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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 25 September 1986, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. CHOUDHURY (Bangladesh)
later: Mr. HERRENBURG (Suriname)
(Vice-President)

- Address by Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, President of the Republic of Cyprus
- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements were made by:

Mr. Dost (Afghanistan)
Mr. Genscher (Federal Republic of Germany)
Mr. Orzechowski (Poland)
Mr. Andersson (Sweden)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.10 a.m.

ADDRESS BY MR. SPYROS KYPRIANOU, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS

The PRESIDENT: This morning the Assembly will first hear an address by the President of the Republic of Cyprus.

Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, President of the Republic of Cyprus, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the Republic of Cyprus, His Excellency Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President KYPRIANOU: Sir, I should like first of all to congratulate you on your unanimous and well-deserved election to the presidency of the forty-first session of the General Assembly. We hope and trust that under your able guidance, ensured by your skill, dedication and objectivity, this session will yield positive results.

I also wish to express our sincere appreciation to your predecessor Mr. Jaime de Piniés of Spain for the excellent manner he guided the deliberations of the fortieth session of the General Assembly. He undoubtedly distinguished himself as a man of commitment to the ideals of the United Nations.

Our sincere appreciation also goes to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his endeavours towards strengthening the United Nations in view in particular of the grave difficulties, economic and others, with which our Organization is faced.

When we gathered in this hall, last year, to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations and evaluate the progress achieved in translating its principles and purposes into living realities, we concluded that the record was still far from being satisfactory. Now, a year later the record is not much better.

(President Kyprianou)

The situation prevailing in the world continues to be more often one of affront to and violation of the very principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter rather than one of commitment and adherence to them. Thus, the use or threat of use of force in international relations, aggression, military occupation and foreign interference in the internal affairs of States as well as the persistent violation of human rights in many parts of the world are still frequent phenomena. No one can deny that if that frightening vulnerability of the international political system remains unchecked, it would vitiate the very concept of collective security which lies at the heart of the Charter, not to speak of the ultimate disastrous consequences for humanity as a whole.

Despite the fact that there exists unanimity among nations as to the validity of the Charter and the necessity for preserving and further strengthening international co-operation, the threats to international peace and security are not only ever present but are on the increase. Although since the establishment of the United Nations mankind has so far avoided the insanity of a third world war, war itself has not been eliminated. More than a hundred limited wars have taken place in many parts of the world because of the inability of the United Nations to prevent such conflicts.

The pursuit of narrow national interests, often in direct violation of the principles of the Charter, has become common practice. The underlying reason for the persistence of such violations, usually both flagrant and gross, is that they are carried out with impunity, the perpetrators being able to flout with arrogance the international community's decisions. In all those cases, Article 25 of the Charter remains a dead letter and decisions of the Security Council, even those unanimously adopted, remain unimplemented. It is a sad fact that the very basis on which the United Nations rests is being eroded and in the face of this, the Organization appears inefficient and incapable.

(President Kyprianou)

Respect by Member States of the decisions of the principal organs of the United Nations, especially those of the Security Council, provides the essential prerequisite for the maintenance of international peace and security as envisaged in the Charter. As long as such respect is lacking, the Organization will be virtually hamstrung in resolving conflict situations. Only when compliance by Member States with the resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council becomes the rule will the United Nations fully perform its basic role as expressly provided for in the Charter.

The Charter provides fully for an institutional framework for the taking by the Security Council of effective enforcement measures for the maintenance or restoration of international peace. But the measures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter have not so far been used, thus weakening the capacity of the United Nations to deal effectively with situations posing a threat to international peace and security. We maintain that it is high time to re-examine the issue and hold a constructive dialogue aiming at giving life to all the pertinent provisions of the Charter and at ensuring strict compliance with United Nations resolutions.

We must also proceed with determination and vigour to provide the Security Council with the necessary means for the creation of an effective collective international security system as provided for in the Charter. Only then will the United Nations be able to deal decisively with the international anarchy and lawlessness that prevails today, secure the prerequisites for general and complete disarmament and ensure for itself the prestige and authority that it needs in order to pursue its task successfully.

The absence of an effective collective international security system as provided for in the Charter is no doubt the major stumbling block to real progress towards disarmament. The absence of such a system not only prevents the great

(President Kyprianou)

Powers from dealing with the problem of disarmament with confidence and without suspicion but also encourages even small States to enter into local arms races. It is therefore imperative that we all concentrate our efforts as a matter of high priority on the establishment of an international security system, and any proposals to that effect should be seriously studied within the context of a result-oriented dialogue for the purpose of achieving the desired objective.

A lot of discussion on this issue has been taking place since the establishment of the United Nations, but unfortunately, for various reasons, it has never received the attention it deserves. It must by now be absolutely clear that such a system constitutes an imperative necessity. All Members of the United Nations bear a great responsibility in this respect, but if the effort is to succeed it should have the genuine and meaningful support and positive contribution of the great Powers, and in particular the super-Powers.

Whilst general and complete disarmament obviously cannot be achieved without a system of international security as provided for in the Charter, this does not mean that efforts aiming at détente, at halting the arms race and for the reduction of armaments are not worth pursuing. On the contrary, every effort must be made in this respect. The greater the extent to which this is achieved, the fewer the dangers to international peace and security and to the survival of the human race. The escalation of the arms race, both nuclear and conventional, must end without any further delay and a reverse process must begin aiming at limiting as much as possible the means of destruction. There are today more than 50,000 nuclear weapons amassed by the nuclear Powers, not to speak of other means of mass destruction or of conventional arsenals. A small portion only of existing nuclear weapons would be enough to cause the complete annihilation of human life on our planet.

(President Kyprianou)

An encouraging sign is the fact that there seems to be a real apprehension of the dangers involved in the escalation of the arms race on the part of all countries, including the nuclear Powers. This apprehension, which in recent years has appeared to be growing, is in itself an incentive to try to do as much as possible towards halting the arms race and reducing the dangers of a nuclear holocaust.

All countries have a responsibility to contribute in this respect, but of course it is undoubtedly the primary duty of the nuclear Powers, and in particular the super-Powers, to take all possible action and measures to prevent a nuclear catastrophe.

There are in fact some signs that could be described as positive. The summit meeting between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev held in November last year, though it produced no concrete agreement, created a momentum and a constructive atmosphere that could pave the way for possible breakthroughs in the near future.

Similarly, the successful outcome a few days ago in Stockholm of the Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe will, we hope, contribute to the lessening of suspicions regarding military manoeuvres and troop movements in Europe.

We also welcome the constructive dialogue between the United States and the Soviet Union within the context of mutual and balanced force reduction in Vienna and we hope that an agreement will be worked out regarding reductions in conventional weapons and military forces in Europe. Furthermore, the recent movement in the positions of the super-Powers in the Geneva arms control talks, especially in the area of medium-range missile forces, is a source of further encouragement.

(President Kyprianou)

We support all initiatives and proposals aimed at progress in the field of arms control and in this connection we welcome the extension by the Soviet Union of the unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing. We regard this as an important step in the right direction and towards a total ban on nuclear tests. We would also like to reiterate our appreciation of the initiative of the six countries - namely, Greece, India, Argentina, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania - which reflects the concern of the world at large for détente and nuclear disarmament.

I have referred to some positive signs. The significance of the relations between the two super-Powers as a barometer of the international climate focuses the eyes of the world today on the prospects for a new summit meeting between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev. We hope that nothing will stand in the way of such a meeting. Furthermore, we hope that when that meeting does take place it will lead to concrete results not only in the field of arms control and disarmament, which are obviously the primary objectives, but also in regard to regional conflicts, which present a threat to international peace and security. We hope and trust that the new summit meeting will herald the beginning of a new era of hope and peace for humanity.

(President Kyprianou)

The world's economic situation is related to some extent to the expenditures on armaments. The level of global military spending today is estimated at more than \$US 900 billion annually. A fraction of those resources, both financial and human, if devoted to development would lead to the realization of economic and social progress for millions. We hope that the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, to be held in Paris in 1987, will produce positive results.

Generally speaking, one cannot but underline the fact that the world economic situation remains critical. The prolonged economic difficulties facing developing countries have seriously affected the pace of their development. These problems, coupled with the obsolete and structurally deficient system of economic relations, serve only to aggravate the striking imbalance existing between the North and the South.

In today's world of economic interdependence, there is no alternative to global negotiations which should lead towards the long overdue establishment of a new international economic order. We therefore cannot but maintain our belief that global negotiations should be launched as soon as possible as we assess their ability to bring true solutions to the problems confronting the world.

As a necessary step we attach great importance to the Ministerial Conference which will take place in North Korea in 1987, as decided by the recent summit conference of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries at Harare, for the purpose of strengthening South-South economic co-operation. The success of that conference will, I am sure, enhance the chances for a more fruitful dialogue between the North and the South.

On the other hand, the special session of the General Assembly convened last June to consider the critical economic situation in Africa and the Programme of

(President Kyprianou)

Action for African Economic Recovery and Development for the years 1986-1990 were a major achievement for the African Governments and the international community as a whole. It has been clearly demonstrated that when the essential political will is displayed by all the work of the United Nations can be constructive and have positive results. The challenge now is to translate the Programme of Action into concrete terms. This will require sustained efforts by all concerned, and we believe that, given the determination of African Governments and the encouraging response of the international community, the chances for success are considerable.

I shall now refer to some of the most serious international problems in different parts of the world. A great number of us discussed these same problems only three weeks ago at the Harare summit conference of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which coincided with the twenty-fifth anniversary of its establishment at Belgrade in 1961.

During the 25 years of its existence, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has played a positive role in world affairs and has sought to contribute to the promotion of peace, the improvement of international relations, and the establishment of a more just world. Cyprus, a founding member, will continue to follow the policy of non-alignment and will actively participate in the Movement's efforts and activities. We are both honoured and proud that Cyprus has been chosen as the venue for the next ministerial conference of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. In this connection, I should like to express our gratitude to the Movement for its solidarity with and consistent support of the just cause of Cyprus.

I believe that the recent Conference in Harare magnified the need to strengthen the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in furtherance of its principles and objectives. The principles and objectives of non-alignment are in complete accord with the principles and purposes of the United Nations. I believe that

(President Kyprianou)

without the Movement and its concerted efforts the United Nations would have been even weaker today. One of the primary objectives of the Movement is the strengthening of the United Nations, and I have no doubt that it will continue to pursue that objective with determination and vigour. The United Nations must become stronger and more effective so that it may successfully discharge its responsibilities and mission as envisaged in the Charter. The conference at Harare was not only an occasion to take stock of the achievements of the Movement; it was also an opportunity to voice our concerns and views with regard to the problems facing the world today. Fittingly, South Africa and Namibia were central issues in our deliberations at Harare.

The situation in southern Africa continues to be dominated by tumultuous events. The evil policy of apartheid is still a grim reality in South Africa; it constitutes a crime not only against the black majority in South Africa but also against mankind as a whole. It presents a real challenge to the United Nations. Condemnations are of course being voiced in all parts of the world, but they are falling on deaf ears. It is now recognized by all that apartheid means the negation of all human values and principles enshrined in the Charter and embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Despite the universal condemnation, concrete action in the form of effective measures as expressly provided for in the Charter are still to be adopted. Thus oppression and tyranny are exercised in South Africa against millions of the black majority by a racist régime which continuously and arrogantly flouts the international community.

The World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, held in Paris last June, indicated beyond any doubt the growing demand for comprehensive sanctions in order to bring about the dismantling of the abhorrent system of apartheid. Cyprus associates itself fully with the declarations of the Conference,

(President Kyprianou)

as well as with all Security Council and General Assembly resolutions and declarations adopted by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries on the issue. At the same time we express our solidarity with and undiminished support for the just struggle being waged by the oppressed people of South Africa and call for the immediate release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners.

The concern of the international community over Namibia was manifested by the holding of a special session of the General Assembly on the issue last week. Cyprus, a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, joins the international community in reiterating its consistent support for and solidarity with the people of Namibia under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), their sole and authentic representative, in their just and legitimate struggle for national independence, self-determination and sovereignty in a united Namibia. We call for the immediate and unconditional implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Recent events in Namibia indicate the necessity for resolute action so that the Namibian people may achieve their noble goals of freedom and human dignity.

Another most disturbing aspect of the situation in the southern African region is to be found in South Africa's policies and actions against neighbouring States, including military attacks and attempts at destabilization. Armed raids against Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Zambia and Zimbabwe during recent months have been condemned without reservation by the international community. We take this opportunity once again to voice our condemnation of those illegal actions and our complete solidarity with the front-line States.

(President Kyprianou)

The critical situation in the Middle East is also of great concern. We reiterate our position that the question of Palestine constitutes the core of the Middle East problem. We maintain that there can be no comprehensive, viable and just solution unless account is taken of the legitimate aspirations and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to establish their own independent sovereign State. We strongly hold the view that the complete and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all occupied territories is imperative and long overdue. We adhere to the position of principle that the acquisition of territory by force in whatever circumstances is inadmissible and can never be legitimized. We fully support the implementation of the United Nations resolutions on the Middle East, as well as the convening of an international conference with the full participation of all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

The gravity of the situation in our neighbouring country Lebanon continues to pose a serious threat to peace and security in the region. Cyprus has all along provided humanitarian assistance to the friendly people of Lebanon and will continue to do so if and when such help is needed. It is our fervent hope that the people of Lebanon will without further delay achieve national reconciliation and peace and that all human suffering will be alleviated. We once again reiterate our continued support for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and unity of Lebanon and call for the immediate withdrawal of all Israeli forces from its territory.

The Iran-Iraq conflict continues to cause grave loss of life, human suffering and massive destruction. We express our concern at the tragic loss of life. We also express the hope that this war may soon come to an end.

(President Kyprianou)

The problem of Western Sahara continues to remain unresolved despite many efforts including those of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). We fervently hope that a just and lasting solution will be found, based on the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

The situation in Central America continues to pose a serious threat to peace in the region and constitutes one of the main focal points of tension. It is regrettable that, despite the efforts exerted so far by the Contadora Group for a negotiated political solution to the problems in the region, the situation continues to deteriorate. The need for dialogue is imperative. Equally imperative is respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States in the region and adherence to the principle of non-interference in their internal affairs. We express the hope that the peace initiatives of the Contadora Group, as well as the efforts of the Lima Support Group, will finally contribute positively to the achievement of a peaceful solution to the problems in Central America.

I now turn, finally, to the grave situation we are confronted with in Cyprus, a situation with which the General Assembly and the Security Council are only too familiar. In fact, the reason why the Cyprus problem still exists is the non-implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. This is an example of the weakness of our Organization which I referred to at the beginning of my statement. But if the Cyprus problem is to be properly and reasonably solved the implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations constitute an absolute necessity. There is no alternative. Various attempts have been made to solve the Cyprus problem apart from the provisions of the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations. Those attempts have inevitably contributed to

(President Kyprianou)

the perpetuation of the unresolved crisis and indeed to the worsening of the situation. It is only when all efforts have been concentrated on implementing the provisions of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations that progress towards a just and lasting solution can be achieved.

The elements contained in the United Nations resolutions for a solution to the Cyprus problem represent the only realistic approach. We are ourselves in the process of considering what should be done next on our part in pursuance of the implementation of the United Nations resolutions.

Twelve years have gone by since the inhuman invasion of Cyprus by Turkey. Despite the condemnation of the aggression, 37 per cent of our territory is still under the occupation of Turkish troops, one third of our population are still refugees, forcibly prevented from returning to their homes and ancestral lands and the missing persons are still unaccounted for, while the occupying Power persists in its calculated policy of consolidating the occupation and division of the country. Turkey still maintains an occupation army of about 30,000 men. It has implanted in the occupied part 60,000 colonist settlers from its Anatolian provinces. In fact, the Turkish Cypriot community itself is now submerged under the vocal colonist element and one of the most ominous recent developments - ominous for Cyprus and for the Turkish Cypriots themselves - is the fact that the political party which was formed by the settlers is now playing a determining role in the so-called government in the occupied area of Cyprus.

The systematic large-scale implantation of colonist settlers from Turkey, in a calculated attempt to change the age-long demographic character of Cyprus, in addition to the presence of the Turkish troops of occupation and the solution Turkey envisages, is a manifest attempt by Turkey to place our country under its permanent political and military control. Throughout this period Turkey has been taking a series of partitionist steps, culminating in the blatant attempt in 1983

(President Kyprianou)

at secession, which was condemned by the United Nations in Security Council resolutions 541 (1983) and 550 (1984).

Neither Security Council resolutions 541 (1983) and 550 (1984), calling for the reversal of all secessionist acts, nor the other resolutions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly calling for the withdrawal of the occupation troops, for respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of Cyprus, calling for the return of the refugees to their homes, condemning the influx into the occupied areas of colonialist settlers from Turkey, and calling for the cessation of foreign intervention in the internal affairs of Cyprus, have been respected by Turkey.

Turkey has been able to ignore with impunity every principle and norm of justice and morality. Turkey felt itself in a position to ignore completely the General Assembly and the Security Council. It is obvious that, free from any real pressure, Turkey has not so far felt the necessity to give up its expansionist and partitionist plans against the small, defenceless and non-aligned Republic of Cyprus.

Occasionally an attempt is made by some to present the Cyprus problem as a dispute between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots. Nothing could be further from the truth. The problem of Cyprus in its essence is a problem of invasion and occupation, aimed at the imposition of a solution that will serve the expansionist designs and other interests of Turkey in the region. There may be internal differences to be settled between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots. I am convinced, however, that those differences would have been solved many years ago had it not been for the presence of the occupation troops and the foreign intervention.

(President Kyprianou)

Despite the oppressive presence of the Turkish occupation troops and settlers, which makes a mockery of "free negotiations" as provided for in the landmark General Assembly resolution 32/15, we have not refused to negotiate. We have been negotiating for the past 12 years, under duress and under all sorts of pressures. In our genuine desire to reach a peaceful solution we have made a series of concessions, to an extent to which no other Government, I believe, would ever have gone in similar circumstances. In fact if the concessions we have offered in connection with the constitutional and territorial aspects of the Cyprus problem were applied to other States having ethnic minorities with separatist inclinations a large number of States would be confronted with permanent instability and even complete disintegration, yet all the concessions we have offered, aside from such internationally recognized and accepted democratic principles as "majority rule" and "one man one vote", have not been considered enough. Turkey now wants us to make further concessions, to such a point that it would mean the legalization of the results of the invasion and a prescription for new deadlocks and conflicts, with repercussions beyond Cyprus.

(President Kyprianou)

I have to be frank. Unfortunately, the mentality prevailing in certain quarters, which we very much resent, is that pressure must be exercised on the victim, being the weaker side, and not on the stronger party, namely, Turkey, irrespective of the fact that it is the aggressor and the wrongdoer. Some consider this more practical. They consider a solution easier through continuous concessions on the part of the weak side, irrespective of the merits of the case or the principles and moral issues involved. But even if we suppose that this attitude prevails and succeeds, the net result would not be a just and viable solution, but, instead, the beginning of a new crisis with far-reaching consequences. Let me at this point make clear that despite the many difficulties we are encountering, despite our weaknesses and the different pressures, we cannot, under any circumstances, agree to a solution which will place Cyprus directly or indirectly under the military and political control of Turkey, or to a solution that because of its inequity and unworkability would lead to a new Cyprus problem, new conflicts and new tragedies. The solution must be just, viable and workable, and in full conformity with the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations.

We have extended our sincere co-operation to the Secretary-General of the United Nations in the exercise of his mission of good offices, which is well defined in the resolutions of the United Nations. We have done this motivated by a genuine desire to achieve a peaceful and fair solution in strict conformity with the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations. We shall continue the dialogue with the Secretary-General in the same spirit.

The internal aspect of the Cyprus problem is, of course, important. We have been negotiating on the internal aspects, namely, the constitutional and territorial, for a federal system for almost 12 years. We all know where both sides stand on these issues. But we do not know where the Turkish side stands with regard to the basic issue of the withdrawal of the occupation troops and the

(President Kyprianou)

settlers, the question of international guarantees and the question of the application of fundamental freedoms and human rights for all Cypriots.

In a letter I addressed to the Secretary-General on 10 June 1986, I explained to him our position with regard to his latest initiative, and I suggested to him how we might proceed forward. Progress cannot be made by demanding more and more concessions from one side to the point that an arrangement will be both totally unjust and unworkable. In fact, all the concessions we made in the past, which, I repeat, no other Government in our position, in my humble view, would have made, were contingent upon acceptance of the position that the subject matter of the resolutions of the United Nations relating to the withdrawal of the occupation troops and settlers, the question of the effective international guarantees with no spurious claims of rights of unilateral interventions, and the application of the fundamental freedoms and human rights for all Cypriots, were priority questions to be discussed and settled urgently. If agreement on these three fundamental issues is not possible there is no point in discussing further the constitutional aspect of the problem. If, on the other hand, agreement on the three vital issues proves possible, that will facilitate an overall agreement as provided for in the resolutions of the United Nations. The way out, therefore, would be, without further delay and as a matter of priority, to tackle the important issues of the Cyprus problem.

The problem of Cyprus is a problem of the United Nations, and it should be solved within its framework and in conformity with its Charter and resolutions. This has always been our position and it will continue to be so; but it is only natural and, I hope, understandable to expect efforts and initiatives which will preclude the realization by Turkey of its sinister designs at the expense of Cyprus or any arrangement that might lead, because of its unworkability, to new conflicts and new crises.

(President Kyprianou)

If progress is to be made the international community must at last find the way to make Turkey feel that it has to abandon its expansionist and partitionist plans at the expense of Cyprus. Meaningful and effective efforts towards checking Ankara's intransigence are necessary and fully consistent with the obligations of all the Members of the United Nations to ensure the implementation of its resolutions. Equally, we welcome any proposals from any side that contribute towards finding a just solution to the Cyprus problem. In this connection I wish to reiterate that we welcome the proposals made by the Soviet Union last January on the principles of a Cyprus settlement and ways to reach it. These proposals are fully consistent with the principles of the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations. In order to address the major components of the Cyprus problem those proposals call for the convening of a representative international conference under the auspices of the United Nations. We urge all concerned to consider this suggestion, which we fully support, seriously and urgently.

It is not the first time that I address the General Assembly, and it is not the first time that I speak in this hall about the Cyprus problem. I repeatedly appealed to the General Assembly and the Security Council to take concrete steps for the implementation of the United Nations resolutions. I repeatedly appealed to all Member States to place the Cyprus problem higher on their list of priorities. For how long will the occupation of a large part of our territory continue? For how long will the refugees forcibly remain away from their homes and will the fate of the missing persons remain unknown? For how long will the people of Cyprus live in agony about their future and very survival? For how long will the human rights of our people be denied? The Cyprus problem may appear to be a complicated problem, but in its essence it is a simple one. If Turkey is made to see reason, and the resolutions of the United Nations are implemented, the Cyprus problem will be solved. Cyprus is a small island, but it has all the possibilities of being a

(President Kyprianou)

happy place for all its inhabitants irrespective of ethnic origin. This can be achieved without the presence of occupation troops and without dividing lines. This can be achieved without foreign interference and intervention. We want peace, security and stability in Cyprus. We want freedom. We want human rights for all our citizens. Cyprus is truly a test case for the United Nations.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Cyprus for the important statement he has just made.

Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, President of the Republic of Cyprus, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. DOST (Afghanistan): I wish to begin my statement, Sir, by offering you the felicitations of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly for its forty-first session.

I should also like to pay a warm tribute to Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar for his active and selfless service at the helm of the Secretariat.

The circumstances in which our world is evolving today are far more fraught with threats to its existence than at any time in the entire history of mankind. The awesome quantities of means of war and destruction piled up in the aggressive centres of power haunt millions of people all over the world with a fear of the unthinkable happening. That legitimate fear of the complete annihilation of the human species, in view of the vast accumulation of very advanced and sophisticated means of making war, particularly in its nuclear dimension, has made the question of war and peace the uppermost concern of all mankind.

There is no doubt that the mere existence of such a disproportionately large arsenal on Earth justifies the deep anxiety that prevails in our minds. It is, however, the bellicose mentality with which those in aggressive imperialist circles view the possession and prospective use of such weapons that lies at the core of peace-loving humanity's concern. The grave alarm caused by pronouncements using expressions such as "negotiating from strength", "security through force" and "limited or protracted nuclear war" has been on the increase, owing to the unprecedented material at the service of those militaristic and warmongering doctrines.

Having implemented a comprehensive plan to upgrade quantitatively and qualitatively its military might on Earth, the United States imperialists have

(Mr. Dost, Afghanistan)

drawn up and started to put into effect plans to spread some of the most threatening of its newly acquired military technologies and weaponry into outer space, under the guise of a defence initiative, rightly named Star Wars. To overcome the legal barriers prohibiting it from carrying out those designs, the present United States Administration has taken steps to nullify unilaterally and arbitrarily some very hard-won agreements on anti-ballistic missiles and strategic arms limitations. It has irresponsibly rendered all bilateral and multilateral negotiating forums virtually paralysed by putting up an array of unacceptable and unreasonable conditions.

While all these things are being done in the imperialist camp, the forces of peace are gathering their strength and calling for the urgent, serious consideration of measures vitally needed to avert the greatest menace threatening the whole of civilization. The Non-Aligned Movement and the socialist community have repeatedly put forward several initiatives aimed at the strengthening and universalization of the process of détente, the halting of the unbridled arms race and the achievement of disarmament.

The unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests declared by the Soviet Union over a year ago, which has been extended several times since then in response to the urgings of the international community, is a vivid example of that country's true desire for peace and disarmament. We consider as highly important and very timely the proposal of the Soviet Union for the conclusion of a treaty banning all nuclear tests by all States in all environments for all time. That initiative, which is in full conformity with the position of the non-aligned countries, constitutes a giant leap towards the general and complete disarmament envisaged in the Soviet Union's comprehensive proposal for ridding the world of all nuclear weapons by the end of the century. This proposal, which is unprecedented in its dimensions and

(Mr. Dost, Afghanistan)

foresightedness, enjoys the full support of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, other non-aligned countries and all other peace-loving forces of the world.

We also attach great significance to the recent initiative of the socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, concerning the establishment of an international system of collective security embracing all nations, which has been officially submitted for the Assembly's consideration and was referred to, together with the concept of collective Asian security, by the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, Eduard Shevardnadze, in his statement to the Assembly the day before yesterday.

The mad arms spree that has filled the thoughts and actions of the United States Administration is accompanied by a dangerous version of State terrorism being carried out under the slogan of neo-globalism. Through this heinous policy the United States arrogates to itself the right to be militarily present in every corner of the world and to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and regions. Hence, the hands of the United States espionage agencies and armed forces are clearly visible in practically all conflict situations, thus widening their scope and rendering their solution extremely difficult.

It is precisely such involvement that has led to the continued occupation of Palestinian and other Arab territories by Zionist Israel. It is precisely such involvement that has led to the escalating bloodshed in South Africa perpetrated by the apartheid régime against South Africans, the continued illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist Pretoria régime and its increased acts of aggression and intimidation against the front-line States.

(Mr. Dost, Afghanistan)

It is precisely the United States involvement that has plunged Central America into a state of instability and tension, threatening the security, territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of revolutionary Nicaragua. It is precisely United States involvement that has heightened discord and hostility in South-East Asia, posing a constant threat to the popular order in Kampuchea and exerting pressure on the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

It is precisely the United States that has launched piratical armed aggression against Libya. It is precisely the United States that has illegally occupied the island of Diego Garcia and turned it into a springboard for aggression and destabilization, thus preventing the realization of the concept of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. It is precisely the United States that has brought to power and sustained such dictatorial and fascistic régimes such as those in Chile, South Korea, El Salvador and elsewhere. And last but not least it is precisely the United States that has organized, trained, financed and armed terrorist and mercenary groups to wage undeclared wars against the peoples of Afghanistan, Angola, Nicaragua and other countries.*

Accompanying all this are the greedy economic policies and practices of the United States, which is at the head of a world capitalist system which, through its financial monopolies, has robbed numerous nations of their human and natural resources. The intolerable burden of debt weighing down the backs of the economies of many developing countries, the artificially high interest rates, the low prices for the export commodities of developing countries, the unfavourable balance of trade and other disturbing features of the prevailing world economic situation are

* Mr. Herrenberg (Suriname), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Dost, Afghanistan)

the direct result of the present unjust international economic order imposed by the capitalist countries.

The predictable outcome of such policies and practices is manifested in the drastic widening of the gap between the respective living standards and rate of development of developed countries and developing countries. The imperialist policy of using economic assistance as a means of exerting political pressure on the developing countries is no longer confined within the limits of bilateral relations; it has also been extensively employed to undermine the capabilities of multilateral institutions, with a view to curtailing or completely stopping the flow of international development assistance to developing countries, particularly those that dare refuse to submit to imperialist diktat.

The non-aligned countries, in the course of their eighth summit Conference, held earlier this month at Harare, arrived at a sober analysis of the present world situation; they called for an immediate end to be put to the arms race and for the diversion of the resources thus released to the alleviation of the suffering of hundreds of millions of people around the world who have been condemned to hunger, poverty, disease and ignorance. They repeated their vigorous call for the early establishment of a new international economic order based on justice, equity and co-operation.

The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan considers that the situation in the Middle East has been brought about as a result of the use of force, the denial of the right of nations to self-determination and the acquisition of territory by force. No comprehensive and lasting peace can be achieved unless Israel withdraws its forces from occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem, the Golan Heights and South Lebanon, and unless the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), exercise their

(Mr. Dost, Afghanistan)

right of self-determination, including the right to establish a State of their own in Palestine. We welcome the timely proposal of the Soviet Union on the establishment of a preparatory committee to set in motion the process leading to the convening of an international conference on peace in the Middle East.

In southern Africa, the apartheid régime is faced with enormous upheavals of the vast masses of the people inside the country and with mounting pressure from world public opinion abroad. The use of brute force by the Pretoria régime has brought a result which is the opposite of that expected by the racist régime.

The Non-Aligned Movement's Harare Declaration on South Africa proposes specific action to be taken by the international community to put an end to the horrendous apartheid system. It is our hope that the General Assembly will adopt resolutions calling for similar measures to be taken by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. We express our staunch solidarity with the people of South Africa and their vanguard, the African National Congress of South Africa.

We also stand firm with the people of Namibia under the leadership of their sole legitimate representative, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), in their struggle to achieve the full independence of their country. Immediate steps should be taken to give effect to the provisions of the resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its fourteenth special session, held last week.

In Central America the prospects for peace are seriously reduced by the interventionist aggressive policies of the United States, which is fomenting discord and conflict. We hail the constructive attitude of the Government of Nicaragua towards the process of negotiations, and we express our support for the peace plan put forward by the Contadora Group and the Contadora Support Group,

(Mr. Dost, Afghanistan)

which in our view constitutes a solid basis for eliminating a hotbed of tension from this vital part of Latin America.

In connection with South-East Asia, we wish to lend our full support to the repeated peaceful démarches made by the three Indochinese countries, and we call upon the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) to give a positive response to those peaceful proposals.

We associate ourselves with the repeated demands of the international community that an end be put to the senseless fratricidal war between Iran and Iraq and that their disputes be settled through peaceful means available within the international legal system.

On the question of Cyprus, our position remains unchanged. We stand for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-aligned status of Cyprus and support the efforts of the Government of that country to find a peaceful solution in the interest of all Cypriots.

We also support the proposals of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the peaceful reunification of Korea on the basis of the free will of the Korean people, without any foreign interference.

We reiterate our loyalty to the cause of all national liberation movements and our support for the restitution of territories under colonial or alien occupation to the sovereignty of their respective nations.

The scope of the undeclared war of imperialism, hegemonism and reaction against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has been considerably widened to encompass the military, economic, psychological, political, diplomatic and other spheres. On the basis of admissions by top-ranking intelligence figures in the United States Administration, we can see that more than two thirds of the budget of the United States Central Intelligence Agency for so-called covert operations is

(Mr. Dost, Afghanistan)

being channelled into the financing of that war. Added to that sum are the large amounts of weapons and money that are given to the criminal bandits by other imperialist, hegemonist and reactionary quarters.

The loss of life and the destruction inflicted on our people as a result of this dirty war, although enormous, have not shaken our firm determination to pursue vigorously the destiny we chose with the accomplishment of our national democratic revolution of 1978.

(Mr. Dost, Afghanistan)

Our great strides towards national reconciliation and harmony, as declared and elaborated by Comrade Najib, General-Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, are producing the expected positive results. The further widening of the National Fatherland Front, embodying all social and mass organizations of the country; the merger of several democratic groups and organizations with the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan; the enlargement of the Revolutionary Council and the Government through the incorporation into them of well-respected non-party personalities; the completion of the process of elections to the local organs of State power and administration; and the preparation of the draft of the new Constitution are noteworthy examples of our efforts in this direction.

In the economic sphere, the investments of the early years of the revolution are bearing fruit. On the material basis - that is, what has been achieved so far, particularly in the fields of land and water reforms and the nation-wide literacy campaign - the first Five-Year Socio-Economic Development Plan has been drawn up and half of its first year has already been implemented. While having been realistically prepared, this Plan will create a solid foundation for sustained and long-term growth in the economy of the country.

In the military field, thanks to the growing unity of our people and the vigilance of our armed forces, the last remnants of mercenary pockets of resistance are being wiped out and scores of former bandits are surrendering to the State authorities and the people's militia.

All those factors point towards a peaceful, prosperous and secure future for our people. The settlement of the situation around Afghanistan and the creation of a stable, harmonious climate will naturally have a very favourable impact on the pace of our national efforts.

(Mr. Dost, Afghanistan)

Since the last session of the General Assembly, the proximity talks between the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and Pakistan, through the intermediary of the Representative of the Secretary-General, have continued to centre on the drafting of required instruments that would comprise a comprehensive settlement of the situation that has evolved in South-West Asia. While expressing our gratitude to the Secretary-General and his Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, for their good offices during these talks, we wish to reiterate the desire of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan for the early and successful conclusion of the process leading to normal and harmonious relations among the countries of the region on the basis of the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of States, respect for the right of all States to determine their own social and economic and political systems, and friendly relations and good-neighbourliness among States.

The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, in line with its peaceful foreign policy, has adopted a principled, constructive and serious approach in the course of these negotiations and has spared no effort to create an atmosphere of confidence, which is indispensable in such negotiations.

With a view to contributing to the furthering of mutual trust, and as a sign of our sincerity in the search for a political settlement, the Governments of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union decided in August 1986 to return to their permanent bases six regiments of the limited military contingent of the Soviet Union which is now based in Afghanistan. It is our earnest hope that this unilateral measure, together with other principled concessions and the flexibility repeatedly demonstrated by the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, will be promptly reciprocated by our negotiating partner. A sense of realism and statesmanship calls for bold action and the political will to take the last few steps towards the conclusion of the instruments and to embark on their faithful implementation.

(Mr. Dost, Afghanistan)

The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan stands to gain from such a course, and we are wholly confident that no one will lose by adopting the same course.

Mr. GENSCHER (Federal Republic of Germany) (spoke in German; English text furnished by the delegation): In this autumn of 1986, the community of nations is again facing serious problems and momentous decisions that affect the destiny of our peoples.

We are threatened by embroilment in hostilities as well as by famine and misery. Dangers threaten international economic and financial co-operation. The dignity of man is being violated in a thousand ways. Wars are taking place in many parts of the world. In the Republic of South Africa there is a threat of civil war. Natural disasters are compounded by man-made disasters with far-reaching effects that transcend national boundaries.

But we see hopeful signs also. In Europe co-operation across the ideological boundaries is developing into a strong force for the preservation of peace. Negotiations between West and East on confidence-building and disarmament are being conducted in unprecedented depth. Encouraging progress has been registered. New negotiations are being prepared. Throughout the world the hand of those who seek co-operation instead of confrontation is becoming stronger. More and more people realize that we have become a community in pursuit of survival. There is a prevailing awareness that the survival of mankind requires co-operative solutions - for the prevention of war, for the protection of our ecological basis, for the new technological developments, for the peaceful use of the sea-bed and the peaceful use of outer space, for the fight against famine and disease, for solutions to international economic problems, including that of indebtedness. The peoples of the world want their Governments to recognize these signs.

(Mr. Genscher, Federal Republic
of Germany)

The quest for superiority and hegemony, the quest for unilateral advantages, the exploitation of political, military and economic power, the attempt to bring others to their knees, the attempt to force one's own social order on others: all these are outdated aspirations. Again and again they have dragged mankind into catastrophe. The peoples of the world are no longer prepared to tolerate such policies.

(Mr. Genscher, Federal
Republic of Germany)

My country, the Federal Republic of Germany, is on the side of progress, co-operation, human rights, self-determination and peace. We regard man, in his unalterable dignity, in his uniqueness and in his freedom, as the focus of all action. Those values are the cornerstone of the alliance between democratic Europe, the United States and Canada.

The President of this session of the General Assembly himself comes from a country that has sought international co-operation time and again to overcome difficult economic problems. I wish him and the United Nations good fortune and success.

I should like to thank Mr. Perez de Cuellar for his excellent work, his wise decisions and his sensible initiatives as Secretary-General of the United Nations.

The 12 States members of the European Community, on their way towards European union and a common foreign policy, are speaking here from a common position. As representative of the Chairman of the Community, Sir Geoffrey Howe has spoken for all of us. Going on from there, I shall outline the views of the Federal Republic of Germany, which has irrevocably committed its destiny to that of Europe and which is a firmly established member of the Western Alliance.

Europe, so often torn by wars in the course of its history, a continent from which conquest, force and repression have spread to all parts of the world, today's Europe wishes to be a continent of peace and an example of good-neighbourly relations. The peoples of the European Community - first and foremost the Germans and the French - have shown that it is possible to replace centuries-old rivalry and deadly conflict with friendship and to grow together into a union of equals.

However, Europe is more than the Community of the Twelve. After all, Europe does not end at the Elbe and Werra Rivers. Hence, in taking our decisions we never forget that there are also Germans and Europeans to the east of us. As a nation in

(Mr. Genscher, Federal
Republic of Germany)

the centre of Europe, we consider it our historical duty as Germans to defuse and eventually surmount the antithesis between East and West. We should be bad Germans and bad Europeans were we to do otherwise. That is why, during the 1970s, we put relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and its eastern neighbours on a new contractual basis, a basis that remains an unshakeable cornerstone of our policy. Conscious of the course of history, we seek steady development of German-Soviet co-operation, which is an essential prerequisite for a realistic policy of European détente.

We shall consistently pursue the process of German-Polish reconciliation. We seek a peaceful modus vivendi in the whole of Europe based on co-operation and mutual trust. An ever-more important role in this effort falls to the two German States by virtue of the 1972 Treaty on the Basis of Relations. We Europeans must develop and design our European home, which comprises Europe in its entirety, as a place fit to live in. We must not continue to accept the enormous commitment of resources and energies to the conflict between West and East.

If today Europeans are becoming more fully aware of their common identity and seeking to live peacefully in their common home, the doors in that home must be opened much wider. This means that it must not be a capital offence to pass through those doors from one part of the home to the other. We must rid borders of their awesome and divisive character, thereby enabling States with varying social systems to pursue their common and complementary interests and their responsibility for their common future in peaceful competition, so that their peoples no longer live in fear of each other but can get to know one another. The Europeans must, through a gradual process of reducing conflict potential and of fostering co-operation, elevate their relations to new forms. What we seek is a peaceful order in Europe based on the equality of all and on equal entitlement to security.

(Mr. Genscher, Federal
Republic of Germany)

We seek a state of peace in Europe in which the German nation will regain its unity through free self-determination.

The defusing of the East-West antithesis depends greatly on the development of relations between the two super-Powers. For that reason, it is important that the second summit meeting between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev should take place before the end of this year.

United States-Soviet nuclear and space negotiations must lead to positive results. The negotiating objective agreed upon by both parties in Geneva on 8 January 1985 to prevent an arms race in space and terminate it on earth has become an obligation towards all the peoples of the world. That obligation must be honoured without reservation.

We attach particular importance to the negotiations on the American and Soviet intermediate-range missile systems. In recent months progress and rapprochement have been achieved in that field. We desire the global elimination of all American and Soviet land-based intermediate-range nuclear force of longer range. If that aim cannot be fulfilled in one step, we should like to see an interim result which leaves the lowest possible number of missiles on both sides and sets equal ceilings on a global scale and for Europe.

We want the arms spiral finally to be reversed. We Germans will bring all our influence to bear to help negotiations to that end to an early result. We also desire drastic reductions in strategic nuclear potentials. The relationship between offensive and defensive weapons must be discussed in its proper context, as was agreed on 8 January 1985.

We consider it necessary that the provisions of the SALT II agreement continue to be observed and that the 1972 Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems be adhered to until the establishment of a new contractual basis.

(Mr. Genscher, Federal
Republic of Germany)

Last weekend the 35 States participating in the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe adopted a final document. That document is a signal of hope. The Conference derived from a Franco-German initiative. At the beginning of this year the joint appearance of the French and German Foreign Ministers injected a fresh impetus. Its success is a triumph for common sense, responsibility and sound judgement. The measures agreed upon will apply to the whole of Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. They will make the military behaviour of the participating States more calculable, thereby helping to reduce distrust. They can facilitate progress at the Vienna mutual and balanced force reduction negotiations and, above all, initiate negotiations on conventional stability in the area between the Atlantic and the Urals. There are also too many conventional arms in Europe, and there is an imbalance to our detriment.

The offer of negotiations made by the Halifax meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Foreign Ministers still stands. The Warsaw Pact has responded favourably. Action must be taken before this year is over. The aim of future negotiations must be to create a situation in which the size of the forces of both sides is determined solely by defensive requirements. On our side this is already the case. We must never forget that even a war waged with conventional arms alone would in today's Europe be a thousand times more horrific than the Second World War and would amount to multiple genocide in Europe.

Negotiations on the world-wide prohibition of chemical weapons have reached the stage at which it is possible for the community of nations as a whole to be freed from the scourge of chemical weapons. There is no longer any reason to delay an agreement.

(Mr. Genscher, Federal
Republic of Germany)

In the important issue of a nuclear test ban, too, progress is possible. Stable and lasting peace requires co-operative structures in all areas. Apart from confidence-building and disarmament, this implies the establishment of an ordered system of political interaction as well as the broadest possible economic, technological, environmental and cultural co-operation. Peoples must have a part in exchanges and co-operation and be permitted to exercise the rights set forth in the Helsinki Final Act.

We in Europe are endeavouring to bring about such a development within the framework of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, whose key elements are security and co-operation. The participation of the United States and Canada in that process corresponds to the reality of the security situation in Europe. The multilateral nature of the process gives all Europeans in Western, Eastern, neutral and non-aligned countries the opportunity to help build the Europe of the future, in which all States, irrespective of their social systems, will determine their own fate and their engagement in co-operation with their neighbours.

The follow-up meeting in Vienna to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, due to be opened at ministerial level in November, must point the way towards a peaceful order in Europe.

We seek a mandate for the continuation and expansion of the negotiations on confidence-building measures and disarmament in the whole of Europe on the basis of the encouraging results in Stockholm. We must take co-operative steps towards the establishment of more stable security structures in the conventional sphere.

In the field of economic co-operation, we seek greater transparency of markets, more exchanges and division of labour, and new forms of co-operation.

Everyone will benefit if the latest reactor-safety and environmental technology becomes accessible to all countries. Chernobyl was a warning signal.

(Mr. Genscher, Federal
Republic of Germany)

Isolationism and trade wars are of no use to mankind; exchanges and co-operation are the way to accomplish common tasks, to increase the prosperity of all and to ward off dangers. Co-operative solutions to security issues will further extend the basis of trust, to the benefit of economic and technological co-operation.

We want human rights to be respected; we seek more contacts and improved opportunities for human encounter. We seek even more youth exchanges, educational co-operation and progress in the field of information.

At this very moment there are real prospects of substantial progress, both in the relations and negotiations between the two super-Powers and in the multilateral process of détente, progress that will lead to a new and more lasting phase of fruitful relations between West and East. Tangible progress in Europe serves to promote development, security and stability throughout the world.

The European Community is already shouldering its responsibility for co-operation in the development of the third world. We do this without ambitions for political power and without wishing to impose our social model on others or to establish spheres of influence. We seek a world in which self-determination, social justice, human rights and fundamental freedoms are the paramount principles of interaction among all peoples.

International terrorism, the scourge of mankind, is directed against peaceful interaction among nations, the right to live and human dignity. It is the common task of the community of nations to fight this evil. The decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council are an encouraging sign that awareness of this task is growing.

(Mr. Genscher, Federal
Republic of Germany)

The continually worsening international refugee problem is a symptom of grave injustice in some parts of the world. The recommendations deriving from the discussion of the refugee initiative that I introduced in the General Assembly six years ago must lead to an improvement in international co-operation in this area. We hope that this session of the General Assembly will adopt by consensus the recommendations made by the Group of Experts.

(Mr. Genscher, Federal
Republic of Germany)

Respect for the right of self-determination and respect for human rights are absolutely essential if peace is to be safeguarded. There is a direct path leading from the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights through the two covenants on human rights to the prohibition of torture. By adopting the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, the community of nations has reaffirmed its desire to combat systematically this particularly abhorrent form of violation of human rights. The next step should be the prevention of arbitrary executions. We shall continue to support the abolition of the death penalty.

Two years from now, in 1988, 40 years will have passed since the United Nations in its Universal Declaration of Human Rights took the vital pioneering step to embed human rights in international law. The United Nations needs institutions that will guarantee better protection of human rights. To this end, the appointment of a high commissioner for human rights is just as indispensable as the creation of a United Nations court of human rights. By such actions we could lend real significance to the year 1988. The persecuted and the suffering await a decisive and effective step on the part of the international community.

We must not remain silent with regard to serious violations of human rights. If we find something intolerable, we have a duty to say so. Today this applies particularly to the inhumane and immoral system of apartheid, the systematic form of racial discrimination and segregation. The state of emergency in the Republic of South Africa has bred arbitrary and lawless action. An increasing death toll is the horrific outcome of a policy directed against people who wish only to live in their own country and to enjoy equal rights and freedom from discrimination. If the inhumane system of apartheid is not eliminated, the inevitable consequence will be even more violence, even more bloodshed and ultimately chaos and civil war.

(Mr. Genscher, Federal
Republic of Germany)

Just as inhumanity cannot be reformed but only eliminated, apartheid is not reformable and must therefore be abolished.

We demand the immediate initiation of dialogue among the authentic representatives of all sections of the population and are preparing an initiative with that aim. We demand the immediate release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners. We demand that the ban on the African National Congress and other political groups be lifted. We demand the termination of the state of emergency. The measures adopted by the European Community on 16 September 1986 lend emphasis to this political demand.

The internal tension generated by apartheid in South Africa reverberates through the entire region and is exacerbated by the South African policy of destabilizing its neighbours. This situation is further aggravated by the continuing illegal occupation of Namibia, whose people are denied their independence and their right of self-determination. The Federal Republic of Germany will not waver in its support for the earliest possible establishment of Namibian independence on the basis of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), as called for by the General Assembly at its fourteenth special session. There is no alternative to the United Nations proposed settlement as outlined in resolution 435 (1978).

The eighth summit conference of the non-aligned countries at Harare provided further evidence that genuine non-alignment is an important factor for peace and stability in international relations. We support the call addressed to the warring States of Iran and Iraq to put an end to the bloodshed in the Gulf region. We support the call made by the summit conference for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Afghanistan and Cambodia. In Afghanistan, as in Cambodia, the right of peoples to self-determination must be realized.

(Mr. Genscher, Federal
Republic of Germany)

In the same way, we advocate the right of the Palestinian people to exercise self-determination and to decide on their own future. This must come about within the framework of a peace settlement for the Middle East that guarantees all countries of the region, including Israel, safe and recognized boundaries and hence a secure existence as States.

We appeal to the regional groupings in all parts of the world to render their contribution to international stability.

We also need co-operative approaches to solve international economic problems and to align the international economic system with the needs of tomorrow. My country regards development co-operation between North and South as a central pillar of its policy in pursuit of peace. This is demonstrated by the rate at which our official aid has increased; in 1985 its growth of 9 per cent far exceeded the growth of our gross national product. At the same time, our help is directed to areas where the need is greatest; for that reason, the share of our aid devoted to Africa has been raised from 37 to 47 per cent. The Federal Government will also give its most vigorous support to the Programme of Action adopted at the special session of the United Nations General Assembly on the critical economic situation in Africa. We know that our world is facing a common fate, and we act accordingly. Our aim is a system of world-wide co-operation based on partnership and awareness of the interdependence of nations, in which private initiative and autonomous efforts have their place.

The first and elementary goal of development co-operation must be to free the world from hunger. To this end, we must enable farmers in all parts of the third world to produce enough food for themselves and for their domestic markets. In most of the developing countries rapid agricultural growth can prove to be a locomotive for national economies. All the aid devoted to rural development can bear fruit, however, only if the industrialized countries do not engage in ruinous

(Mr. Genscher, Federal
Republic of Germany)

competition with third-world food producers by subsidizing their own products. A stop must be put to the world-wide dumping of agricultural produce.

We have managed so far to keep the problems of indebtedness under control by means of a co-operative strategy, but the crisis of indebtedness itself remains unresolved. It continues to pose a political challenge, but if it is to be overcome the international financial institutions, the governments of creditor countries and the private banks must play their part. Capital must at last begin to flow again from North to South instead of financing budgetary deficits in industrialized countries. It is of central importance that the private transfer of capital should be set in motion again. For this reason, the Federal Government has signed the Convention on the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency, which can become an effective means of attaining that goal.

(Mr. Genscher, Federal
Republic of Germany)

However, the indebted countries must also act. They must create conditions which will restore the confidence of domestic as well as foreign investors in the future of their countries. Only thus can the flight of capital be halted.

Another crucial task is that of revitalizing the international free trade system. The Punta del Este agreement on the opening of a new round of trade liberalization is an encouraging sign. We must strengthen and develop the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). We must prune radically the proliferation of agreements on voluntary restrictions; we must thin out the jungle of agricultural subsidies; we must modernize GATT, and that means gradually incorporating services and foreign investments into the GATT system.

In an increasingly close-woven international economy, economic policies can no longer exist in isolation. Each country must see and consider the effects of its own economic policy on other countries. Here, too, co-operation and solidarity are called for. The greater a country, the greater is its economic responsibility to the rest of the world.

To establish the world-wide co-operative structures that will enable us to master our common future, we need a comprehensive dialogue between industrialized and developing countries. I therefore consider it urgently necessary that we should at last inject new life into the North-South dialogue and that we should orient that dialogue towards the major issues affecting the future, thereby making it a potent factor in international politics and economics. In 1975, which is already 11 years ago now, as we took the first steps towards a large-scale North-South dialogue, our thinking was determined by the study drawn up by the Club of Rome on the limits to growth. Shortages of energy, raw materials and foodstuffs, limits on the tolerance of the environment, seemed to be the law that would determine the future of the world. But we are beginning to sense that

(Mr. Genscher, Federal
Republic of Germany)

something completely different is taking place: a new technological revolution, which is establishing new and wider horizons for growth. New forms of technology - space technology, information technology and gene technology - permit a new type of growth that conserves energy and raw materials and which protects, indeed heals, the environment. This departure from the industrial age into a new era is not by any means peculiar to the Western countries but is a world-wide phenomenon. The new forms of technology can also bring decisive benefits to the developing countries in particular.

The potential of gene technology is immense. Let us remember that in the sixties high-yield varieties of rice and wheat led to the green revolution. India, which had hitherto been an importer of grain, became self-sufficient and even began to export grain. The new varieties were produced in the traditional manner by cross-breeding. Gene technology now offers far quicker and more effective ways of cultivating "made-to-order" plants, which are resistant to disease, can withstand drought and cold, can grow in over-saline soil and are rich in protein, and plants which breathe in nitrogen from the air, thereby relieving farmers of the need to buy expensive fertilizers.

A second green revolution seems set to take place in the nineties, its effects far exceeding those of the first. Above all, it will include regions hitherto at a disadvantage and be of great importance to arid zones such as the Sahel. Major improvements can also be expected in livestock breeding. Then there are the opportunities that gene technology opens up for medicine. For example, it gives us reason to hope that we can develop vaccines against tropical diseases that are at present incurable.

Great and new though the opportunities deriving from these new forms of technology may be, the risks associated with them are equally great and new. Gene

(Mr. Genscher, Federal
Republic of Germany)

technology in particular raises issues of immense importance, since it gives man unprecedented power to interfere with the hereditary genes of living creatures.

The accident in the Chernobyl reactor brought home to us overnight how the task of mastering safely the risks of high technology has become a common responsibility, one that welds the nations of the world into a community in pursuit of survival. In Vienna the special International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) meeting on reactor safety has just begun. We hope that it will set negotiations in motion which will lead to universally binding safety standards and an international liability law. It is significant that that conference should take place under United Nations auspices, for the United Nations has become the indispensable forum for dealing with the issues that will determine our global future.

We must not, however, accept nuclear energy as the final answer to man's energy requirements; here, too, we must jointly seek new answers. The protection of the environment cannot today be guaranteed by an individual State when it relies on its own resources. Radioactivity, as we have seen, does not stop at national boundaries, nor do air and water pollution. It follows that environmental protection is no longer an affair to be dealt with by each individual State as it sees fit.

For thousands of years the inroads made by human technology into nature seemed so minimal that their overall impact could be disregarded. Nature appeared indestructible and inexhaustible. It is now realized, however, that technology has assumed dimensions that threaten to destroy the ecological balance of nature. We are living today with the shock of that discovery. Nothing is the same any more. International environmental policy has become a vital task. It is a safeguard for the future, a course of action dictated by our responsibility to future

(Mr. Genscher, Federal
Republic of Germany)

generations. In this field, we are confronted by fundamental tasks under the heading of international domestic policy, a term which implies the need to act together.

Those few references alone demonstrate the challenge facing all of us in this new technological revolution. What must be done - and here let me cite the Secretary-General's report to our Assembly - is:

"to manage safely, and to common advantage, the inventions of the human mind".

(A/41/1, p. 8)

We need a North-South dialogue that devotes itself to those new questions. It must be a dialogue that takes as its starting point the immense structural upheaval currently taking place in the world and faces up to it in a courageous and forward-looking manner. What is needed is a global policy in which the problems of mankind are understood as tasks for mankind. Mankind, which has become a community in quest of survival, must recognize its responsibility to its contemporaries as well as to all future generations.

(Mr. Genscher, Federal
Republic of Germany)

The United Nations is the forum where this policy must be discussed. This development must take place with due regard for the identity of all peoples, which have all made unique contributions to human history and to the civilizations of the world. Respect for others also entails respect for their cultural identity. Our international Organization must therefore promote a world-wide cultural dialogue that will prevent the submersion of native cultures by foreign influences and highlight the variety of cultural achievements for the benefit of all.

I have again stated the case for world-wide co-operation in a spirit of mutual confidence to resolve the major international issues facing us. To this end we need the United Nations as a sound international Organization, as the forum where openness prevails and as an indispensable negotiating framework. It draws its strength not least from its universality. That is why all peoples, including the Korean people, should be represented here. We must do everything possible to maintain the effectiveness of the United Nations. To this end, it is necessary for us, the Member States, to observe fully the obligations deriving from the Charter. It is also necessary for this session of the General Assembly to achieve positive results in its discussion of measures to increase the efficiency of the United Nations, based on the report of the 18 experts.

My Government supports the views outlined by the Secretary-General in his report on the role of the United Nations in international relations and the structural reforms needed to strengthen the Organization. My delegation welcomes the fact that the President has so clearly defined the operative objectives of the reform process. The United Nations needs reforms to remain strong and effective. For our part, we need a strong and effective United Nations so that through our co-operation here in the Organization the survival of mankind may be assured.

Mr. ORZECZOWSKI (Poland) (spoke in Polish; English text furnished by the delegation): I should first like to extend my delegation's most sincere congratulations to Ambassador Choudhury of Bangladesh on his election to the presidency of the forty-first session of the General Assembly. We welcome him as a representative of a country with which Poland is linked by bonds of friendship.

The United Nations has assembled for the forty-first time to respond to certain fundamental questions. Does the present state of security meet the expectations of humanity? What can and should be done to rid the world of the threats of the nuclear age, and safeguard the survival and progressive development of the human species?

The disparity between the existing state of security and that hoped for by the international community becomes increasingly manifest. Human genius has been harnessed to perfecting the instruments of self-annihilation and each and every success scored in that regard only contributes to the likelihood of the outbreak of a global conflict. It is precisely for this reason that the international community so univocally identifies its supreme values: they are peace and security.

Until recently the essence of security has been confined to the military domaine. Today, in conditions of the ever growing interdependence of the countries of the world and the balance of forces, all, irrespective of political or ideological orientation, have concluded that the security of each and every State has a much broader base. In striving to make the world more secure, we must above all look at the differing interests of States and nations and find a common denominator. This denominator has two elements: peace and development.

The fact that efforts are made to find such a common denominator does not mean that conflicting interests will disappear. The point is, however, that they must

(Mr. Orzechowski, Poland)

not be resolved through armed conflict. This is possible provided harmonious security is achieved in the political, military, economic, social and humanitarian spheres, accommodating at the same time the security preoccupations of all States and regions of the globe.

The United Nations has erected a structure for peace which, contrary to the intent of the Charter, is based on mutual deterrence. It has found itself balancing precariously on the edge of a nuclear abyss under the illusion that no one will take the ultimate step over the brink. Yet, as the arms race goes on, that brink comes inexorably closer and the abyss grows deeper. The United Nations now faces a choice - survival or extinction. The necessity to make that choice is becoming ever more urgent.

Easy choices are tempting; small steps and great expectations that common sense will prevail and that a turn for the better will occur automatically. The lesson that history teaches us is to beware of easy solutions, to opt for the right choice even if it is a difficult one. To make such a choice today takes wisdom and courage commensurate with the threats to mankind's supreme values.

The United Nations must complement the process of establishing international security from the top through decisions of and arrangements among the respective member Governments, by a practice of working out the foundations of that process from the bottom, starting with the minds of people.

Universal, equal and indivisible security must stem from the political will of nations as translated in the policies pursued by their Governments. In keeping with the interests of all mankind, it has to be built above all by political means. Time is pressing. We cannot afford the luxury of waiting for the complete structure and the operating rules of an entire system to emerge from a negotiating process. Specific action has to be taken forthwith.

(Mr. Orzechowski, Poland)

The prevention of a global conflict has been the unassailable achievement of the United Nations. "To save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" and guarantee that force shall not be used in international relations remains the primary purpose of the Organization. Faced with the threat of total extinction, the call for the renunciation of war takes on a significance incomparably greater than the one which motivated the consciences and actions of the framers of the Charter.

Poland has always adhered and will continue to adhere strictly to the purposes and principles of the Charter and to be actively involved in efforts to preserve peace and consolidate international security, the principle precept of its membership in the United Nations and its activities within the framework of the United Nations family.

(Mr. Orzechowski, Poland)

Never declaratory, that involvement of Poland and the socialist States in general was confirmed most recently by their determination to establish a comprehensive system of international security and the proposal of specific steps towards that goal. Those steps have been spelled out in the request for the inclusion of this question in the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly.

There is a unanimous view today that the most critical problems facing mankind are curbing the arms race on Earth and preventing its extension into outer space. Obtaining and consolidating objective grounds for such a view are the basis of the initiative put forward at the fortieth session of the General Assembly by the Polish leader, Wojciech Jaruzelski, for a study to be prepared by eminent experts of different nationalities, under the auspices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, of the diverse consequences of the militarization of outer space.

In our rationalized world, alarm is being sounded ever more frequently about the dangerous decline of human values. We heard it at the Congress of Intellectuals for a Peaceful Future of the World, held in Warsaw last January. Alas, in the very same world, there appears to be also a sufficiently fertile ground to nourish many hazardous myths. A number of Governments, the most zealous participants in the arms race, claim that the enhancement of armaments programmes is indispensable for the preservation of their national security. The greatest paradox of the arms race lies precisely in the fact that those participating in it themselves contribute - at an ever greater cost - to compounding the threats to their own security. Can mankind really afford to persist in such nonsense?

I wish to repeat once again that, in our considered view, the most effective way of enhancing security and strengthening peace is to reduce the level of confrontation and undertake specific disarmament measures. There have been a host

(Mr. Orzechowski, Poland)

of concrete and oft-repeated proposals in this respect put forward by the Soviet Union, Poland, other socialist States and non-aligned countries. It suffices to follow them up. Alas, in regard to disarmament, especially in the field of weapons of mass destruction, one observes with dismay tendencies that are exactly opposite. Thus, on the one hand, there is an initiative calling for the elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000; while, on the other, a decision has been taken to go back on time-tested international legal agreements that have helped to effect nuclear arms limitation. On the one hand, there is a unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests, extended several times already; while, on the other, there has been accelerated testing. On the one hand, a call has been issued for the elimination of nuclear weapons by the end of this century, proceed to the establishment of chemical-weapon-free zones and stop the proliferation of such weapons; while, on the other, preparations have begun to start producing binary weapons.

It is redundant for me to list the names of the proponents of the respective approaches. The tell-tale message of that list is sufficiently clear to make it impossible to shy away from pondering the different ways in which our common future is being designed in various parts of our globe. We in Poland do not hesitate to draw conclusions. It is precisely for that reason that we, together with other nations, are interested in a constructive development of the Soviet-American dialogue, since it deals with questions of concern to all mankind related to curbing the arms race and limiting nuclear armaments. It is for the same reason that the Government of Poland has lent its support to the Delhi Declaration of leaders of the six States and for the initiatives contained therein pertaining to nuclear disarmament, the prevention of the militarization of outer space, and the cessation of the arms race.

(Mr. Orzechowski, Poland)

There is yet another aspect of the armaments race which I wish to mention from this rostrum. The point is that certain major Western Powers regard the imposition of the arms race on the socialist States as a handy tool with which to hamper and slow down their social and economic development. Such a policy must be resolutely counteracted.

Military security is first of all an issue of global scope, but there is also an important regional dimension to it - as is most notable in Europe, the cradle of two world wars. It is in Europe that disarmament must be approached in a comprehensive manner, combining the elimination of weapons of mass destruction with a considerable reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces. This is precisely what the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty have proposed in their Budapest appeal to the States members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and all other European States. The proposed reduction programme corresponds to the seriousness of the prevailing situation, contains no preconditions, and is open for businesslike negotiations. Its implementation would significantly lessen the threat of war in Europe and in the world at large; moreover, it would pave the way for a breakthrough in other disarmament negotiations concerning Europe, especially those held in Vienna.

The States of the socialist community have been quick to appreciate first the thought that the regional perspective of the balance of force should be accompanied by regional concepts of security. The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe - today a major pillar of security and co-operation on that continent - is that notion's best supporting evidence. It has recognized that a future Europe of co-operation must be one of territorial and political status quo, since its people want to live within secure borders mapped out as a result of the Second World War, under such political systems as they themselves have recognized as offering them the best guarantee of their development.

(Mr. Orzechowski, Poland)

The European status quo dispute has been settled on the basis of coexistence, with the unqualified acknowledgement that European balance is of a lasting character, both politically and territorially. However, one can hardly ignore the fact that not all concerned either want or are able to reconcile themselves to that conclusion. They appear not to comprehend that mankind will never settle certain accounts with history. There are today both political forces and individuals apt to tolerate, if not encourage, calling into question the political and territorial realities in Europe, thereby fuelling the ominous revival of moods for revisionism. Those tendencies represent a major obstacle on the road to the establishment of a safer Europe.

Poland invariably attaches major significance to sustaining the process initiated at Helsinki in 1975 and, indeed, to the extension of its scope so as to cover all areas of international relations, thereby developing an all-round security and co-operation system in Europe. The Helsinki Conference process, however, needs to be constantly upheld and developed. Poland is determined to make an active and constructive contribution to that process.

In our view, full advantage should be taken of the forthcoming Vienna meeting of the States participating in the Helsinki Conference so as to generate new momentum for that process. It is very important that it end with the adoption of an agreed final document, all the more so since neither the Ottawa and Bern experts' meetings nor the Budapest Cultural Forum managed to adopt such a document.

The agreement reached at the Stockholm Conference on confidence and security-building measures constitutes an example to be followed on how goodwill and striving for compromise by all parties to a negotiating process can contribute to the elaboration of valuable international instruments.

(Mr. Orzechowski, Poland)

Poland's attention is not limited to the steps already under way. It is with concern that we think about the future of Europe and the world. Guided by that concern, Wojciech Jaruzelski stated the following a few days ago:

"In three years from today we shall observe the fiftieth anniversary of the outbreak of the Second World War. We would be happy to play host in September 1989 to a meeting of the representatives of States signatories of the Helsinki Final Act devoted to the crucial problems of peace, security and co-operation in Europe. We wish for a message of peace to resound from our capital, from the country that was the first to experience the aggression and cruelties of the Second World War. We wish for common conclusions drawn from the biggest war of all times to contribute to a better understanding and a more enduring accord among the States of our continent."

Disputes arising from contradictory interests must be settled by peaceful means, on the basis of the universally recognized norms of international law. If all of us assembled in this hall interpret peace and security to mean the same thing, this tenet can have no alternative.

(Mr. Orzechowski, Poland)

Unfortunately there is a vast gap between reality on the one hand and popular expectations and demands on the other. That gap will remain unbridgeable unless and until actions which are undertaken from a position of strength and which are nothing short of State terrorism cease. Nor will it be bridged as long as bloody regional conflicts fail to find their solution at the negotiating table.

Further delay in achieving genuine negotiated solutions in the Middle East, southern Africa, Central America and other regions of the world is likely seriously to endanger world peace. Of equal urgency is the implementation of serious peace initiatives aimed at reducing tension, such as, for example, the proposals of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea concerning the Korean peninsula.

Today, with multiple threats looming large, the significance of international law and the need for its development become more manifest than ever. With its basic norms being trampled upon by many States, it is necessary to come resolutely to the defence of the statutory and customary law of nations, the heritage of all mankind and the foundation of peaceful international relations. The norms of international law must be treated not in a formal way but rather in a creative manner, as instruments and guarantees of equitable international co-operation.

Security must come to mean something more than merely liberating mankind from direct physical threat. It must also comprise the existence of material conditions promoting the attainment of goals set for themselves by individual nations, inter alia through their active participation in international economic relations. That is the principle reason why security in this field, which alas has been substantially eroded in recent years, is becoming so important.

We are increasingly witnessing the growth of crisis phenomena in the world economy: the destabilization of trade, monetary and financial relations and of scientific and technological co-operation among States, as well as the

(Mr. Orzechowski, Poland)

deterioration of the economic situation of the developing countries. The consolidation of those phenomena foreshadows incalculable consequences and therefore calls for radical countermeasures. Specific steps to that end are envisaged in the concept of international economic security put forward by the Soviet Union. I should like to point to only one - yet especially important - aspect of that concept, namely, the necessity of countering the practice of injecting political and ideological considerations into international economic relations and recourse to the economic weapon in the pursuit of political and ideological ends, through pressure and restrictions.

Given the state of economic relations today, it is necessary to resort, not just to systematic solutions, but also to partial steps. These should apply, inter alia, to the problem of debt and development. That problem has become so acute and destructive that acquiescence in its continued existence may render useless any systematic solutions. The initiative put forward at the fortieth session of the General Assembly by Wojciech Jaruzelski concerning the establishment, under the aegis of the Secretary-General, of an international debt and development research centre represents, in our considered opinion, a meaningful contribution to the search for an effective remedy in that regard.

The strengthening of the foundations of international economic security can be brought about also through extension of the sources of economic growth and utilization of all reserves. It can be brought about through, among other things, dynamic international co-operation in the peaceful use of outer space and of nuclear energy. Quite recent events have offered telling proof of the critical importance of international co-operation in the field of nuclear energy. It can, finally, be made possible through recognition of the existence of a close

(Mr. Orzechowski, Poland)

relationship between disarmament and development and through reallocation for development purposes of at least a part of the resources otherwise squandered in the folly of the arms race.

The effectiveness of an economy is dependent to a considerable degree upon the state of the environment, the preservation of which is indeed a pre-condition of man's survival, no less. If there really is something like a rudimentary generic solidarity of homo sapiens, then the cause of protecting the environment must be put beyond and above any national, political or geographical divisions. Those are in fact the considerations underlying the proposal advanced by Poland at the last session of the General Assembly, urging the acceptance, as a universal principle, of an unrestricted flow of experience, licences and know-how relating to the protection of the natural environment. In this respect the ideas put forward here on 23 September by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy, Mr. Giulio Andreotti, were of great interest.

For Poland, the question of security in international economic relations is one of paramount importance. That point has been demonstrated repeatedly in its development strategy for the forthcoming decades, in its increased share in the international division of labour, in the growing openness of its economy as highlighted by its return to United Nations financial institutions and in its initiative concerning confidence-building in international economic relations. Poland strives to expand its economic co-operation with all States, in keeping with the principles of equality, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual benefit. Guided by those principles, we are interested also in the full normalization of relations with the United States of America, and not in the economic field only.

(Mr. Orzechowski, Poland)

To paraphrase the Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), it is in the minds of men that the defence of peace and security must be established first, for it is only on intellectually cultivated ground that international co-operation with a view to consolidating peace and security can yield a good crop. We have noted with satisfaction that the International Year of Peace has in that respect been a grand, world-wide campaign, designed to arouse minds and consciences. The consolidation of its achievements in promoting the idea of peace would be the best testimony of good will in the search for accord in a matter that mankind should value most.

At the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, Poland came forward with a proposal that the Organization should focus its attention on the process of the preparation of society for living in peace. We have noted with considerable satisfaction that this theme received due prominence in the observances of the International Year of Peace. We are convinced that, as a result, mankind not only is more keenly aware of the significance of its most important right - the right to life in peace - but also has a much better appreciation of the necessity for active engagement in its defence.

While it is the principal right, the right to peace is not of course the only human right. We hold that international co-operation in the exercise of a whole set of human rights constitutes a major element in the consolidation of security in the world at large. Let me stress it: the point is co-operation, not ideological wars or anti-communist crusades. That co-operation must therefore be pursued in accordance with jointly elaborated and respected international legal instruments. It would seem that, given such a premise, the codification of as broad areas of human rights as possible would certainly play a positive role. Precisely with that consideration in mind, Poland has for a number of years been promoting, and will continue to promote, the elaboration of a convention on the rights of the child.

(Mr. Orzechowski, Poland)

We feel also that the role of the family deserves closer attention on the part of the United Nations. It is our intention to propose to the General Assembly consideration of the possibility of proclaiming some time in the future an international year of the family.

This year marks the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the International Covenants on Human Rights and offers an obvious opportunity to assess their functioning. We derive considerable satisfaction from the important role which the Covenants have come to play in fostering international co-operation in the protection and development of human rights throughout the world and in promoting appropriate internal legislation. We shall reflect that assessment in a suitable draft resolution, the text of which the Polish delegation will be submitting at this session.

(Mr. Orzechowski, Poland)

At the same time, we cannot refrain from drawing attention to the disturbing lack of balance between the significance attached in the work of the United Nations to human rights and the unsatisfactory ranking of social problems. We are firmly convinced that there is a direct and unbreakable link between human dignity and liberty on the one hand and social justice on the other. Their full exercise is the basis for full respect for human rights. Unless there is upgrading of the standing of social development problems in United Nations activities, especially those of the Commission for Social Development, the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly's Third Committee, the progressive content of whose work could influence the world social situation, the inequitable treatment which these problems now receive is likely to worsen.

The establishment of a system of comprehensive security is an enormously challenging task. It is indispensable to success in this task that all resources be released, both those we know of and those that we have yet to begin to look for. The former certainly exist in the consolidation and development of the United Nations system as a framework for positive interplay among the family of nations. It depends on the will of Member States, especially the permanent members of the Security Council, whether the system functions to the extent of the requirements and its own inherent possibilities, or succumbs to a politically motivated crisis.

Poland is aware of the financial difficulties of our Organization. We are in favour of reducing the operating costs of the United Nations, but the extent of that reduction has to be determined by the need to maintain the ability of the United Nations to fulfil its statutory functions under the Charter.

(Mr. Orzechowski, Poland)

There are values which have very special, indeed, supreme significance for all Poles. They are the independence and sovereignty of our fatherland, its territorial integrity, security and peace. Our foreign policy has been unswervingly dedicated to the defence and consolidation of these values. Poland stands firmly for the peaceful coexistence of States with different political systems. The major challenges of today cannot possibly be tackled by anyone of the systems alone. It is not, therefore, the instinct of self-preservation alone, but also awareness of the imperative of rational co-operation that give us our marching orders today. Peace is of such vital importance that it is worth making great efforts to reach a compromise to preserve it.

The United Nations represents a time-tested framework for such co-operation. Poland, one of its founding Members, has quite deliberately and consistently joined the ranks of those States upon which the United Nations can at all times rely unfailingly in the pursuance of the purposes and principles of the Charter. It is with deep appreciation that we follow the untiring efforts of the Secretary-General of the our Organization, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar.

The proposals and initiatives which Poland submitted earlier in regard to nuclear-free zones in Europe and European security and those submitted at the fortieth session of the General Assembly have all stemmed from our conviction that the Organization cannot possibly stand aside from the search for effective solutions to the major problems of the present time.

The Polish People's Republic, in the future as in the past, will spare no effort to contribute to upholding and consolidating the role of the United Nations in the world of today.

Mr. ANDERSSON (Sweden): In Sweden last week we honoured the memory of Dag Hammarskjöld, who, 25 years ago, gave his life in the service of the United Nations. Those manifestations were a tribute to an extraordinary life-work as well as an expression of the Swedish people's support for the United Nations. Olof Palme strongly emphasized this support at the fortieth anniversary session of the General Assembly last autumn. He said:

"We are all aware of the problems of the Organization and can look back at both failures and successes. But the experience of 40 years has not weakened our dedication to the purposes and principles laid down in the Charter. And, more important, we look at our world today and remain convinced that the United Nations is only at the beginning of its history." (A/40/PV.43, p. 64)

Olof Palme was right. The United Nations is an indispensable forum for co-operation between States in an increasingly interdependent world. We, the Members of the United Nations, have pledged ourselves to observe a certain code of conduct. We have at our disposal well-tried negotiating machinery and an invaluable meeting place. Only if we make the right use of these assets and live up to our commitments under the United Nations Charter can we hope to create a more peaceful and just world.

We shall shortly commence consideration of how the United Nations is to overcome the current crisis, which threatens its very existence. The solutions cannot be primarily technical; ultimately, they must be based on stronger political support for the world Organization and its purposes. Nothing would strengthen the credibility and effectiveness of the United Nations more than concrete progress in the many burning and unresolved questions on the agenda.

Every day we receive new reports on the ever increasing brutal violence in South Africa. Since the imposition of the state of emergency on 16 June thousands of people have been imprisoned, many of them children and young people. Hundreds have been killed.

(Mr. Andersson, Sweden)

South Africa continues its military attacks against the neighbouring States and its support to armed groups in some of these countries. South Africa also disrupts the supply of goods to the front-line States and is threatening to impose other coercive economic measures. Namibia is still occupied and its people denied their independence.

For decades we have appealed to the South African Government to make fundamental changes in its policy; always in vain. South Africa claims to be a democratic society, but a democratic society cannot be built on a system of racial discrimination. South Africa claims to be a civilized society, but in a civilized society people's homes are not razed to the ground. South Africa claims to be a society with Christian values, but in such a society children are not shot in the back by the police and security forces.

The Swedish Government considers that the situation in southern Africa constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security. Time is now rapidly running out for the peaceful abolition of the apartheid system. It is high time that the United Nations Security Council took the necessary action. The Security Council must make the South African Government realize that change is now necessary. Apartheid must be abolished and replaced by a democratic society with universal suffrage.

(Mr. Andersson, Sweden)

What is required is effective sanctions, with such content, scope and support as to lead to positive and rapid change in South Africa. Such a decision by the Security Council will give a clear signal that the international community is now prepared to proceed to concrete action. The permanent members of the Security Council now have a historic opportunity finally to take a decisive step forward.

Sanctions against South Africa will, regrettably, negatively affect its neighbouring States. They are already in a distressing economic situation, but they are prepared to accept further sacrifices in order to get rid of the abhorrent apartheid system once and for all. All who have condemned apartheid in words have a moral obligation to assist those countries in their precarious situation. The United Nations has an important role to play in that regard.

A decision on sanctions must, therefore, be followed up by a plan of assistance to the front-line States. The Nordic countries are prepared to work for such a plan, in close co-operation with the countries concerned.

Sweden has for many years given considerable assistance to the front-line States and the liberation movements, and decisions on additional support can be taken at short notice.

In the Middle East the United Nations has a special responsibility to seek to achieve peace. A dangerous deadlock prevails today in the peace efforts. Sweden welcomes different attempts to break that deadlock. The aim should be to bring about direct peace negotiations - if possible, within the framework of an international conference. All parties to the conflict must be given the opportunity to participate. It is important that the Palestinians be represented in such negotiations by those who have their support. In Sweden's view, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) enjoys such support.

Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) should be the basis for

(Mr. Andersson, Sweden)

a negotiated settlement. Israel must leave the territories occupied in 1967. The Arab parties to the conflict must recognize Israel's right to exist within secure borders. The Palestinian people must at last achieve self-determination. They have the right, if they wish, to form a State of their own on the West Bank and in the Gaza strip.

An overwhelming majority of Member States has repeatedly condemned the Soviet Union's armed intervention in Afghanistan, which constitutes a serious violation of international law. The Soviet troops must be withdrawn. Gross violations of human rights are committed daily. Four million people - almost a third of Afghanistan's population - have been forced to leave their homes and take refuge in neighbouring countries. The Swedish Government supports the Secretary-General's efforts to seek a peaceful resolution of the conflict, which must be based on the right of the Afghan people to self-determination.

The war between Iran and Iraq is now in its seventh year. It has led to immense losses of human life on both sides. The Swedish Government views with concern the renewed use of chemical weapons and the increased number of attacks on international shipping in the area and on civilian population centres. Every effort must be made to bring an end to the suffering and to achieve a peaceful solution to the conflict.

The Kampuchea conflict is still unresolved. The state of war and Vietnam's occupation are causing much human suffering and creating new needs for humanitarian assistance, both inside Kampuchea and outside its borders. The people of Kampuchea must be given the opportunity to determine their own future. That requires that the Vietnamese troops be withdrawn and that the parties to the conflict reach a negotiated settlement which will lead to peace in the area.

The conflicts in Central America have their roots in economic, social and political injustices over many years. Military assistance to and within the region

(Mr. Andersson, Sweden)

must cease, regardless of its origin. The efforts of the Contadora Group to reach a negotiated settlement merit every support. A resolution of the conflicts must be based on respect for the principles of international law, such as sovereignty and territorial integrity. The United States assistance to the armed groups waging war against the lawful Government in Nicaragua has been declared a violation of international law by, among others, the International Court of Justice, and it is obstructing the efforts to bring about peace.

As regards regional conflicts, it is important that the Security Council make use of the powers vested in it in the Charter. There is considerable room for expanding the role of the United Nations. The increased involvement of the Secretary-General in the efforts to resolve several difficult conflicts is indeed a promising development. The Security Council should intensify its co-operation with the Secretary-General in those efforts.

More than 50,000 Swedes have to date served in the United Nations peace-keeping operations. Those missions are an important part of the work of the United Nations. The latest report of the Secretary-General and the recent Security Council debate have demonstrated that one of those operations - the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) - finds itself in a particularly precarious and critical situation. We support the efforts of the Secretary-General, and welcome the fact that those difficult issues are now the subject of thorough consideration, not least in view of our recent decision to increase Swedish participation in the Force.

Sweden attaches great importance to the observance of certain fundamental principles as regards the peace-keeping operations. There must exist realistic possibilities of carrying out the tasks in accordance with the mandate. The operations should be carried out in co-operation with the parties most directly

(Mr. Andersson, Sweden)

concerned, they must be of a temporary nature and contribute to resolving the conflicts.

Furthermore, I stress especially the need for the support of the Security Council and a reasonable sharing of the expenses.

The Swedish Government, as the host country, welcomes the successful outcome of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. The agreement which was reached is a step forward in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe process, which is so important for Europe. It aims at increasing confidence and thereby reducing the risks of war in Europe. The agreement is also an expression of an improved international climate. It means that the 35 Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe countries can initiate their work in Vienna in a positive atmosphere and proceed in their efforts to increase security and improve co-operation in Europe. I am convinced that it will also be an inspiration for increased efforts to reach agreement in other important negotiations. This is the occasion to reverse developments and achieve concrete agreements on arms limitation and disarmament. The opportunity must not be lost.

Almost a year ago President Reagan and General-Secretary Gorbachev stated that a nuclear war could not be won and must never be fought.

The arms negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union have not yet led to any visible results. On the contrary, the build-up of their strategic nuclear arsenals continues. Existing treaties are in danger.

(Mr. Andersson, Sweden)

The Government of Sweden nevertheless hopes that the realization by those two leaders of the impossibility of nuclear war will soon lead to radical reductions in the nuclear arsenals of both States and to the prevention of an arms race in outer space. At a future summit meeting the two leaders must show that they are serious in their declarations.

Nuclear disarmament is not the concern of the nuclear Powers alone. A nuclear war would affect everyone. The security of the non-nuclear States too is at stake. Therefore they have a right to make their voices heard on these issues, which are vital to them. Disarmament activities within the United Nations are thus of the utmost importance.

The right of participation of non-nuclear-weapon States is one of the leading ideas behind the five-continent peace initiative. In the Mexico Declaration of last month, the six Heads of State or Government who stand behind this initiative addressed an appeal to the leaders of the two nuclear Powers to agree on a mutual moratorium on nuclear explosions. The Declaration contains a concrete offer of assistance in providing adequate verification arrangements. Political, not technical, problems are obstructing progress. The Swedish Government urges the United States and the Soviet Union to start negotiations on a comprehensive test-ban treaty as soon as possible.

The arms race is not only a threat to the survival of human civilization. Both nuclear and conventional armaments are also an immense waste of scarce human and material resources. Those resources should instead be used for economic and social development in a world in which hundreds of millions live in starvation and malnutrition. Halting the arms race is also a question of solidarity with the peoples of the third world.

(Mr. Andersson, Sweden)

Twenty years ago the General Assembly adopted the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The ideals and the concept of human rights that form the basis of the two human rights Covenants have made it possible to uphold and defend human rights and to condemn their violation. We must not fail those ideals.

International terrorism has claimed the lives of many innocent people. All States must shoulder their responsibility in the fight against terrorism. International co-operation in this struggle should be intensified, not least within the United Nations and its various organs. Within the framework of international law and by the use of peaceful means, the struggle against terrorism must be vigorously pursued.

Also, efforts to combat the serious drug problem must be strengthened. Sweden welcomes and will actively participate in next year's United Nations conference on that important question.

It is disturbing that no decisive progress has been made in recent years within the framework of the North-South dialogue. Parallel with the developing countries' own efforts, the developing and industrial countries must together tackle serious economic problems.

Next year the seventh session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) will provide an opportunity to achieve concrete progress on substantive issues of importance in North-South relations. Sweden considers it essential that the new trade negotiations within the framework of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) should give the developing countries improved access to the markets of the industrial countries. That would also contribute to a solution of debt problems.

(Mr. Andersson, Sweden)

The special session of the General Assembly on the critical economic situation in Africa was successful. We welcome the demonstration by the African countries that they are prepared to undertake necessary changes in their development policies. The programme of action adopted at the special session now remains to be implemented. All donor countries must, in different ways, assist the crisis-stricken countries. Sweden at present allocates more than 60 per cent of its bilateral development assistance, or \$420 million, to sub-Saharan Africa. Sweden is also prepared to continue to participate in internationally co-ordinated action to relieve the debt burden of the African countries, and has set aside funds for that purpose.

Development assistance through various United Nations agencies is of great importance for many people in their daily lives. This applies, for example, to education, to health care and to food. The activities of the United Nations Children's Fund, which is celebrating its fortieth anniversary, demonstrate that multilateral co-operation can both save lives and contribute to long-term development.

Sweden will continue to give substantial contributions to the multilateral development assistance organizations, such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) and the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). However, if results are to be achieved it is necessary that all industrial countries, not least the largest ones, support those organizations in line with their economic capabilities. We must not weaken the agencies for co-operation, agencies we have built up over the years. On the contrary, they must be strengthened.

(Mr. Andersson, Sweden)

Environmental degradation is a threat to the future survival of humanity. Short-term gains have been obtained by countries at the expense of their natural resources and those of other countries, and through the degradation of mankind's common heritage of air, water and soil. To remedy environmental problems, active international co-operation is required, based on real solidarity among the nations of the world.

In this connection the question of nuclear safety is of great concern to the international community. We note with satisfaction the speedy conclusion, after the Chernobyl catastrophe, of negotiations on two draft conventions within the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

Next year the report of the World Commission on Environment and Development will be submitted to the General Assembly. It will give Member States the opportunity to re-examine the direction of long-term international environmental co-operation.

Last year we celebrated the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. World leaders expressed their support for the world Organization and its activities. There is a great discrepancy between those expressions of solidarity with the United Nations and the fact that the Organization now finds itself in an acute financial crisis. How is it that some Member States express their support for the activities of the United Nations while, at the same time, in violation of existing obligations, refuse to pay for them fully and loyally? How is it that so many Member States are in arrears with their assessed contributions?

The amounts in question are modest. They cannot reasonably be a great financial burden to any country. The reason for this is rather short-term political considerations and a lack of solidarity with the United Nations.

(Mr. Andersson, Sweden)

We all have a self-interest in safeguarding the United Nations and upholding respect for its Charter. This must apply also to the principle, embodied in Article 17 of the Charter, of collective responsibility for the expenses of the Organization. It should be taken for granted that all Member States fully live up to this clear-cut obligation.

We must now find solutions that ensure a sound financial basis for the United Nations. At the same time, it must be possible for the United Nations to adapt to changed circumstances and conditions through reforms. The Member States must be able to feel fully confident that the United Nations is using its resources in an effective way.

No one denies that there is room for reforms within the United Nations and in its activities. The high-level Group to review the administrative and financial functioning of the Organization has submitted a set of recommendations for changes and improvements. These recommendations constitute a good basis for work on reforms.

As chief administrative officer, the Secretary-General bears the main responsibility for the efficient use of the United Nations resources. The critical situation demands that rationalization and savings be implemented with determination. At the same time, efficient Secretariat management and planning require a stable financial basis.

The present scale of assessments makes the United Nations too vulnerable and dependent on individual large contributors. When a major contributor, drastically and in violation of existing obligations, cuts its contributions - in the way that is now about to take place - the basis for the work of the entire Organization is undermined. If assessments were distributed more evenly among all Members, we would be able to reduce this vulnerability in the future. We would also emphasize more clearly that the United Nations is an organization for all States.

(Mr. Andersson, Sweden)

Developments have confirmed our conviction that such a reform should eventually be implemented and included in a comprehensive solution of the problems facing the United Nations.

This autumn's session will put us to the test. If our efforts are crowned with success, we shall be able to give a reassuring answer to some of the questions that are troubling people all over the world and filling them with dread of the future.

In Sweden we are delighted to see that interest in and concern for international affairs is growing strongly, not least among the young. Children and young people pose very straight and therefore the most urgent questions. I shall quote two of many questions that a group of 10-year-olds in a school in the north of Sweden asked me last week to forward to the United Nations and its Members. These children were working on practical peace and development projects.

The first question was: "Why do so many children die of starvation in developing countries when at the same time so much money is wasted on weapons?". Certainly, their question and alarm are justified. Every minute, around the clock, year in and year out, 30 children die for lack of food and vaccines. And every minute, around the clock, year in and year out, between one and two million dollars are spent for military purposes. Forty thousand infants in the developing countries die every day unnecessarily.

The second question put by the children was: "What is the United Nations doing to help the children and young people who are persecuted, imprisoned and killed in South Africa?". That is a question that worries young Swedes today and rouses them to indignation. I assume that the United Nations will already be able to give a concrete and positive answer to it this autumn.

To quote Olof Palme yet again: "Apartheid shall be relegated to the place where it belongs - the dustbin of history".

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.