework for the settlement of virtually any dispute between States.

For most of us, it is the principles of the Charter which provide the primary means of safeguarding our peace, security and independence from external interference or intervention. It is well worth considering the possibility of strengthening regional organizations in such a manner as to supplement the security offered by the United Nations.

It is not our intention to over-simplify the root causes of existing disputes which have come before the United Nations. Each dispute is heir to its own complexities, which may often not be evident to third parties. However, it is our firm conviction that the peaceful or political settlement of disputes rather than their prolongation by military means is the only way to reach settlements satisfactory to all parties. Military victories are at best Pyrrhic.

In conclusion, we would like to express our deep appreciation of the efforts being made by the Secretary-General through patient and quiet diplomacy to find solutions to many of the disputes that plague the international community today. The mere fact of the acceptance by disputants of the role of the Secretary-General and the United Nations, indicative as it is of a political approach, is encouraging, and these efforts call for the full co-operation and support of the international community. It is undeniable that some of the credit for averting a major global conflict over the last 40 years must go to the Organization. It is by a firm commitment by all its Members to the principles of the United Nations Charter that we can minimize, if not avert, the havoc that arises from unresolved conflicts. A more determined effort needs to be made in this International Year of Peace, the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, to exert the necessary political will for the political settlement of all outstanding armed conflicts.

THE PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in the debate.

The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/40/L.12. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly wishes to adopt the draft resolution.

Draft resolution A/40/L.12 was adopted (resolution 40/9).

The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran, who wishes to explain his country's position on the draft resolution. I remind him that, in accordance with decision 34/401, such statements are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. ZAMANINIA (Islamic Republic of Iran): The Islamic Republic of Iran being the victim of a war of aggression imposed on it by the arrogant Powers through their local surrogate puppet, my delegation should logically be the last to try to impede the adoption of the solemn appeal proposed by Romania, because the victim of aggression is supposed to be the first to benefit from this solemn appeal for peace. Unfortunately, however, that is not the case.

My delegation has taken note of the good faith and co-operation of the delegation of Romania in this regard, but we believe that political realism and an objective assessment of existing international conflicts would have led to a solemn appeal of a different kind. Such an appeal would have acknowledged that there is a direct and inseparable link between justice and peace. It would not have promoted the expectation of achieving peace in a void irrespective of the political realities of our time. We regret that the principle of justice has somehow been diluted - or perhaps wasted - in the desert of preambular paragraphs.

Peace, as a state of balance and tranquillity, ought to satisfy the victim although it may not satisfy the aggressor. Peace in this sense must be distinct from the absence of war or from a cease-fire, a distinction which is rarely taken note of. Supporters of peace, and we are such, should remember that a situation in which war is absent or there is a cease-fire is not exactly the same as peace.

(Mr. Zamaninia, Islamic  
Republic of Iran)

We strongly support the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes and consider it to be a lofty idea. However, the concept of the peaceful settlement of disputes makes no sense after a war of aggression has been launched. It is pertinent only to the situation preceding the outbreak of full-scale military aggression.

Thus, the very important principle of the non-use of force is unjustifiably undermined in the solemn appeal, thus thwarting the main philosophy of the appeal.

It appears that the territory of the Security Council is encroached upon. However, in view of the impotence of the Security Council, no one need worry about that encroachment, because the record of the Council makes it clear that such an encroachment might well be necessary to bring about the improvement of the status of the international body.

We earnestly requested our colleagues from Romania to include the phrase "on the basis of the Charter of the United Nations" in operative paragraph 1. We regret that such a humble reference to the Charter could not be accommodated on this the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations.

I believe that an objective assessment of international tension and of conflicts throughout the world, together with a healthy understanding of the mechanism through which the United Nations system operates, would result in a more appreciative stand regarding the Secretary-General, in the light of his excellent record in making effective use of his office. This was referred to by the overwhelming majority of Heads of State of Government who made statements in this Hall during the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations.

Notwithstanding the foregoing reservations, my delegation decided not to request a recorded vote on the draft resolution, but we thought that our concerns and reservations should be put on the record.

The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and five minutes for the second and should be made by representatives from their seats.

Mr. ZAMANINIA (Islamic Republic of Iran): We took note with pleasure of the comments made by the representative of Oman with regard to the war of aggression imposed upon us. He is not the only representative who has made such comments. If he and other persons who have made such remarks really believe what they preach, they must advise their respective Governments to stop their financial, political and other support for the aggressor, and thus cease adding fuel to the fire. I wonder if those delegations are prepared to blame their colleagues in the capitals in our neighbourhood for the more than \$40 billion they have contributed to the war machine of the aggressor. My delegation wishes that this peace-seeking wisdom had governed the attitude of those supporters of the aggressor who were at one time counting the minutes to the collapse of our Islamic régime.

Mr. SUMAIDA (Iraq) (interpretation from Arabic): The representative of Iran has stated that the war which for more than five years has been raging between his country and mine was imposed upon his country. I agree with him that the war was imposed upon Iran, but who imposed it upon them? It was the ruling clique in Iran, a clique of irreligious men, headed by Khomeini. It was Khomeini that imposed this war upon the people of Iran, upon Iraq and upon the neighbouring States, because of his obsession with aggression and his wish to dominate the region and because of his desire and that of his country for expansion.

(Mr Sumaida, Iraq)

The war has lasted for more than five years, during which time Iran has consistently rejected all resolutions and international initiatives intended to end the conflict by peaceful means, beginning with Security Council resolution 479 (1980), of 28 September 1980. In this regard, Iran's most recent rejection of these noble efforts to end the conflict was its rejection of the initiative of the current President of the Security Council, the representative of Australia, who tried to meet separately with the two parties to discuss the conflict. Iraq responded positively to his invitation, while Iran, as usual, arrogantly and intransigently rejected it.

The ruling régime which has imposed itself upon Iran fears peace, because peace will reveal its inability to find solutions to the political, social and economic problems that plague Iran, the legacy of the régime of the former Shah. Because of that inability, it avoids facing those problems by prolonging the war and preoccupying the people of Iran with it. For more than five years, the war has devastated that country, bringing with it tragedy and catastrophe, and it is still raging.

(Mr. Sumaida, Iraq)

The clique which now rules the people of Iran is made up of irreligious men. I say "irreligious" because their words and deeds show that they are against all values held sacred by the Islamic and all other religions. Mohammed, the Messenger of God who founded and spread Islam, defined a "Moslem" as "he who brings no harm to persons in deed or word". Therefore the actions of those rulers in Iran are against Islam, because they have not spared people harm in deed or word.

The rulers of Iran have inflicted material harm on their people and their neighbours. No one has been spared the attacks of their leaders, beginning with the imposter Khomeini, Rafsanjani, Khamenei, and Khorassani their representative here. They have abused the entire world with words. Not even this international Organization has been spared.

The disasters brought by the imposter Khomeini on his people and the neighbouring States have earned him the title "curse of Allah" rather than Ayatollah.

The PRESIDENT: The representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran has asked to be allowed to speak. May I remind him that this is the second time and that he will be allowed five minutes.

Mr. RAJAIE-KHORASSANI (Islamic Republic of Iran): I have asked to be allowed to speak on a point of order.

The first right of reply that we exercised was in response to the comments made by the representative of Oman. I now wish to exercise my right of reply to the statement by the representative of Iraq. It has nothing to do with my previous reply and, therefore, I believe that I deserve 10 minutes. May I have your comment on that, Mr. President.

The PRESIDENT: According to General Assembly decision 34/401, you have the right to make two statements in exercise of the right of reply: the first for 10 minutes and the second for 5 minutes. The first one was made by your representative and this is the second: it is in connection with the item under consideration and, therefore, you have five minutes.

Mr. RAJAIE-KHORASSANI (Islamic Republic of Iran): Since we made no reference to Iraq, what was the point that upset its representative and made him use the type of language usually employed in their statements by the representatives of the Ba'athist régime of Iraq? I believe that his statement was absolutely unnecessary, because he exercised the right of reply against no one. We did not say anything against his country. That is the first point.

The second point is we could sense that he felt implicated somehow. We have a Persian saying to the effect: "As soon as one takes the stick, the stealing cat runs away." I believe that saying applies to the situation.

The next point I should like to make is that it was interesting to hear the representative of the Ba'athist régime make reference to the Holy Prophet. In that reference he said that a Moslem was someone from whose tongue and hands others did not suffer. Representatives clearly heard what that gentleman said against distinguished personalities and the leader of a great number - I do not say the vast majority - of Moslems all over the world. I believe he wanted to quote the Prophet Mohammed, but he is definitely not a proper Moslem.

However, we did not say anything at all about chemical warfare. We did not say anything about the bombardment of civilians. We did not say anything about the violations of humanitarian laws - a common practice of the Iraqi régime. Therefore, we do not think the time-limit on this statement is fair.



The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Oman.

Mr. al-SOGATRY (Oman) (interpretation from Arabic): When my Ambassador referred to the Iran-Iraq war he touched on the most important problem plaguing the world, destabilizing security and peace, and which we consider to be one of the problems affecting peace and stability in the world. The cause of the Irani representative's concern is unknown to me. When my Ambassador made his statement he was expressing the wish that Iran would stand with the international community and heed the words of wisdom by putting an end to the conflict, which is of no benefit to either of the two parties.

The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran on a point of order.

Mr. RAJAI-KHORASSANI (Islamic Republic of Iran): As representatives have observed, there have been four statements by two delegations against my delegation and, according to your interpretation of the General Assembly's decision, Mr. President, I can exercise the right of reply only twice: one for 10 minutes and the other for 5 minutes. I do not think that I agree with your interpretation, Sir.

The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 146.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.