



President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA
(Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations Mr. Fernando Belaúnde Terry, the President of the Republic of Peru, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

2. Mr. BELAÚNDE TERRY (*interpretation from Spanish*): To come to the rostrum of the General Assembly is cause for deep emotion. One feels the mysterious force of world brotherhood even though this does not conceal the clouds on the horizon. We must place ourselves above all controversy and seek only peace. Our feelings at the beginning of this address are those of sympathy and solidarity with those who do not enjoy peace, with those whose lives are threatened and whose property is destroyed, with those who have faced fratricidal wars and have been maimed, with those who are the living testimony to acts of violence and intolerance.

3. One might wonder why the United Nations has not prevented those evil actions, but perhaps we fail to see how much suffering has been avoided by means of quiet and intense actions, how many tears have not been shed and how much blood has not been spilt as a result of the persistent efforts of this great universal institution. However, we cannot really live in tranquillity so long as peace does not prevail all over our planet. May our words and our deeds together work towards that lofty objective.

4. From this rostrum authoritative words have been spoken by high-ranking world dignitaries on questions relating to arms. I am not a special authority on those questions. For that reason I shall deal mainly with matters falling within my competence and the competence of Latin American nations: the threat of financial colonialism on the one hand, and the threat of terrorism on the other.

5. Following the oil crisis and the proliferation of Eurodollars, a change took place in credit systems. Great encouragement was given to the investment of these great flows of capital, and this imposed a responsibility on the debtor nations as well on the lenders. Enormous obligations were thus created, and now we face difficulties in trying to repay.

6. World organizations have endeavoured to find formulas in this regard, and the formula most frequently resorted to is that of prescribing a drastic reduction in public expenditure, which can be

summed up in the word "austerity". I should like to explain at this moment—which is of such great importance to me—that austerity in itself does not resolve the problem. We would have to add to it an expression that would complete the idea—"austerity without recession"—because austerity in itself can bring peoples to a state of paralysis and can become the breeding-ground for greater concerns and perhaps for confrontation.

7. World peace requires that a solution be found to the problem of indebtedness—a realistic solution. Of course we accept advice with regard to seeking economic health. We welcome prescriptions, but we should not wish them to become a kind of death certificate. There must be a clear conception of the fact that austerity must go along with new measures towards development. All credit granted for development must be revised and brought into line with the conditions which prevail today. If we continue to follow the old patterns, paralysis will be inevitable, and that paralysis must be of fundamental concern to the United Nations, because it could be a prelude to war.

8. Here very often when the arms race and nuclear weapons are discussed one may perhaps see in them the major threat, and all our concerns are focused on them, but we must also consider the concern over wars in gestation which are based on economic problems, on unemployment, on malnutrition, which are brought about by an economic system that is not well suited to present-day realities.

9. Austerity without recession means, for us, a policy that would accept the principle of fiscal discipline, of cuts in so far as they are possible, but without going beyond what is possible. We all know that in our countries, particularly in Latin American countries, most of the budget is devoted to the payment of wages and services, and therefore only a very small part is devoted to public works and to capital formation by the State. Therefore, of course, an exaggerated cut would tend to bring about the elimination of those items, and thus the State becomes a spectator rather than an actor. It ceases to be an important employer, and it defers works, usually having to do with public health, education, energy supplies and nutrition. We must therefore ask from this rostrum that the competent organs speed up the processes, that they seek better absorption of resources in world markets and that they grant credits speedily, attempting to reduce in so far as possible the local counterpart, because the lending of credit on the basis of a high local counterpart makes it almost impossible to use the funds.

10. In my country and in the Andean region generally, and most particularly in Ecuador and Colombia, our immediate neighbours, where we still see the tradition of an old society, where there are

basic concerns, where we see what Toynbee used to speak about and admire—a very severe geographical challenge overcome by perseverance, effort and the talents of the Andean society—there, of course, in our remote past there was no international exchange. There was not even a monetary system. Let us recall that in Rome currency was as important as the sword. In the Andean civilization, which assumed Roman proportions—if we drew a line from Pasto in Colombia to the Maule River in Chile, it would equal the distance from Gibraltar to Jerusalem—a system of justice was established, a system of solidarity based on a code of ethics. It was possible to maintain full supplies—supplies which we now long for—and a régime prevailed which heralded our present policy of social justice, during a time when people had to till the soil for the orphans, the widows and the disabled.

11. Such a society, which some find Utopian and some find merely archaic, has left us with a basic teaching. It has shown us that it is possible to have governmental organization and social justice even in the absence of money. Today's world lacks money—not completely, but in part. No one would ask that we go back, but we should note that there is a precedent and that justice and order can be attained even in the absence of money. That is the basic message of the Andean civilizations at this time when money is so scarce. That is why we seek this blending, not only of races, of Europeans and of the indigenous populations of our continent, but a blending which is expressed in all spheres of action and culture, and one that should not exclude a mixing of the economy.

12. For that reason, any proposal made to Latin America, and especially to those areas where the time-honoured traditions still prevail and the old population is found to be pure and almost intact, must go through a regional screen, a screen which allows for the reaffirming of national identity, a screen of realism; it must not be a foreign, alien and cold prescription.

13. There is a tendency to resolve economic problems in terms of balance, in terms of figures, in terms of red and black, but such balance sheets do not resolve the problem unless they take into account the political and social situation and, above all, the minimum standard of living which we all desire for our peoples.

14. I therefore take the opportunity of my presence at this august rostrum to reiterate the appeal which I have made in other forums for a change to be effected in the financial and credit systems at the international level so that we may assist our peoples to move forward.

15. In brief, our request is that at the economic and financial levels we resort to creativity and to imagination to provide the answer that we continue to seek. In the world today, the situation can be defined in terms of financial colonialism, and dependency can be as serious a question now as it used to be at the political level before the entire world awakened to freedom and before the creation of an organization of the broad scope of the United Nations in which the nations of the world are represented and through which all nations have access to the world debate and can make known their views on the basis of justice and equity.

16. We are also concerned about the problem of terrorism. Just as the arms race is a prelude to war—and members of the Assembly have discussed that

subject with authoritative experts—terrorism is the anticipation of war; its objective is to create a climate that is likely to lead to bridgeheads or beach-heads from which conflagrations can emerge. Terrorism is typified by cowardice. Attacks, killings and destruction occur, after which the aggressor withdraws to the shadows. The economy of weak nations is damaged and discord is sown in places where solidarity had hitherto prevailed.

17. In Peru we have had the disagreeable experience that in part of the sierra there have been hostilities because of terrorist action. As a result, 74 humble local government and education authorities have been cruelly and treacherously assassinated. At least 100 defenders of public order have lost their lives in the past three years, and hundreds of innocent and peaceful peasants, tradesmen and members of indigenous communities have also fallen. In some cases the aggressors too have lost their lives. But, for us, all blood shed is equally important and all suffering touches us.

18. We therefore hope that these terrorist movements, which always have international origins, may be wiped out. It is a fundamental task of the United Nations to put an end to them. To effect a cure is much more costly and complicated. We must eradicate the scourge of terrorism.

19. That this movement has arisen not from within the affected country but from without has been amply demonstrated by the fact that there is a well-thought-out strategy of destruction of the entire energy system. The main target is the electricity system of a country, a system built with much sacrifice and invested with the hopes of the people. Terrorists attempt to halt rural electrification, which we are all interested in advancing. Electricity towers are toppled, energy cables are cut, power-stations are blown up and communication lines are cut by the blowing up of bridges. Poor countries which have scarcely sufficient resources for their development, given the population explosion, find that they must use their resources not to create new wealth but to replace what has been destroyed by such cowardly acts.

20. The international nature of this problem is confirmed in the communication system because, whenever damage is done, the news automatically goes around the world. It is exaggerated and it is used to the detriment of the country in which the terrorist act originated. This has been proved time and again.

21. Finally, terrorism is related to another scourge of humanity, the drug trade. The drug trade finances terrorism. It is the marriage of crime and vice. Out of that marriage has been born this threat to peaceful peoples whose normal lives should be zealously guarded by them and by the community of nations so worthily represented in the United Nations.

22. Mr. President, the high office that you now occupy and which has brought Zambia—that dear and friendly nation—an election for which we congratulate you, was once occupied by a modest, humble and eloquent Peruvian, to whom I am attached by the strong bonds of family and motherland. I am referring to Víctor Andrés Belaúnde. Víctor Andrés had the good fortune of witnessing the birth of the United Nations and 22 years later, this Organization, after having heard in this Hall his advocacy of world peace, saw him die. His last words were divine words and they have continually been

repeated in this Hall—peace on earth, peace to the peoples of goodwill.

23. Peace on the American continent. An intelligent and swift resolution to the problem of the Malvinas. Peace in Central America, that part of the continent so much in need of work and normalcy, nutrition and development. Peace in the three nations which converge on the Gulf of Fonseca—Nicaragua, Honduras and El Salvador—a Gulf which is clamouring for a development plan, because problems can be solved there which affect all three countries, be they related to fishing, energy, storage or port facilities. What a good thing it would be if the money spent on fratricidal discord could be used for constructive activities, so that these peoples which converge on that Gulf could meet each other there and celebrate a second independence—economic independence—and security against conflagration or fratricidal threats!

24. I do not wish to speak at length about all the problems that are of concern to this Assembly, in which we find such distinguished representatives from all nations, but I did want to emphasize those two concerns of our hemisphere.

25. However, there is something that I should like to add in these words of welcome to you, Mr. President, and that is the close co-operation at the executive level which you receive from another great Peruvian, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar. I believe that I will be forgiven if, as President of Peru, I do not conceal the pride I derive from the names I have mentioned, because that allows me, in fervently reiterating our adherence to the Charter of the United Nations, to say that Peru is in the United Nations not only in our repeated adherence to it, but also in our actions in it.

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

27. Mr. DOST (Afghanistan): I shall begin my statement by offering you, Sir, the cordial congratulations of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on your election to the high office of President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. We are certain that as a person with outstanding qualities and vast experience, and as a representative of a fellow non-aligned country, you will be able to fulfil your duties with distinction and success. You can fully rely on my delegation's co-operation in the attainment of positive results from the work of this session.

28. We pay a tribute to your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, President of the Republic of Panama, for his responsible and devoted service as President of the thirty-eighth session.

29. May I also extend our gratitude to the energetic Secretary-General for his selfless and untiring endeavours during the past year on behalf of the international community.

30. Next year we shall be celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. This, in our view, provides an appropriate occasion to review the performance of the United Nations system over the past four decades in order to draw necessary lessons for the enhancement of its role and effectiveness in the achievement of peace, security, justice and development. This should also be an occasion for a determined rededication by Member States to the

purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and to their effective implementation.

31. We fully share the Secretary-General's thoughts in his report on the work of the Organization [A/39/1] that "Without the safety net which multilateral organization provides, the world would certainly be a much more dangerous and disorderly place", and that "an extended and tolerable future for all humanity ultimately depends upon our success in making the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations the basis of the day-to-day relations of Governments and peoples". These views are more accurate now than ever before, since the circumstances under which our world is evolving today are far more fraught with a threat to its very existence than they have ever been in the entire history of mankind.

32. The tremendously huge quantities of destructive war potential accumulated in the aggressive centres of power haunt millions of people all over the world with their unthinkable possibility. Legitimate fear of a complete annihilation of life on earth as a result of an all-out nuclear war has put the struggle for peace and the prevention of such a war at the top of the list of priorities on the human agenda. To be sure, the mere existence of quantitatively and qualitatively large amounts of nuclear weapons is a cause for concern.

33. The main cause for serious concern, however, is the horrendous policies that advocate the probability of the use of such armaments. The main source of this threat lies in the aggressive and militaristic circles of the imperialist camp, first and foremost the United States, which are willing to use these weapons at their own discretion.

34. We remain gravely alarmed by such pronouncements as "negotiating from strength", "security through force" and "limited or protracted nuclear war". One would have wished that these doctrines were advanced merely as part of the imperialists' warmongering rhetoric. But the hard facts which have found reflection in the actions and deeds of the imperialist Powers leave virtually no room for wishful thinking.

35. The regenerated capitalist war industries fed by extra hundreds of billions of dollars have already passed their monstrous products through the assembly lines. The unprecedented buildup of United States interventionist forces in every corner of the world, together with the unleashing of hounds of war in so-called covert operations against innumerable Governments and peoples, has caused immense concern over the not-so-secret intentions harboured by the White House. Despite hapless and futile attempts at adopting peaceable postures, those hidden evil designs found their way out in the form of a gaffe not meant for broadcast. Indeed, we have to worry about our fate and that of the whole world when the buttons of the largest arsenal of nuclear weapons are under the command of those who find it amusing to joke about nuclear warfare.

36. At a time when the destiny of our planet is toyed with by those who are madly seeking United States unquestionable superiority, hundreds of people in various centres of the world are sent every day to the valley of death as mere cannon fodder for United States foreign policy.

37. Thanks to such policies and actions, vitally important bilateral negotiations on strategic arms

limitations and disarmament have either been suspended or rendered completely fruitless. The deployment by the United States of large numbers of its first-strike cruise and Pershing II nuclear missiles in several countries of Europe aimed at the Soviet Union and other socialist countries resulted in the suspension of bilateral talks at Geneva.

38. As if this planet were not enough for the warmongering circles in the United States, a disproportionately extensive plan for the militarization of outer space and introduction of highly sophisticated weapons there has been launched by them.

39. Here we would like to express our full support for the timely and very important proposals of the Soviet Union, both on the peaceful uses of outer space and on the inadmissibility of State terrorism, put forward by its Foreign Minister, Mr. Gromyko [10th meeting].

40. To avert the danger of a nuclear holocaust and save the earth and the space surrounding it for peaceful uses by this and future generations, all nuclear Powers should in our view positively and effectively respond to the Soviet Union's peaceful *démarche*, which constitutes yet another valuable step in line with other innumerable important Soviet proposals aimed at the achievement of general and complete disarmament and the strengthening of international security.

41. The wars of aggression, direct military occupation, undeclared mercenary wars and proxy wars waged by surrogate régimes on behalf of imperialism are taking a heavy toll on peoples who are determined to defend their independence, territorial integrity and national sovereignty. The roars of United States aeroplanes and other military machinery makes the atmosphere of peace tremble on the borders first of one country and then of another.

42. Repeated attempts are being made further to suffocate the process of détente through a deliberate escalation of tension in Europe and elsewhere.

43. Accompanying all these are the greedy economic policies applied by the capitalist financial monopolies, which have for many years banked upon the natural and human resources of colonial or newly independent nations and are now out to rob them of whatever has remained in their possession. The unjust burden of debt now weighing on the shoulders of the developing countries is becoming disproportionate as a result of high interest rates and the continuing multifaceted crisis in the world capitalist system.

44. The irrational squandering of billions of dollars on militarization and the arms race imposed by imperialism takes place while hundreds of millions of people around the world are suffering from poverty, hunger, disease and unemployment.

45. The gap in the living standards and rates of development between the developed and developing countries has further widened. The imperialist policy of using economic assistance as a means of exerting political pressure on the developing countries is no longer confined to the bilateral co-operation or the capitalist financial institutions, but has been extensively employed to curtail or completely stop the flow of international development assistance to those countries which dare to refuse to submit to their diktat.

46. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, as one such country, has become a victim of these acts

of economic pressure and blackmail. This was starkly manifested in the course of the consideration of Afghanistan's country programme by the Governing Council of UNDP.

47. We would like to warn the developing countries, in particular the least developed and low-income countries, to be vigilant against such policies and urge them to unite for the safeguarding of the rights and interests of all developing nations on the basis of internationally established criteria.

48. Few other actions could be more inhuman than the denial of the right of a least developed and landlocked nation to development.

49. Asia, at the heart of which Afghanistan is located, has undergone a period of increased hostilities and confrontation. The traditional hotbeds of tension have been further inflamed while attempts at the creation of new ones have continued unabated.

50. The Indian Ocean, whose littoral and hinterland States have long striven to turn it into a zone of peace, have witnessed a drastic increase in the naval presence of the United States and expansion of its military bases, particularly on the Mauritian island of Diego Garcia. The efforts which the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean made on behalf of the United Nations, aimed at convening the international Conference on the Indian Ocean, were frustrated once again by the arrogant and stubborn refusal of the United States to heed the aspirations of all nations concerned. The United States and its allies should not be allowed to delay further the holding of the Conference, which is now proposed by the non-aligned countries of the *Ad Hoc* Committee to be held in the first half of 1985 at Colombo.

51. Here we should like to reiterate our support for the initiative of Mr. Didier Ratsiraka, President of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, on the convening of a summit conference of littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean.

52. The proposal of the Mongolian People's Republic on the signing of a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in Asia and the Pacific, which enjoys our full support, has not been given, in some quarters, the serious attention this important initiative deserves.

53. Similar negative responses have been accorded to the repeated peaceful proposals of the three Indo-Chinese countries for the cessation of regional hostilities and the normalization of the situation in the region of South-East Asia. This cool reaction is demonstrated at a time when the imperialist, hegemonist and reactionary designs to topple the legitimate Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea have met with complete defeat.

54. We vigorously condemn the indiscriminate shelling of Vietnamese towns and villages by expansionist Chinese circles.

55. Having been unable to intimidate the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and to crush the will of the Kampuchean people, these forces are now out to create and provoke new hostilities on the borders of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, by invading its territory and occupying three of its villages.

56. The Middle East has continued to remain fraught with the danger of major armed conflict. The continued denial of the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine and other occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, the Syrian Golan Heights

and southern Lebanon, by the Zionist expansionist forces has reduced to naught the possibility of a successful attempt at finding a peaceful solution to the Middle East problem.

Mr. Oramas Oliva (Cuba), Vice-President, took the Chair.

57. The proliferation of Zionist colonial settlements and the increasing violation of the elementary rights of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples of the occupied territories, in complete violation of the Geneva conventions, have continued to be a major source of concern to the international community. The presence of Zionist occupation troops in vast territories of Lebanon not only infringes on the territorial integrity and national sovereignty of Lebanon but also has brought about agony and suffering to the Lebanese and Palestinian civilian populations as never experienced in the past.

58. The failure of the international community to bring peace to this war-torn region of the world does not simply lie in the intransigent, aggressive and expansionist policies of the Zionist régime but is mainly due to the unconditional political, economic and military support given to the Zionist war machine by United States imperialism. Only such assistance has enabled Israel to defy United Nations resolutions and virtually every other rule of international law. No settlement would be either just or lasting unless it took full account of the attainment by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights, including their right to establish a national State in Palestine. That constitutes the crux of the Israeli-Arab conflict.

59. In this context we reiterate our full support for the recent realistic proposals of the Soviet Union [see *A/39/368*] aimed at finding a just, comprehensive and lasting solution to the Middle East problem.

60. It is high time for every measure to be taken to facilitate the holding of an International Peace Conference on the Middle East with the participation of all concerned parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization [*PLO*], the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, as called for by the General Assembly in resolution 38/58 C of 13 December 1983. The bitter tragedy which has befallen the Palestinian people and the populations of other occupied Arab territories should not be allowed to continue. We are confident that the valiant Palestinian people and the peoples of Syria and Lebanon will ultimately foil the imperialist Zionist designs and liberate their lands.

61. In our neighbourhood, the senseless bloodshed that continues between the two Islamic neighbours, Iran and Iraq, has brought about the consequences feared when this fratricidal war started almost five years ago. Availing itself of the pretext resulting from the turmoil in the Gulf region, United States imperialism and its local lackeys have embarked on the path of drastically increasing military and naval activities and intimidating the countries of the area into military alliances subservient to imperialist countries.

62. We strongly support the call of a number of independent Arab countries of the area for strict non-interference in the affairs of the region by outside forces.

63. Another issue of major concern has been the situation in Cyprus, which acquired ominous dimensions in the course of last year. The proclamation of

the northern part of Cyprus, which is still under military occupation, as the so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus has been condemned by the Security Council and, indeed, by the international community at large and has been declared illegal, null and void. We urge the Secretary-General to multiply his efforts towards achieving a solution that would guarantee the independence, territorial integrity, non-alignment and unity of the Republic of Cyprus.

64. In another country of the Mediterranean region, the fraternal Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, secret plots of imperialism aimed at the destabilization of that country's popular Government have been accompanied by open acts of aggression and provocation from the air, sea and land.

65. While commending the sober-minded attitude of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea towards the peaceful reunification of the Korean peninsula, we consider the recent proposals of that country for the launching of tripartite negotiations on the problem as a major stride towards the attainment of an early solution of the problem.

66. Next year we shall be celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*]. This major achievement of the United Nations has brought about the anticipated results that have drastically changed the shape of international relations and world politics.

67. Of disappointment to conscious humanity, however, is the failure of the United Nations to implement that Declaration with regard to Namibia and certain other Territories. The heroic struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of their sole legitimate representative, the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*], with the full support of the overwhelming majority of nations, has been rendered ineffective due to the intransigent colonialist policies of the South African racists, relying on the all-sided support of United States imperialism. This problem, which falls within the purview of United Nations direct responsibility, has defied solution to this day, in spite of the diplomatic maturity and flexibility displayed by the *SWAPO* leadership.

68. The situation within South Africa has also deteriorated very sharply. The sham elections conducted with the blessing of the United States met their deserved fate of the total failure of this propaganda ploy. The barbarity and savagery with which the rulers of the abhorrent *apartheid* system are suppressing the recently escalated struggle of the people of South Africa against the inhuman and unbearable conditions of the vast majority of the people once again put at the forefront of international attention the urgent need for complete eradication of the abominable phenomenon of *apartheid* from our planet. Nothing can justify any further delay in taking effective action under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations to do away with one of the most horrendous features of the history of mankind. We hail the people of South Africa and their vanguard, the African National Congress of South Africa, for their heroism in fighting against the greatest odds.

69. Acts of aggression and intimidation still continue against the front-line States, particularly Angola, Mozambique and Lesotho.

70. In conformity with the principles of our foreign policy, we call for recognition of the right of the people of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic to self-determination, the exercise by the people of Puerto Rico of their right to self-determination and independence, and the restitution of the three Malagasy Islands to the Democratic Republic of Madagascar.

71. Turning to Central America and the Caribbean, we cannot but vividly express deep wrath and indignation at the piratic aggression of the United States against the Government and people of Grenada and the continued occupation of their territory. To allow the United States to get away with such manifestations of gunboat diplomacy is to expose other independent and nationalist Governments of the region to the threat of similar actions by the United States. We demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all occupation forces from Grenada.

72. We also demand the cessation of the imperialist blockade of Cuba and the return to it of its territory occupied by United States naval facilities at Guantánamo.

73. The undeclared war fought against revolutionary Nicaragua by the paid mercenaries of the United States continues to bear grave consequences for the prospects of peace in Central America.

74. The flexibility and co-operation demonstrated by the Government of Nicaragua, both within the process of negotiations initiated by the Contadora Group and in bilateral discussions with the United States, are worthy of praise. We hold the rigid and obstinate position adopted by the United States and some other countries at its urging responsible for the continuation of hostilities in the area.

75. We are firmly of the opinion that the present situations prevailing in some of the countries neighbouring Nicaragua have their roots in imperialist interference and the deplorable socio-economic and political conditions existing in those countries. Any attempt at improving that situation should be aimed at the cessation of imperialist interference and the introduction of necessary and fundamental changes on the basis of the interests and aspirations of the vast majority of the people of those countries.

76. Our strong solidarity with all national liberation movements representing such interests and aspirations in this region or other parts of the world is based on our respect for the right of nations to self-determination.

77. It is a regrettable fact that despite our hopes to the contrary the period since the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly has not witnessed a decrease in the tension in the region of South-West Asia. This has hampered our sincere efforts to create an atmosphere of trust and confidence conducive to constructive negotiations between the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and two of its neighbouring countries. The undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which is master-minded by those in aggressive circles in the United States and their hegemonist and reactionary accomplices as a regional extension of the global imperialist design to destabilize and subdue independent and sovereign nations with the aim of forcing those nations into the

militarist imperialist orbit, is continuing unabated. Ever-increasing evidence is accumulating which testifies to the fact that State terrorism has become instrumental in carrying out United States policy against my country. This unholy war, which is acquiring ever-greater dimensions, constitutes an obstacle to the conclusion of an agreement which will serve as a solid basis for the strengthening of peace and stability in our region.

78. As a result of this destructive, inhuman and medieval aggression, which is anti-civilization, carried out from the territories of Pakistan and Iran, the people of Afghanistan have suffered losses of enormous proportions. Thousands of innocent people, including children, women and the elderly, among them 200 clergymen, have been murdered, and public and private property, including scores of mosques and holy places, more than half of the schools of the country, half of the Government-owned trucks, and 104 hospitals and medical centres, as well as communication lines, bridges, highways and hydroelectric and thermal power installations of the country, have been destroyed. The total cost to the national economy of our country of this destruction is almost 34 billion afghanis, which is equal to three fourths of the total development investment made during the 20 years before the 27 April 1978 revolution.

79. Psychological warfare constitutes an important, integral part of the aggression against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The huge propaganda machinery of imperialism, hegemonism and reaction, in its drive to distort the realities in and around Afghanistan, resorts to slander and outright fabrications which have by now acquired fantastic dimensions. For example, if the lies spread by this propaganda machinery are to be believed, most of the leaders of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan must be dead—killed not just once but many times over. In the same vein, the greater part of the territory of the country must be under the control of the counter-revolution, the armed forces of the country must have been annihilated five times over and all the population of Afghanistan must have been eliminated not once but twice.

80. Having realized the absurdity of such fabrications, the propaganda machinery of imperialism, hegemonism and reaction has recently resorted to other forms of naked lies, among them the hullabaloo about the alleged shortage of foodstuff in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. It is possible that such propaganda efforts may have given a distorted image of the situation in my country. Therefore, I should like to point out briefly some of the achievements of our people since the national democratic April revolution.

81. As a result of the revolution, the social and class configuration of Afghan society has been transformed and a new socio-political system based on the democratic nature of the revolution has been created. The National Fatherland Front, of which the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan is also a member, has mobilized well over half a million militant Afghans in the form of collective and individual members to spearhead the work and struggle to build a new society in Afghanistan.

82. State power has been consolidated all over the country and the Law of Local Organs of State Power and Administration, providing for direct participa-

tion by the people in the affairs of their locality and the country as a whole, is being successfully implemented. In addition to the heroic armed forces, revolution defence groups, self-defence groups, soldiers of the revolution, tribal regiments, people's militia groups and social-order brigades are victoriously safeguarding the gains of the revolution. As a result, during this year large formations of the counter-revolution have been annihilated, but different forms of subversive and terroristic activities are still continuing by some remnants of criminal bandits.

Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) resumed the Chair.

83. Despite the continuation of the undeclared war, achievements in the socio-economic development of the country have been significant. During the year that ended on 20 March 1984, the gross national product and the national income of the country increased by 6 per cent and 4.5 per cent, respectively, over the previous year. This means that during this year more goods were produced and services rendered than during the years before the revolution.

84. Since the victory of the revolution, 1,274 agricultural co-operatives and thousands of peasants' committees have been established. Different stages of democratic land and water reforms are being successfully implemented, agricultural production has increased and the volume of industrial output is greater than in previous years. Education and public health services are expanding and the campaign against illiteracy is gaining momentum. Already more than a million people have become literate, and it is planned to eradicate illiteracy by the year 1986 in the cities, and by the year 1990 throughout the country. Right now, 233,300 persons are enrolled in 11,107 literacy courses throughout the country.

85. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is a peaceful, non-aligned country and is determined to remain so. Our uncompromising love for the independence and territorial integrity of our country is a matter of record in the history of the struggle of our people to preserve its freedom and dignity and safeguard and defend its frontiers. Many great challenges have been posed to our liberty and sovereignty, but they have been dealt fatal blows by our unflinching determination to safeguard what we consider not only our birthright but also an indivisible part of our tradition, culture and religion.

86. Pages of our proud 5,000-year history document this brilliant aspect of Afghan patriotism. It is in this context that the strong will of our people to rebuff the imperialistic, hegemonistic and reactionary undeclared war can be explained. Over six years of subversion, coercion, attempts at destabilization, outright aggression and total economic blockade have failed to give any effect to the illusions harboured by our enemies.

87. The people of Afghanistan are already reaping the fruits of their revolution and are prepared to make further sacrifices to safeguard their socio-political system. Let me state once again before this international gathering that the people of Afghanistan will never be deterred from the principled path they have chosen. No one should doubt our unswerving resolve to stand firm in the face of outside pressure and intimidation.

88. Notwithstanding this, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has, with revolutionary sincerity, conducted earnest and serious negotiations with

Pakistan, through the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General, with a view to finding a negotiated settlement to the outstanding problems between the two countries. I should like to recall the two well-known proposals, dated 15 May 1980¹ and 24 August 1981,² put forward by my Government to that end. We have given full proof of our flexibility and political will to achieve an early solution of the present appalling situation around my country. We are for concrete actions. We believe that if words are not followed by deeds they have no value at all. If one speaks of peace and is engaged in aggression in its various forms, that can only be a manifestation of hypocrisy and demagoguery.

89. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, in line with its foreign policy, is honestly and sincerely for the peaceful solution of the situation around Afghanistan. Should the other countries involved so desire, they will find us prepared to meet them halfway. This course, we believe, corresponds exactly with the aspirations and interests of our peoples and certainly serves the cause of peace in our region.

90. Thanks to our co-operation and understanding, the Secretary-General has been able to pursue his good offices, which in our view have thus far yielded positive results. We are confident that, with the good will and sincerity of the States concerned, we shall be able to achieve further progress. We deem it appropriate to place on record our gratitude and thanks to the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative for their commendable endeavours in this regard.

91. To conclude my statement, I should like to quote the following words of Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and President of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan:

“Elimination of poverty, disease and economic backwardness, ignorance and illiteracy, unemployment and inequality, national and social oppression in Afghanistan; creation of an independent national economy; acceleration of the pace of economic growth on the basis of scientific socio-economic development plans, including the establishment of an independent national industry and the industrialization of the country; and raising the living standard of the masses of the people are general goals of the April Revolution.”

92. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, allow me at the outset to congratulate you on your election to this high office and to greet you as a distinguished son of our dear continent, Africa, as well as the representative of our sister country, Zambia, and a dear friend with whom I have been privileged to collaborate in promoting the causes of freedom, development and peace.

93. I take this opportunity also to express our appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, and to pay a tribute to him for the skilful way he conducted the proceedings of the thirty-eighth session, which was characterized by high-level participation by a number of Heads of State and Government, particularly from non-aligned countries.

94. I wish also to welcome Brunei Darussalam to the United Nations and to stress our willingness to co-operate with this sister country in pursuit of our common aims and objectives.

95. It gives me immense pleasure to come back to this rostrum and to my dear colleagues. I look forward to continuing with them, in my new position, our endeavours towards the realization of the noble principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.

96. I am all the more pleased to speak again today in the name of Egypt in the wake of an exemplary experience that Egypt has had on the road to the exercise of democracy. I should like to pause here and reflect on this outstanding, bright landmark in our contemporary history.

97. The democratic process in Egypt is in consonance with the ongoing and persistent efforts we are making to cope with and respond to the challenges of the age. It also reflects our conviction that only a free individual is capable of promoting peace and forging progress and development.

98. This significant development in Egypt, which is an integral part of the Arab nation, is an achievement for Arab human rights and particularly for the right to participate in shaping the present and the future in complete freedom and security.

99. In this regard, I should like to express our gratitude to King Hussein of Jordan and to the fraternal people and Government of Jordan for the positive and wise step they have taken to re-establish diplomatic relations with Egypt. That action testifies to the firm will of the people and Government of Jordan to bring about a meeting of brothers so as to open up prospects for the future of Arab solidarity and to add momentum to the common action in order to achieve the objectives and aspirations of the peoples of the Arab nation.

100. We are meeting this year on the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations, which was born in the aftermath of the most dreadful scourge mankind had yet experienced, the Second World War. The peoples of the world, in their resolve to make that war the last war, were determined to establish a system that would govern relations between States and peoples based on freedom and co-operation rather than oppression, domination and belligerency.

101. Tremendous transformations and changes have marked the last four decades. New energies once undreamed of have been released, adding to mankind's potential. Man has explored hitherto inconceivable horizons. The great Powers have managed to avoid drifting into armed confrontation.

102. At the same time, this period has witnessed a stockpiling of arms that is without precedent in the history of mankind. Despite great developments in the means of production, the third world finds itself encircled by ever-increasing impediments and obstacles and, therefore, unable to keep pace with other countries. The picture becomes more gloomy when we reflect upon conditions in the part of the world in which we live, namely, the Middle East and Africa, where issues of liberation, self-determination, peace and security remain unresolved and constitute a threat to international peace.

103. For more than two decades the peoples and countries of the third world have responded to those challenges facing them by their commitment to the principles and objectives of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which has provided them with a positive and historic alternative. That Movement has taken a leading role in the rejection of blocs and

polarization and has played and is still playing a historic part in reshaping the pattern of contemporary international relations with a view to establishing a new international order based on respect for the sovereignty, independence and cultural identity of States, on adherence to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of others, on the moral values of peoples and on making an effective contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security.

104. Egypt, in keeping with its responsibilities as a non-aligned country, calls upon the international community to reflect seriously on the issues that are of grave concern to all of us.

105. The Middle East has gone through a series of tragic conflicts. Egypt, inspired by the world-wide consensus on the need for the peaceful settlement of those conflicts and to spare the peoples of the region and the world the dire consequences and grave complications they entail, was prompted to launch its historic peace initiative in the hope that a just and honourable peace encompassing the whole region might be achieved, a peace that would usher in a new era of coexistence in accordance with the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, the framework for civilized relations between States and peoples.

106. It is regrettable, however, to note that the persistent Israeli policy of tightening its grip on the occupied Arab territories and denying the Palestinian people their right to self-determination and to choose their own representatives and spokesmen has shaken hopes for peace. Feelings of frustration and bitterness continue to exist because of the continuation of Israeli policies designed to perpetuate domination over the occupied Arab territories and their populations. We have witnessed measures designed to annex Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, as well as the bombardment of an Iraqi nuclear reactor used for peaceful purposes and the invasion and continued occupation of southern Lebanon.

107. Today we are witnessing the emergence of a wave of detestable fanaticism that should not be underestimated. Although it has not galvanized a broad constituency, it has the potential for becoming menacing and setting off a chain of actions and reactions. We therefore commend those Arab and Israeli men and women who have bravely voiced their revulsion to fanaticism and who have stated their belief that peaceful coexistence between Arabs and Israelis and mutual tolerance are the only civilized alternative norms of behaviour worthy of the history of this region, one that has inspired the loftiest moral values.

108. We deem it our duty to continue to proclaim the need for a just political settlement of the Palestinian problem and of the Middle East crisis. Only thus can the Middle East live in peace and the world be spared those complications.

109. It is our view that in order to reach such a settlement a number of indispensable facts, arising out of the experience gained by the parties to the conflict, should be highlighted.

110. First, peace and territorial expansion are irreconcilable. Israel must therefore relinquish the occupied Arab territories so that genuine peace can be attained. This applies equally to the West Bank, including Jerusalem, to the Gaza Strip and to the occupied Syrian Golan Heights.

111. Secondly, the question of Palestine must be resolved through negotiations, with the participation of the Palestinian people, the party directly concerned, and Israel.

112. Thirdly, these negotiations should be based on the principle of mutual recognition and reciprocal acknowledgement of the right to exist.

113. Fourthly, the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination is a sacred and inalienable right. The history of the question of Palestine teaches us that denial of this right or failure to recognize it has been the main cause of all the blunders, with the ensuing complications and wars. When we mention the right to self-determination, this necessarily entails the right of this people to establish an independent State on its national soil, as well as its right to join with any other entity through the free expression of its own will.

114. Fifthly, in the light of these premises, the Palestinian people, as the party directly concerned, is entitled to choose its representatives and its spokesmen. The Palestinian people has already chosen the PLO as its representative and spokesman.

115. We note that there is a new coalition cabinet in Israel, and we hope that its options and orientation will be directed towards a genuine and just peace which responds to the national rights of the Palestinian people. This is the only way to ensure real security for Israel.

116. In this context, we are not lacking in peace initiatives or proposals. There are now several peace proposals, including the draft resolution submitted to the Security Council by Egypt and France on 28 July 1982.³ We also have the Arab peace plan, contained in the Final Declaration of the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, adopted at Fez on 9 September 1982,⁴ President Reagan's initiative of 1 September 1982⁵ and other proposals. Now, we have the United Nations initiative as represented in the call by the General Assembly [*resolution 38/58 C*] for the convening of an International Peace Conference on the Middle East, to which we have responded favourably and which we have supported. We wonder why such a call should be rejected or ignored. All of us should reflect deeply on the implications of the positive response by the PLO in accepting this initiative. This is a great step towards peace.

117. The events in Lebanon have once again attested to the futility of invasion and of the imposition of peace through force. The need to ensure its security has been advanced by Israel as an excuse for invading Lebanon. We were among the first to warn against the futility of such an approach, which could only result in more victims and foment more hostility and bitterness. The events in Lebanon have confirmed the validity of our views. We therefore consider the decision taken by the new Israeli Cabinet to withdraw from Lebanon a sound one. We hope that this decision will be implemented without delay, putting an end to the series of acts of aggression against Lebanon, a country for which we cherish every hope of stability, reconciliation and prosperity in an atmosphere of freedom, unimpeded by foreign interference.

118. I should like to deal with one of the aspects of the situation prevailing in the occupied Arab territories, namely the humanitarian aspect, particularly the constant violations of the provisions of international humanitarian law, especially the Geneva Convention

relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,⁶ and the challenges such violations pose for us as States parties to this Convention, and parties also to an international system in which the issue of respect for human rights represents an integral part of its legal structure.

119. Violations of the provisions of international humanitarian law inside the occupied Arab territories have assumed appalling dimensions as manifested in the perpetuation and consolidation of settlement policies in those territories and in the terrorist, oppressive and punitive measures perpetrated against the Arab population in those territories. These practices constitute serious violations of the provisions of that Convention, to which almost all States have acceded, including Israel.

120. While we are fully appreciative of the efforts of the International Committee of the Red Cross to ensure security for the Arab population in the occupied territories, we are equally aware of the constraints and limitations imposed by the nature of the activities of that Committee, which could curtail those efforts and render them inadequate to address an increasingly deteriorating situation in the occupied Arab territories.

121. At the same time, the Geneva Convention is part of a contractual legal system which is not confined to the parties to the conflict. Rather, it is a global legal system encompassing all States parties to the Convention, conferring on them an interest and a responsibility to ensure full respect for the provisions of the Convention.

122. In view of this concept, and given the failure of all attempts to terminate such violations, it is our view that it is highly propitious to consider convening a diplomatic conference comprising all States parties to the Convention to review the deteriorating situation in the occupied Arab territories. Such a conference should envisage measures conducive to ensuring respect for the provisions of the Convention. We call upon all States parties to the Convention, as well as the Secretary-General, the President of the International Committee of the Red Cross and the President of the Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues, to study this proposal and start consultations on how best to implement it.

123. I move now to the grave and explosive situation in the Gulf region resulting from the continued armed conflict between Iran and Iraq, with both of which Egypt maintains the closest spiritual and historical ties. This conflict, which is exacting a high toll of human lives and material resources which should have been devoted to life rather than devastation and death, is a source of profound sorrow and regret to us.

124. The position of Egypt *vis-à-vis* this conflict has been unequivocally spelled out from the very beginning and remains unchanged. We are exerting maximum efforts within the framework of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries to reach a peaceful settlement to this conflict. Such a settlement would put an end to this senseless war and reinstate the rights of each party, in keeping with the basic principles of international law, the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. In this regard, Egypt will spare no effort to pursue those endeavours until the appeal of the international community has been fully responded to

and hostilities have been halted and negotiations started to reach a peaceful settlement.

125. In this respect, we wish to express our deep appreciation of the continuing efforts made by the Secretary-General with a view to putting an end to this war. We support those efforts and wish him success.

126. This position taken by Egypt emanates from its option for peace not only as a principle of its foreign policy but also as an overall pattern to be established in the entire region to which we belong and in the world at large.

127. In this context, recent developments in the Red Sea region have underscored the importance of Egypt's previous call that the Red Sea countries should make concerted efforts to ensure the safety of navigation in the Red Sea. We welcome and wholeheartedly support the Sudan's initiative to this effect. Such an initiative, launched as it was by the sister country of the Sudan, with which we are linked by inherent ties of integration, promotes the prospects of peace for the region and for all our peoples.

128. I should like now to touch upon certain pressing conditions in our African continent whose peoples have suffered injustice, colonialism and exploitation as have no other peoples of any continent. Our continent has braved all odds to gain its total independence, a fact which should have prompted special international attention to support Africa's endeavours to achieve total liberation and development.

129. Unfortunately, we still see our brothers in the south of the continent living the tragedy of the age, which brands with disgrace not only the racist clique in Pretoria but also all those who aid that régime and refrain from opposing its practices both in word and in deed.

130. That régime has recently undertaken certain measures in a desperate attempt to introduce some changes to the repugnant face of *apartheid* through the so-called constitutional reforms, which in fact only mean more camouflage and codification of that racist policy. Therefore, it was only natural that the African majority—with its astute political perception—should have boycotted the elections conducted last August in implementation of the so-called constitutional reforms. The Security Council acted in perfect wisdom when it condemned those elections. Egypt reiterates its support for the struggle of the people of South Africa to eliminate racist policies and establish a non-racial democratic system in that cherished part of the African continent.

131. At the same time, the racist régime in South Africa persists in its occupation of Namibia, although six years have elapsed since the Security Council adopted resolution 435 (1978), which endorsed the framework for a just settlement within which Namibia could gain its independence. There is no doubt whatsoever that the only obstacle to the implementation of that resolution lies in Pretoria's insistence on linking implementation with other factors totally alien to its substance and content.

132. Recent developments in southern Africa, particularly concerning the Namibian question, have made clear the positive attitude and sense of responsibility of SWAPO, as well as its sincere wish to achieve the independence of Namibia peacefully through negotiations. That conciliatory attitude was met with arrogance and intransigence on the part of

the South African régime, which sought only to delay Namibia's independence as long as possible. Such procrastination leaves SWAPO with no alternative but to continue its legitimate and just struggle, which Egypt will support until Namibia achieves its independence.

133. In reviewing the pressing problems confronting our African continent, I should like to emphasize the exceptionally grave situation the continent faces—a situation which cannot be described as simply an "economic crisis". Indeed, it has turned into a serious crisis, both economic and humanitarian. To realize the proportions of this crisis, suffice it to know that an estimated 5 million children will have died in 1984 as the result of the food shortage, that more than 150 million people will face famine this year, that per capita food production has decreased by 11 per cent compared to 1970 figures and that per capita national income in most African countries has been steadily declining throughout the past few years.

134. In the face of this grave situation, the international community must earnestly embark on a serious plan—whether in the short or long term—to contain it.

135. The developed countries cannot shirk their responsibilities, because, in the final analysis, we find that the crisis in Africa is largely due to current international economic conditions. Moreover, we live in an international community which should be characterized by interdependence. We also believe that an economically viable and strong Africa can contribute greatly to the achievement of economic and political stability in the world.

136. Against this background, Egypt raised the issue of the economic crisis in Africa in meetings of the Organization of African Unity and called for consideration of this issue in the Economic and Social Council during its second regular session, held at Geneva. However, we cannot conceal our disappointment at the failure of the Council to approve a declaration on this issue. Therefore we raise the question once again and hope that a more comprehensive international awareness of the crisis and its serious dimensions can be mustered in such a way as to enable us—during the current session of the General Assembly—to adopt concrete, clear-cut measures to tackle this crisis. I should like on this occasion to place on record our sincere thanks to the Secretary-General, who has launched an initiative in this respect and spared no effort to follow it up.

137. If our world today is still afflicted by a number of grave and diverse problems, the group of non-aligned countries and the group of Islamic countries have laid down a practical framework for coping with most of those problems. We may well look forward, with sincere hope, to the success of the tireless efforts exerted by the Secretary-General with a view to reaching a settlement of the situation in Afghanistan in such a way as to ensure the rights of that brotherly people to peace, freedom and stability. We equally commend his efforts towards resolving the Cyprus problem through fulfilment of the aspirations of the Cypriot people—including both the Turkish and Greek communities—to solve their problems and find an appropriate formula for coexistence and co-operation in accordance with their will and traditions.

138. We continue to underscore the importance of sincere efforts to implement United Nations resolutions on Kampuchea and to pave the way for appropriate international conditions to enable the Korean people to achieve their aspirations and realize their hopes in unity. We are confident that efforts to find just and peaceful solutions to those problems will result in easing international tensions and strengthening the progress of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

139. Egypt voices its support for the efforts of the Contadora Group to extricate Central America from the circle of violence and enable the peoples of the region to achieve peace, stability and development.

140. Twenty-five years have elapsed since the General Assembly adopted, at its fourteenth session, a resolution [*resolution 1378 (XIV)*] which stressed, *inter alia*, that the objective of general and complete disarmament was the most important and most pressing issue our world confronted. Agreement was reached on setting up the Disarmament Commission at Geneva. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons was concluded in 1968 [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*], and a large number of non-nuclear-weapon States thereby renounced the nuclear option and placed their nuclear installations under international control. Despite efforts by the non-aligned countries in the Conference on Disarmament at Geneva and here in the General Assembly at two special sessions devoted to disarmament, we note not only an absence of any progress in disarmament negotiations but also, unfortunately, a further accumulation of nuclear weapons, which has brought the stockpile of nuclear warheads to 80,000, enough to destroy the world several times over. Nuclear weapons are proliferating in new locations and domains, and legal freedoms, such as the freedom to use outer space and the high seas, are used for more nuclear militarization. The rate of expenditure on the production of instruments of mass destruction is on the increase and has reached astronomical levels at a time when there are people starving to death, as is the case in Africa. This is the appalling image we have of the world, one which haunts the life of man today with a new type of anxiety and fear of annihilation and self-destruction which could occur unintentionally through a miscalculation or a misreading of data.

141. Therefore, we cannot but persist in urging the nuclear-weapon States to heed the voice of reason and to respond to the plea of millions of people to halt the nuclear-arms race by reaching agreements conducive to the gradual elimination of weapons of mass destruction and the possibility of a nuclear war.

142. As preparations for the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons are already under way, we are fully entitled to call urgently for the fulfilment by the nuclear-weapon States of their commitments in accordance with article VI of that Treaty, by starting negotiations in good faith to reach agreement on effective measures to stop the nuclear-arms race and achieve a complete ban on nuclear tests.

143. In other words, it is our view that the Conference should consider measures which would commit nuclear States to non-use of their nuclear weapons against States that do not have nuclear weapons and have renounced the nuclear option. It should also support any country that might be the victim of

aggression against its nuclear installations devoted to peaceful purposes.

144. As far as the region to which we belong is concerned, Egypt has for several years called for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East and, in February 1981, it ratified the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. The General Assembly, for its part, reaffirmed at the thirty-eighth session [*resolution 38/64*] its previous resolutions calling upon States of the region to desist from producing or acquiring nuclear weapons or allowing the positioning of such weapons by a third party on their territories and to subject all their nuclear activities to IAEA safeguards.

145. The ministerial meeting of the Mediterranean members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Valletta on 10 and 11 September 1984, reiterated in its Final Declaration [*see A/39/526 and Corr.1*] the necessity of establishing such a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East and requested the General Assembly and the Secretary-General to take specific steps to bring this concept into being.

146. I have already highlighted the acute economic and human crisis afflicting the African continent. Needless to say, this crisis stems basically from prevailing economic conditions which hinder the developing countries, particularly in Africa, from surmounting the barriers of underdevelopment and accelerating the development process.

147. In this context, we emphasize the serious debt problem and the escalating interest rates, the continuous fluctuations in exchange rates, the persistence of protectionist trends in international trade, accentuated by a sharp decline in the prices of raw materials exported from the developing countries, and the deterioration of the terms of trade of these countries.

148. We had entertained the hope that meetings recently held, such as the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade from 6 June to 2 July 1983, would have provided an opportunity to reach agreed solutions for international economic problems and reactivate the North-South dialogue. It is regrettable that that session could not accomplish concrete results. Also, the outcome of the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna from 2 to 19 August 1984, provided yet another example of the stalemate being encountered at present in the North-South dialogue.

149. The Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, adopted a flexible approach to extricating global negotiations from the persistent deadlock. However, that initiative has not received its due response from the countries of the North.

150. We share with many the conviction that the world economy is so complex that it is indispensable to strengthen interdependence and dialogue in order to find solutions to all these problems.

151. In this regard, I wish to recall the appeal made by President Hosni Mubarak, of the Arab Republic of Egypt, before the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development last year, which was intended to instil a new spirit of international co-operation, when he called for regular consultations between the Heads of State or Government in the North and the South to review the

international economic situation, agree upon policies which would spare the world further acute crises and ensure the sound functioning of the economic cycle for the common benefit of mankind.

152. We call upon countries of the North to approach the dialogue with a new outlook based on the conviction that we share the same destiny and that comprehensive solutions through dialogue and understanding are the only option available to us.

153. Last year, at the thirty-eighth session, when President Hosni Mubarak addressed the Assembly [10th meeting], he underlined the necessity of convening a special session of the General Assembly to be devoted to the subject of enhancing the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security.

154. We have recently received the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/39/1], in which he made a detailed analysis of the set-back suffered by the collective system and the need to restore confidence in and credibility to the United Nations and to enhance its effectiveness. We share the Secretary-General's views and conclusions on the causes of this crisis and the necessity for them to be redressed.

155. It is our view that, as we are on the eve of commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, it is a highly propitious time to initiate practical steps to convene such a special session.

156. On the eve of celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations, let us close our ranks in solidarity in the interest of peace and prosperity for our peoples. Let us make this anniversary a unique opportunity to achieve for future generations real victory over ignorance, poverty, starvation, fear, oppression, terrorism and injustice.

157. Mr. AZIZ (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): At the outset, Sir, I extend to you my sincere congratulations upon your election as President of this session of the General Assembly. I am fully confident that your long experience in the United Nations will enable us to achieve positive results during the session. It is even more gratifying that the office of President is assumed by a representative of an African country with which we have such close friendly relations as those maintained between the Presidents of our two countries, President Kenneth Kaunda and President Saddam Hussein. The delegation of my country wishes to assure you of its readiness to extend to you its full co-operation with a view to facilitating your tasks and bringing the work of the present session to a successful conclusion.

158. I also extend our congratulations to Brunei Darussalam, a fellow member of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, upon its accession to membership of the United Nations and wish it full success.

159. Every year the representatives of the peoples of the world come to this important international forum to set forth their concerns. The most important matters emphasized by members of the international community are peace and the right of peoples to security, sovereignty and dignity. These principles and norms are at the very root of the United Nations: they form a foundation without which the world would be exposed to dangers, to chaos and to the absence of justice.

160. I must speak at length of the dangers threatening my country and our region, namely, the Iranian aggression against Iraq, which has continued for more than four years. We meet here for the fifth time to discuss this aggression which Iran insists on continuing and which the United Nations and its various organs, as well as other organizations, have been unable to end.

161. Iran bears the full responsibility for kindling the fires of war, just as it bears the full responsibility for continuing it for this long time. The régime that has come to power in Iran has arrogated to itself some bizarre privileges which have no basis in international law or in the rules governing relations among peoples. This régime persists in its aggressive acts and in its desire to impose itself as guardian not only on Iraq but also on the peoples of the region and, indeed, on all the world. It has used every available means to interfere in the internal affairs of Iraq and the countries of the region and, indeed, many other countries of the world. It seeks to export its blood-stained and backward system to others, ignoring the fact that that system is the purely internal concern of Iran and that no one in the world has the right to impose himself as guardian of others.

162. In pursuing this unnatural course, the Iranian régime has resorted to all possible means of destruction, sowing anarchy and launching open aggression. Instead of renouncing the expansionist policies and imperial ambitions of the former régime, it has adopted them as its own. It has upheld the privileges of the former régime and has used the military power that it has inherited from that régime to achieve its own expansionist aims.

163. For its part, Iraq has tried by every means at its disposal to convince Iran of the necessity of establishing good-neighbourly relations between the two countries and has avoided confrontation with Iran. The Iranian régime, however, has persisted in its aggressive and expansionist policies and has continued to fan the flames of dissension, conflict and war.

164. From 1979 to the start of the armed conflict on 4 September 1980, the Iranian régime committed 249 violations of Iraqi airspace and 244 acts in which it opened fire on, attacked and shelled Iraqi border towns; it obstructed navigation in the Shatt Al-Arab, and committed three acts of aggression against civil aircraft and seven acts against economic facilities, including oil installations. All those acts of aggression are documented in official memoranda the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent at the time to the Iranian Embassy at Baghdad and to the Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Teheran. In a total of 293 official memoranda, we drew the Iranian side's attention to the gravity of such practices and acts and pointed out that the Iranian authorities bore responsibility for their effects on the future of neighbourly relations between our two countries.

165. On 4 September 1980, Iran started actual war against Iraq by opening heavy artillery fire on Iraqi border towns, causing losses in lives and severe damage to property and threatening the sovereignty and security of Iraq. In the following days, Iranian armed forces attacked Iraqi oil installations, and Iranian military aeroplanes launched an air raid against the border town of Mandali. On 12 September, Iranian armed forces opened fire on an Iraqi ship in Shatt Al-Arab and on Iraqi territory in the

Basra area and in Khanaqin. On 17 September, the Iranian authorities announced the closure of Iranian airspace to civil aviation and the Straits of Hormuz to Iraqi navigation. Iran also announced general mobilization, deployed its armed forces in massive concentrations along the Iraqi border and openly used its regular military forces in aggression against Iraq. In the period from 18 to 22 September, Iran opened fire 19 times on Iraqi military boats from Iraqi territory in the areas of Basra, Khanaqin, Qoratu and Mandali, as well as on the Coast Guard Command headquarters at Basra and the control towers of Iraqi ports along Shatt Al-Arab. The Iranian authorities also used their air force to attack the oilfields in Naft Khaneh. Between 4 and 22 September 1980, Iranian military leaders issued statements threatening to occupy Iraq and its capital, destroy the Iraqi armed forces and erase Iraq from the map of the region.

166. Iraq was obliged to defend itself against this flagrant aggression and the blind insistence of the Iranian régime to threaten its security and stability and interfere in its internal affairs.

167. The Iraqi people cannot accept guardianship by anyone and cannot submit to threats and aggression. It had no choice but to fight to defend its sovereignty and dignity and to protect the achievements it had realized by the free exercise of its will and creative endeavours in the political, economic and cultural fields.

168. Iraq has undertaken most faithfully and sincerely to submit the dispute to the United Nations and to other organizations, such as the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. On 28 September 1980, Iraq accepted Security Council resolution 479 (1980), which called for a cease-fire and settlement of the conflict by negotiations. Iraq expressed its full willingness to reach a just agreement that guarantees the rights and sovereignty of both parties and provides for non-interference in their internal affairs.

169. However, the Iranian régime rejected that resolution, as it later rejected all resolutions on the matter, whether adopted by the Security Council or the General Assembly or by other international organizations such as the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and other bodies which made concrete efforts towards peace. Iran has set absurd conditions which are contrary to the rules of international law and the norms governing relations among States. Those conditions had no other meaning in reality than insistence on war, on aggression and on expansion.

170. By insisting on taking such a position, the Iranian régime alone bears responsibility for this war, for its continuation and for all the losses suffered by both peoples in human lives and material damage. Similarly, that régime alone bears the responsibility for threatening security and stability in the region.

171. Permit me to remind the Assembly of what happened a year ago. At the thirty-eighth session, in this forum [12th meeting], I addressed, in the name of the Iraqi Government, a call for serious action to ensure security and stability in the Arab Gulf area; for respect of the right of the Gulf States to use their ports and port facilities and of their right to free commerce; and for respect of the right of foreign States trading with the countries of the region. That call by Iraq was welcomed by the States of the Gulf

Co-operation Council and by many other States concerned with security and stability in our region and in the world. Those views have been embodied in Security Council resolution 540 (1983) of 31 October 1983, which, in particular:

“Affirms the right of free navigation and commerce in international waters, calls on all States to respect this right and also calls upon the belligerents to cease immediately all hostilities in the region of the Gulf, including all sea-lanes, navigable waterways, harbour works, terminals, offshore installations and all ports with direct or indirect access to the sea, and to respect the integrity of the other littoral States;

“Requests the Secretary-General to consult with the parties concerning ways to sustain and verify the cessation of hostilities, including the possible dispatch of United Nations observers, and to submit a report to the Security Council on the results of these consultations;”

172. That wise and balanced resolution was welcomed by Iraq, by the States of the Gulf Co-operation Council and by all international quarters, but Iran rejected it and scorned the Security Council. When Iraq used its natural right of defence and threatened the vital interests of a régime which insists on war and on depriving Iraq of its right to utilize its Gulf ports and obstructing free navigation, Iran threatened to use armed force against the interests of two States—namely, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait—which were not parties to the dispute by way of an aggressive and extortionist military demonstration which met with universal condemnation in the form of Security Council resolution 552 (1984).

173. As a result, during the past months the Gulf area has known insecurity, uncertain navigation and escalation of the risks of foreign military intervention in the region's affairs.

174. The events of the past year provide a clear illustration of the nature of that régime and its policies which are the cause of all the dangers which the region is now facing.

175. Iraq has abided by the principles of peace and good-neighbourliness, as well as the principles of mutual co-operation and respect for common interests. If it were not for Iraq's resolute stand against the tide of evil, aggression and expansionism brought about by the Teheran régime, the whole area would have been reduced to ruin and the interests of the whole world would have been jeopardized. It is thanks to their courage and heroism that the Iraqis are not only protecting their country but are also safeguarding the security and stability of the area and helping it to continue its fruitful and constructive relations within the region and with the other countries of the world. Therefore, to support Iraq, to co-operate with it in all fields and to assist it in maintaining its firm stand must not be taken as alignment with it against the other side but rather as alignment with the principles of peace and respect for sovereignty and the free will of peoples and also as a contribution to safeguarding security and stability in the area and to protecting it from the dangers of chaos and destruction of which the slogans of the rulers of Teheran and their irrational policies warn.

176. Iraq has proved that its strength is a force for peace, stability and constructive co-operation between the countries of the region: it is a force for

justice and international law. By contrast, the force of our adversaries is a force for evil, for chaos and for ruin.

177. Now that this insane war waged by the Khomeini régime against Iraq and the countries of the region is entering its fifth year, it is the duty of the United Nations, together with its Member States, and of the Security Council in particular, to take the necessary practical steps to keep that demented régime within bounds and to force it to accept peace and good-neighbourly relations with Iraq and its other neighbours and desist from its aggressive, destructive and expansionist course.

178. Diplomatic methods have failed to produce the desired results. On the contrary, they have encouraged the rulers in Teheran to persist in their conceit, in their aggressive policies and in their contempt for international organizations and the rules of international law. The irresponsible actions of certain Governments, which have provided Iran with weapons and military equipment in order to realize petty commercial gains, have directly contributed to the continuation of this war with all the losses in lives and property it has entailed. Any call for peace cannot be sincere and serious unless combined with refusal to supply the Iranian régime, which insists on war and expansion, with the military and material means that enable it to continue to pursue those policies.

179. The erroneous policy of being tactful with this anomalous régime and conniving with its crimes and constant violations of the rules governing relations among States has encouraged it, as it has encouraged other similar régimes in the region, to persist in its destructive activities, in exporting terrorism and in defying all the norms of international relations in a manner which has no precedent in modern times.

180. A striking example of this fact is to be found in the joint statements issued by the head of the Iranian régime and the heads of the two other similar régimes in Syria and Libya when the former visited them this month. For the first time in the history of relations among States, a joint statement issued by heads of State provides for agreement on and concerted action towards changing the system of government in another State.

181. I should like to express here, in the name of both the people and leadership of Iraq, our scorn for this abnormal action, which, among other things, reflects the disappointment and frustration bitterly felt by its authors, and to denounce it as a flagrant violation of the rules of relations among States and a dangerous precedent which, if not met with the necessary firmness, will certainly lead to chaos and pose a threat to the sovereignty, security and stability of the region.

182. It is high time now that a new approach was adopted in dealing with the Iranian régime. Otherwise, that régime will continue its pernicious policies, whose harmful effects will not be confined to my country alone—my country has, indeed, been able to repulse the aggressors, to teach them the lessons they deserve and to crush all their attacks on our territory one after the other—but will extend also to all the countries of the region and to the legitimate interests of the international community and the security and stability of the world.

183. Our region suffers most severely from racist and expansionist policies as well as contempt for

international organizations and the rules of international law. Such are the policies arrogantly applied by the rulers of Tel Aviv and Teheran. It is no wonder then that the rulers of Tel Aviv should supply their fellow rulers in Teheran with weapons and technical assistance in order to enable them to continue their aggressive war against Iraq and thus threaten the security and stability of the region.

184. The Zionist aggression against the peaceful Iraqi nuclear installations in 1981 was only one more example of the common political objectives of the rulers of Tel Aviv and Teheran. In launching their aggression against Iraq, and consequently against the entire Arab nation, their purpose is to keep both in a state of backwardness and weakness, thus forcing them to submit to those who covet their lands and their natural resources. The Zionist leaders have most impudently threatened to repeat their aggression against Iraq or any other country as they please. The least that the United Nations, and specifically the Security Council, can do is to deter this particular aggressor from repeating such a flagrant aggression. It was the first aggression of its kind committed against a nuclear installation and one which would have had grave nuclear consequences had it not been for the scientific and other precautionary measures we had taken.

185. Certain Western countries try to exonerate and rehabilitate the good name of the aggressor country on the grounds that statements issued by its representatives to the effect that it is not part of its policy to attack nuclear installations devoted to peaceful purposes are tantamount to a withdrawal of its previous threats. Nothing could be farther from the truth. As a matter of fact, those statements were made only to reaffirm the position taken by the Zionist entity in its attempt to justify its criminal aggression, namely, that it has the right to decide unilaterally the nature of nuclear installations in various countries and retains freedom of action with regard to such installations. We give warning that to accept those Zionist statements as an adequate response to the resolutions of the General Assembly and the IAEA will be considered by the Zionist leaders as an acceptance of their own justifications for launching the aggression and will give them a free hand to repeat the aggression as and when they please.

186. The Zionist aggression against our sister country Lebanon was the first step in implementing the Zionist plan to fragment the Arab countries and annex more Arab territory to the State of "Greater Israel". That aggression was also directed against the PLO as the legitimate and sole representative of the Palestinian people.

187. While calling for increased support for the PLO and its legitimate leadership, Iraq also condemns all the plots concocted in an attempt to weaken the national Palestinian movement, place it under guardianship or divest it of its power to make independent decisions. In no circumstances can the existence of the Arab people of Palestine be ignored; nor is there a way to ignore its inalienable rights, including its right to return to its homeland and its right to self-determination. Similarly, there is no way to ignore the fact that the PLO is the legitimate and sole representative of that people. To ignore this fact can only mean in reality total alignment with the Zionist aggressors and the obstruction of the efforts aimed at the restoration of peace and justice in the Middle East.

188. Although there are clear indications of economic recovery in certain developed countries, the world economy continues to experience an acute crisis. The terms of trade continue to be low and the rates of interest and inflation continue to be high. The difficulties of servicing external debts have increased because of diminishing access to capital markets. The developing countries continue to be severely affected by the current world recession, which has blocked development efforts.

189. It is time for the United Nations to adopt, during the current session, urgent international measures to deal with this disastrous situation in the economies of the developing countries and to restore confidence in the concept of international economic co-operation, which has suffered a severe set-back in recent years because of the failure of the General Assembly to initiate global economic negotiations.

190. As a developing country, Iraq will work with other developing countries to develop positive and realistic solutions that will serve the world economy as a whole. Iraq will also support all initiatives aimed at overcoming the present economic crisis.

191. In conclusion, I should like to state that the experience Iraq is undergoing in defending itself, its interests and its rights has served to enhance our faith in the necessity of upholding the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and the rules of international law. I assure the Assembly that we are committed to these principles and rules and that we shall work for their application with a view to reaching peaceful solutions to existing problems and ensuring security, peace and stability in the region and in the world.

192. Mr. OLSZOWSKI (Poland):* Please accept our sincere congratulations, Mr. President, on your unanimous election to the high office of President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. We are truly gratified to see the Assembly in the hands of a distinguished son of Africa and representative of the nation of Zambia, with which we have friendly relations and whose efforts for the cause of peace and development we are following with great sympathy and appreciation. Your experience of many years in presiding over important United Nations organs, your personal diplomatic talent and your negotiating skill fully guarantee the efficient conduct of our work.

193. Acknowledgements of a high order are due to the outgoing President of the Assembly, the President of Panama, Mr. Jorge Illueca.

194. I cordially greet our indefatigable Secretary-General, doctor *honoris causa* of Poland's oldest Alma Mater, Jagiellonian University in Cracow.

195. Let me also take the opportunity of extending from this rostrum, on the threshold of the United Nations fortieth anniversary, my warmest congratulations on his recent 75th birthday to the only signatory of the Charter of the United Nations among us, that outstanding statesman, First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Mr. Andrei Gromyko.

196. We welcome in our midst a new Member of the United Nations, Brunei Darussalam.

197. Not quite 200 years ago, on 5 May 1798, in the land which today hosts the United Nations, a nation-

al hero of both Poland and the United States penned these words:

"I, Tadeusz Kosciuszko, being on the point of departure from America, declare and resolve that, unless I make other disposition in my will of my property in the United States, I hereby authorize my friend Thomas Jefferson to use it in its entirety to purchase Negroes . . . and to grant them their freedom in my name . . . teaching them to be defenders of their freedom, their country and social good order."

198. These words bear witness to the Polish ideals which inspired the noblest minds in our country's past, its will to freedom and social aspirations. It is well-nigh symbolic that Tadeusz Kosciuszko was the name conferred during the last war on the First Division of the reborn Polish Army, which, fighting alongside the victorious Soviet forces, brought freedom and independence to Poland.

199. Let me take advantage of this solemn occasion to draw attention to the fortieth anniversary of the Polish People's Republic, which we have recently celebrated in our country. Historically speaking, it represents only a fraction of the thousand-year annals of the Polish State but it marks the consummation of the profound social changes that have been accomplished in a spirit of socialist ideals.

200. For centuries Poles sought an answer to a question summed up as follows: our country is Poland, but what kind of Poland is our country to be? For it was by turns strong and weak, enlightened and backward; a land of justice and of privilege; long partitioned, briefly independent between the two World Wars, then struck down by Nazi occupation and in danger of total annihilation by German fascism. And yet it never stopped being Poland, for our people, owing to its love of fatherland and freedom, had withstood even the most dramatic upheavals of history.

Mr. Tsvetkov (Bulgaria), Vice-President, took the Chair.

201. The achievement of the last 40 years is the final resolution of the dilemma: what kind of Poland? The answer was given by democratic social forces, left-wing intellectual movements and the political parties of the working class.

202. The Manifesto of the Polish Committee of National Liberation, published on 22 July 1944, called on the Polish people to fight "for a Poland which would never again be threatened by the Germanic hordes, for a Poland which could be sure of lasting peace, the opportunity for creative work and a flourishing future".

203. This programme resulted in Poland—devastated by the war of which it was the first, albeit victorious, victim—ceasing to be a pawn in international relations, gaining permanently secured frontiers and anchoring its existence to a natural, good-neighbour alliance and inviolable friendship, in accordance with that simplest of wisdoms, that friends are best sought close at hand.

204. This is why subsequently the Poland which, to quote the words spoken by Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski in the Polish Parliament,

"was at loggerheads with her neighbours, entangled in 'exotic alliances' and banked naively on the goodwill of the Western Powers, has receded far into the past. Today Poland's place is unambigu-

*Mr. Olszowski spoke in Polish. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

ously and enduringly defined. Her international position depends directly on her significance in the socialist community. Our national interests are all on one side—on the side of peaceful coexistence between nations . . . To live among friends, to have their joint guarantees and at the same time to be one of the underwriters of the postwar territorial and political order in Europe—this is the essence of the Polish *raison d'état*.”

205. The Polish People's Republic is the homeland of all Poles. Its identity is a blend of a continuity of history and a youthfulness of system. These have been at the basis of the Polish people's achievements and of the transformations of the past 40 years. This is not mere rhetoric. Only revolutionary political solutions could steer Poland on to a path of progress. Socialism was the only system that was capable of accomplishing this. We do not gloss over the shadow cast on the record of Polish achievements by the crisis of recent years with which we are still contending. We have gone into its sources frequently and frankly, in this forum as well as elsewhere.

206. As far as the internal causes are concerned, we are dealing with them ourselves, since Polish problems are the business of Poles alone. That we are succeeding is evidenced by the normalization of life at home, the closing of society's ranks behind its basic interests on the platform of the Patriotic Movement of National Renaissance, the results of the country-wide local elections and the advances in socialist democracy. Further proof is the broad amnesty sponsored by the Patriotic Movement of National Renaissance and recently enacted by the Sejm.

207. The external causes of the Polish crisis, like those of many other crises, should, however, be tackled by the joint efforts of the international community. By this I mean the removal from international relations of imperialist diktat and multipronged coercion. This is precisely the task of the United Nations, whose Charter lays down non-interference in the internal affairs of States and co-operation between them on equal terms.

208. In the last few years, hallowed principles of international intercourse have been brutally violated by certain North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] countries in their dealings with Poland. The attempts to use blackmail, diktat and restrictions as instruments of political pressure on Poland, a policy of which the present United States Administration is the driving force, were bound to prove a fiasco.

209. The way in which some NATO countries have been treating Poland prompts thoughts that reach back beyond the current ideological confrontation. We encountered instances of attitudes of expediency towards Poland much earlier in our history. There were Western politicians in the past who applauded the partitions of Poland. We have not forgotten the cynical response of Horace Sebastiani, the French Foreign Minister, to the savage suppression of the November uprising in Poland in 1831: “Order reigns in Warsaw”—words that were to epitomize the whole of European reaction and feelings about Poland. We are familiar with the pro-tsarist, conservative attitude of America to the January uprising of 1863, which included the betrayal of the *Kosciuszko*, on which Polish patriots were sailing to assist their countrymen fighting in Poland. At Versailles in 1919, some Western States opposed the reversion to Poland

of her native territories of Silesia and Mazuria and the restoration of our access to the sea. David Lloyd George, who questioned our right to Upper Silesia, later declared, after Hitler's aggression, that Poland had got what it deserved. The Poles remember who sneered at their claims at the Potsdam Conference, who tried to prevent Poland becoming the 51st signatory to the Charter of the United Nations who temporized for years over recognition of the final nature of Poland's western frontier and who on this day deliberately underplays Poland's contribution to the defeat of fascism.

210. So, if anyone now sets out to lecture us on the management of our affairs and to expound the principles of tolerance, he had best make sure that there are no skeletons in his own closet and that he has a clear conscience as regards the Poles. Tolerance and reconciliation for the sake of the supreme national good have deep-seated humanitarian roots in Poland.

211. The Government of the Polish People's Republic feels obliged to inform the General Assembly that for a number of years our country has been the target of unparalleled propaganda aggression by the media of certain NATO countries, above all the United States. The broadcasts in Polish of “Radio Free Europe” and “Voice of America” consist of deliberate dissemination of disinformation and lies, incitement of social unrest and attempts to destabilize the internal situation in Poland.

212. We wish to state at this juncture that we fully support the proposal of the Soviet Union, announced yesterday from this rostrum [*10th meeting*], on the inadmissibility of the policy of State terrorism and any action by States aimed at undermining the socio-political systems in other sovereign States.

213. Poland's position with regard to the policy of the United States was spelled out in an official note addressed to the United States Government on 3 November 1983, and most recently in a document of 16 August 1984. A day later, a ceremony was held at the White House which demonstrated yet again that the United States means to press on with its blatant interference in Polish internal affairs. On this occasion, the objects of manipulation were not only recent developments but also more ancient history. The fortieth anniversary of the Warsaw uprising was used to hark back for manipulative purposes to such historic events as the *Kosciuszko* insurrection of 1794, the November uprising of 1830 and the January uprising of 1863, twisting their meaning to suit the current needs of the anti-communist crusade. Anti-Polish purposes dictated another attempt to reinterpret the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975, and other international accords. It is therefore worth pointing out from this rostrum that the Charter of the United Nations, to which the United States President referred on this occasion, expressly states that: “Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize . . . to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State . . .”

214. It should be recalled that bilaterally, on 1 June 1972, the United States and Poland adopted a document in which they agreed that the development of peaceful co-operation between nations must be based on “the principles of territorial integrity and

inviolability of frontiers, non-interference in internal affairs, sovereign equality, independence and renunciation of the use or threat of use of force". Three years later the United States Government solemnly confirmed in the Helsinki Final Act its will to uphold those principles.

215. It is therefore reasonable to ask this. How do unlawful restrictions and other hostile measures in the political, economic, scientific, transport and other fields square with principle VI of the Helsinki Final Act, which requires the signatories "in all circumstances [to] refrain from any . . . act of military, or of political, economic or other coercion designed to subordinate to their own interest the exercise by another participating State of the rights inherent in its sovereignty and thus to secure advantages of any kind"?

216. How can the pledge made by the United States, in common with the other 34 European and North American countries, of its will to improve and expand mutual relations and further *rapprochement* and better understanding among nations accommodate a decision to continue propaganda aggression and to this end modernize the anti-Polish American broadcasting stations "Radio Free Europe" and "Voice of America"?

217. How is the unilateral, arbitrary suspension or severance of international agreements to be reconciled with international law's fundamental rule of *pacta sunt servanda*? What has a policy of carrots and sticks—dispensed by one of the world's great Powers according to the extent to which other States are prepared to toe its line and carry out its wishes—to do with observance of the principles of sovereign equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of States? Many more such questions present themselves.

218. We listened with attention to the address by the President of the United States [*4th meeting*] in which he offered to the world the arrangement of relations on a partnership basis; but still fresh in our memory was the statement he had delivered on the occasion of "Peace Through Strength Week", only two days before he appeared in this Hall, in which he resolutely spoke in favour of negotiations from a position of strength.

219. The world, however, awaits from the United States not merely a change of rhetoric. Something much more important is needed—namely, a departure from the policy of confrontation. In the case of Poland, this should mean the lifting of United States economic restrictions and the cessation of propaganda aggression. Only that would make possible the normalization of bilateral relations.

220. I wish to add that the various discriminatory restrictions applied heretofore against Poland have been in utter dissonance with the principles of the free flow of trade, about which the President of the United States spoke at such length in his address here. We expect those valid principles of international economic co-operation to be implemented by the United States with regard to Poland also.

221. Against the backdrop of the anti-Polish arbitrary policy of the United States and of certain other NATO countries, it is with particular respect and appreciation that we regard the independent and objective stand taken *vis-à-vis* our country by the non-aligned countries and the majority of the neutral countries, guided as they are by the principles of the

Charter of the United Nations, and in particular the principles of sovereignty and the inalienable right of every nation to determine the directions of its internal development. We can give this full credit, especially as our bilateral relations with most of those countries are expanding fruitfully in a spirit of friendship, mutual respect and reciprocal benefit. This area of our foreign relations will be consistently developed in the future also.

222. The history of nations is not a collection of miscellaneous events into which one can dip as required, as if it were a storage room for property. International documents, based on reciprocity, embody an agreed balance of interests and determine the degree of States' interdependence. Concern has therefore been understandably aroused in Poland by the practice of challenging the validity of fundamental agreements that form the bedrock of security in Europe. This applies in particular to the decisions reached by the Big Three at Yalta and Potsdam, decisions that laid down the framework and guiding principles of the post-war peace settlement. These provisions were definitively endorsed in bilateral treaties and sealed at Helsinki by the signatures of the leaders of 35 European and North American States on the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Without the Yalta and Potsdam agreements there would have been no Charter of the United Nations and no Helsinki. Those documents, which constitute an indissoluble whole, are the basis of the territorial and political organization of Europe.

223. The astonishing thing is that the numerous interpreters of Yalta invariably address themselves to what is not contained in the decisions of that Conference, while they skirt round their essence and purpose. These were clearly and unequivocally stated: the destruction once and for all of German militarism and fascism, as the main threat to peace. The Yalta document further proclaimed:

"Only with continuing and growing co-operation and understanding among our three countries, and among all the peace-loving nations, can the highest aspiration of humanity be realized—a secure and lasting peace."

Such a peace would, in the words of the 1941 Atlantic Charter, which foreshadowed the United Nations, "afford assurance that all men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want". That is an important heritage for contemporary and future generations. Only dialogue, understanding and co-operation between the great Powers and all the countries of the world can free humanity from the threat of nuclear holocaust. The policy of the arms race and confrontation, of the severance of agreements and suspension and obstruction of co-operation, increases the risk of such a catastrophe.

224. In political assessments it is actions, not words, that are the proper measure of the behaviour of States. The first of September was the forty-fifth anniversary of Hitler's invasion of Poland, the act of aggression which started the Second World War. If our minds go back to those years, it is not for the purpose of musing on the events which left Poland standing alone against an overpoweringly superior enemy, but in order to be wiser in the future. Paper guarantees failed to shield Poland from havoc and to prevent the death of millions of human beings.

225. The first and most crucial lesson that we have learned from our experience in September 1939 is that security cannot be guaranteed by “exotic alliances”; it can be guaranteed only by the natural ones that stem from a community of interests. We are bound by such an impregnable alliance with the Soviet Union and the other States members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. The peaceful coalition of socialist States—the Warsaw Treaty—has for nearly 30 years been the guarantor of peace in Europe. The second lesson taught us by the Second World War is the necessity of developing a system of security in Europe which will ensure that the security interests of all its nations are equally protected.

226. On the other hand, the policy of arms race and confrontation and international tensions foster the mobilization of forces hostile to peace and destabilize the situation in Europe and other parts of the world. We perceive a particular threat to peace in attempts to change the political and territorial map of Europe as shaped by post-war developments. The problem is not that the Polish frontiers are in jeopardy. They are inviolable and permanent. Nevertheless, the resurgence of *Grossdeutsche* ambitions and revisionist currents in the Federal Republic of Germany, accompanied as they are by militarization, cannot be shrugged off by anyone in Europe—least of all, in view of our historical experience, by the Polish people. On issues of fundamental significance to the nation there are no differences between Poles. The tragedy of the Nazi occupation is still too fresh in their memory. That is the context in which we view the militarization processes of the Federal Republic and weigh the declarations against the facts. The declarations are full of peaceful reassurances; the facts often tell a completely different story. On 2 May 1984, the Federal Chancellor said at Oxford: “The security and peace policy of the Federal Republic of Germany serves an important political purpose: overcoming the division of Germany and Europe”. On 28 June 1984 the Council of the Western European Union lifted the last remaining bans and restrictions imposed on the Federal Republic, allowing it to go ahead with production and possession of strategic bombers and medium- and long-range missiles. As a result of the deployment in Western Europe, and in particular on the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany, of new United States nuclear missile systems, the security of Europe has diminished; the threat to world peace has increased. There is a close link between the forces professing *Grossdeutsche* ambitions and those seeking the military instruments for the pursuit of these aims.

227. We judge and shall continue to judge the Federal Republic of Germany as we do other countries: on the evidence of facts, actions and political practice. We listened with attention to the statement of the Vice-Chancellor and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany [8th meeting], and in particular to his remarks pertaining to the territorial integrity of all States of Europe within their present frontiers and proclaiming that the Federal Republic of Germany has no territorial claims at present and will have no such claims in the future, in accordance with the provisions of the treaties concluded by it with Poland and other socialist States.

228. We are ready to enter into dialogue with the Federal Republic of Germany and with all forces and States, regardless of their socio-political systems, that

recognize the existing realities in Europe and wish to make an honest effort to further détente and improve East-West relations. I declare from this rostrum that we are prepared, as we have always been, to entertain any constructive proposals that could lessen the danger of war in Europe.

229. In the present extremely tense and complex world situation, a fundamental question looms ahead, namely, what to do to steer international relations out of the deadlock and on to a path of lasting peaceful co-operation among nations and States? To answer this question, what is needed is, first and foremost, authentic consideration of the good of one's own country and of the common good of humanity, bona fide political intent and bold imagination. The search for an answer ought to start in the most critical area, with improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, since those two leading nuclear Powers bear an exceptional responsibility for the fate of the world. Soviet-United States relations exert a decisive influence on the overall climate of relations in the world in all fields, as was so conclusively demonstrated in the 1970s. We express the hope that today's meeting between the First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union and the President of the United States will contribute to recognition by the United States Administration of the realities of the contemporary world, a world of different socio-economic systems. There is no sensible alternative to the peaceful coexistence of those systems. The policy of confrontation can only lead to a catastrophe.

230. We attach supreme importance to averting the nuclear threat and to halting and reversing the nuclear arms race. This purpose would be served by following up the momentous initiative of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Konstantin Chernenko, concerning the elaboration of and agreement on norms of behaviour among the nuclear Powers and other Soviet proposals currently on the table, namely, those concerning a ban on the militarization of outer space and a moratorium on the development of anti-satellite systems, as well as the most recent one, submitted yesterday [A/39/243], on the use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes for the benefit of mankind. A concrete contribution to reducing the nuclear threat has been made by the Soviet Union through its unilateral no-first-use pledge. We appeal once again to the other nuclear Powers to enter into a similar commitment.

231. We also hail the Soviet Union's readiness to abide by its earlier constructive proposals for armament reduction should the United States and the other States members of NATO show signs of being prepared to restore the situation that existed prior to the deployment of cruise and Pershing II missiles in Western Europe.

232. Our programme is also aimed at the elimination of current regional conflicts and tensions. Behind most of them we detect both the goals and the results of an imperialist policy based on a position of strength and designed to preserve the remnants of colonialism and reinforce neo-colonial practices and racism. Ample evidence of this is provided by the history of the prolonged and appallingly tragic conflict in the Middle East. Now that the sterility and

fragility of any settlement predicated on forcing the Arab world to conclude separatist agreements with Israel have been so starkly revealed, solutions of a universal, equitable and lasting nature can be all the more irrefutably seen to be the only effective ones. They are guaranteed by the programme of action set out in the Soviet Union's proposals on a Middle East settlement of 29 July 1984 [see A/39/368]. Poland reiterates its complete readiness to make a positive contribution to the implementation of that programme.

233. We are greatly disturbed at the conflict between Iraq and Iran. It is draining the life-blood of two nations which are members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, delaying their development and exacerbating their mutual antagonisms.

234. We condemn the imperialist policy of aggression, destabilization and intervention in Central America. The brutal occupation of Grenada continues. The people of Nicaragua, who are fighting to decide their future free from outside interference, enjoy the deep sympathy and support of Poland.

235. We categorically demand that the NATO States responsible for the situation in southern Africa respect the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council concerning the independence of Namibia and the ending of the policy of *apartheid* and its degradation of human dignity.

236. We avow our solidarity with the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in its defence of its revolutionary gains and with the policy being pursued by its Government in the interests of the normalization of the situation in South-West Asia.

237. We are in favour of the settlement of the disputes in South-East Asia by means of political dialogue between the States directly concerned, without any outside interference whatsoever, and of the immediate reinstatement of the People's Republic of Kampuchea to its rightful place in the United Nations.

238. We support the consistent struggle of the Korean people for reunification on the basis of the recent constructive proposals put forward by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

239. Ten years have elapsed since the adoption by the General Assembly of the historic Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)]. To this day it remains a document of immense significance. Although we are still a long way from application of the principles of international economic relations, the intervening period has borne out the rightness and justice of the objectives which that Charter delineated. In the light of that Charter, we can clearly see that tensions in the political area are being used to destabilize economic co-operation and that disruptions of the latter in turn impede the improvement of political relations. This lowers the threshold of international security in its various fields.

240. A serious problem for the world economy is the global debt crisis, which cannot be solved on a long-term basis without profound reforms in the world monetary system, the removal of protectionist barriers to the exports of debtor nations, a substantial cut in effective interest rates and a flow of fresh financial resources. Consequently, we are in agreement with the recommendations of the meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Ministers of Finance of 11 Latin American countries at Cartagena

in June 1984 [see A/39/331], especially with regard to the desirability of joint discussion of financial problems by the debtor and creditor States.

241. The way to remedy the situation is to place economic co-operation on an equitable and democratic footing, as was urged by the States members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in their Declaration of June 1984 [see A/39/323, annex II]. Awareness of the dangers inherent in the deterioration of economic relations led Poland to submit a proposal to the United Nations for the reconstruction and reinforcement of such relations. We welcome and acknowledge the report of the Secretary-General on confidence-building in international economic relations [A/39/312 and Corr. 1 and Add. 1 and 2], prepared pursuant to General Assembly resolution 38/196, containing the replies of over 20 Governments and international organizations. The implementation of this initiative would make possible a gradual increase in economic security and an expansion of economic co-operation that would be beneficial to all. We consider it our duty to follow up our initiative and are counting on further support for it in the United Nations.

242. An extremely important factor in strengthening international security is the broad process of preparing societies for life in peace. This concept was first given codified form in the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace [resolution 33/73], which my country had the honour of sponsoring. At the current session of the General Assembly another review will be made of the implementation of that Declaration. The record does not give cause for optimism, but that makes discussion all the more necessary. Societies expect greater involvement by politicians in efforts to further understanding among nations, to eradicate prejudice, intolerance and arrogance and to show moderation in speech and responsibility in action. We hope that these aims will be reflected in the document which the General Assembly will most likely adopt in conjunction with the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations.

243. Our perception of the responsibility and the role of heads of State or Government is in tune with the initiatives of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. The correctness of our opinions was confirmed at the Meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries to the General Assembly at its Thirty-eighth Session, held at United Nations Headquarters last October on the initiative of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, which was also attended by the Chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, Mr. Henryk Jabłoński. It significantly broadened our comprehension of the position of the non-aligned countries and the very positive role played by the Non-Aligned Movement in a number of matters of vital concern to the contemporary world.

244. In a year we shall be celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. Its second 40 years will be launched by the International Year of Peace. On 9 May 1985, we shall also have the fortieth anniversary of the victory of the united forces of democracy over fascism. We shall observe this date as a day of struggle for peace and international security and against fascism, racism, hatred and intolerance. I should like to announce here that a World Congress of Intellectuals will be held at Warsaw on this occasion. We count on all

peace-loving forces in the world to support this undertaking.

245. At this session and in all its international endeavours, Poland, which is open to co-operation with all States, will faithfully implement the lofty goals of the United Nations. Our programme is the programme embodied in the Charter of the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 1.40 p.m.

NOTES

¹See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1980*, document S/13951, annex.

²*Ibid.*, *Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1981*, document S/14649, annex.

³*Ibid.*, *Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1982*, document S/15317.

⁴*Ibid.*, *Supplement for October, November and December 1982*, document S/15510, annex.

⁵See *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1982), vol. 18, No. 35, p. 1081.

⁶United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973.