



General Assembly

PROVISIONAL

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Fortieth session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE ELEVENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 26 September 1985, at 3 p.m.

<u>President:</u>	Mr. DE PINIÉS	(Spain)
later:	Mr. BOUZIRI (Vice-President)	(Tunisia)
later:	Mr. MARINESCU (Vice-President)	(Romania)

- Appointment of one member of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions: report of the Fifth Committee [17 (a)]

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- General debate [9] (continued)

- Statements were made by:

Mr. Teran (Ecuador)

Mr. Gratz (Austria)

Mr. Al-Sabah (Kuwait)

Mr. Kusumaatmadja (Indonesia)

Mr. Tindemans (Belgium)

Mr. Iacovou (Cyprus)

The meeting was called to order at 3.30 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 17

APPOINTMENTS TO FILL VACANCIES IN SUBSIDIARY ORGANS AND OTHER APPOINTMENTS:

- (a) APPOINTMENT OF ONE MEMBER OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATIVE AND BUDGETARY QUESTIONS: REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (PART I) (A/40/681)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to invite members to turn their attention first to the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 17 (a), document A/40/681.

In paragraph 4 of that report, the Fifth Committee recommends the appointment of Mr. Luiz Sergio Gama Figueira of Brazil to fill the vacancy on the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions for the unexpired portion of Mr. Samuel Pinheiro-Guimaraes' term of office until 31 December 1986.

May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to adopt that recommendation?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. TERAN (Ecuador) (interpretation from Spanish): It is an honour for me to convey to you, Sir, the following message from the constitutional President of Ecuador, Mr. Leon Febres Cordero, on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations:

"In the name of the people and the Government of Ecuador, I pay the warmest tribute to the United Nations on the fortieth anniversary of its relentless search for peace and the development of all peoples, and in particular at this time, when in the world such nefarious enemies as violence, terrorism and the traffic in drugs attempt to displace the basic values of mankind and set themselves up as dominant factors on the international scene.

(Mr. Teran, Ecuador)

"The Government over which I preside will resolutely continue to contribute to the task of strengthening the noble principles which inspired the creation of the United Nations and will participate with renewed faith and optimism in efforts to consolidate and implement the principles and purposes enshrined in the San Francisco Charter.

"Ecuador's international actions will always take as its norm of conduct the peaceful settlement of disputes and the promotion and unrestricted defence of human rights everywhere in the world, implemented by its democratic institutions, the universality of our Organization and an end to colonialism.

"Given the traditional, peace-loving vocation of Ecuador, I ratified the decision of our national Government to collaborate actively with the world Organization in the search for appropriate ways to maintain peace and strengthen international co-operation.

"I wish the President of the General Assembly success in the discharge of his important functions, so that the work of this Assembly may benefit all mankind."

In my capacity as Minister of Foreign Relations, I congratulate you, Sir, on your election. It represents recognition of your merits and your personal prestige, as well as the commitment to international peace and co-operation which has characterized the policy of the Government you represent.

I also congratulate Ambassador Paul Lusaka, permanent representative of Zambia, who presided over the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly and the preparatory committee of the fortieth anniversary with particular distinction.

I also extend my greetings to the Secretary-General of the Organization, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, together with the appreciation of the Ecuadorian people for the effective work that he has accomplished in his very delicate role.

(Mr. Teran, Ecuador)

I also express the solidarity of the Ecuadorian people and its Government with the fraternal people of Mexico and its Government in the face of the terrible earthquake that has struck them. Fortunately, the Mexican people throughout its history seems to have been able to draw strength precisely from such difficult times. We wish Mexico a vigorous reconstruction in the face of this disaster.

Forty years have elapsed since the horror of the Second World War confronted the international community with the inevitable need to unite the best efforts of peoples and of their Governments in order to organize a lasting peace.

It is not easy to attain peace when political antagonisms, extremist ideologies and the very deep economic crisis of a considerable part of the world pose overwhelming problems every day. In certain circumstances, nothing seems easier than to resort to violence and war. Only a system of moral values to which mankind agrees can give a sure guarantee of peace and ensure the effectiveness of the organizations that seek it.

The balance sheet of these 40 years of the world Organization yields results which, if not altogether satisfactory, are in any case positive. Many regional conflicts have been held in check. Effective vigilance over the sovereignty of nations has been strengthened. Contributions have been made to systems of co-operation for development and foundations have been laid for the promotion of respect for human rights and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

(Mr. Teran, Ecuador)

We are still far from having fully achieved the ideals of peace, progress and well-being. The United Nations cannot but reflect the tensions and contradictions within and among the States that it comprises. One cannot demand from the Organization results that exceed the contents of its problems or the tendencies of the human groups operating within the international community. Peace cannot be stable unless based on the just solution of existing problems. Well-being cannot be obtained if there is no will to co-operate, both on the part of the developed and the poor countries. There can be no progress as long as people are denied the possibility of continuous improvement, which cannot take place if peoples' rights are denied in an authoritarian manner and if totalitarian imposition by the State is preferred to the free play of democracy.

Regarding non-alignment, the climate of the present-day world is marked by confrontation. Two major ideological trends propose their own scale of values as being worthy of supremacy, and two styles - which, in turn, are two influences of universal scope - are vying for areas of domination. Faced with this phenomenon it is essential to have the presence of non-aligned countries, countries that, in fact, practise independence and autonomy that represents the essence of this historic stance. Where such non-alignment is merely apparent and fails to reflect a deeply spiritual attitude on the part of the Governments forming the group, principles will be distorted and a position expected to have a moderating effect will become sterile. Because of such distortions, it risks becoming less serious and influential.

Ecuador states once again that it is prepared to continue its policy of friendship and understanding with all countries in the world. It considers that the differences in political nuances or ideological tendencies cannot constitute an insurmountable barrier to dialogue and negotiation. In its relations with other

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States, and in multilateral relations, it seeks that which brings unity and not division, that which brings agreement, and not dissent. We seek convergence and not divergence.

I now turn to atomic explosions. Along the long and limitless road towards peace, atomic explosions for military purposes must be condemned. It does not matter where they take place, but it must be realized that those carried out in the South Pacific are a subject of particular concern to Ecuador, given its position within the region whose ecological balance may be most threatened. The Permanent Commission for the South Pacific, composed of Chile, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru, has repeatedly condemned such tests. My Government also supports the South Pacific Forum and its recommendation that a treaty establishing a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific be negotiated and adopted.

On the subject of decolonization, the United Nations must be the forum where all the peoples of the world are represented. Hence, Ecuador has always supported the process of decolonization and the admission of new States to this forum, thus recognizing the right of all nations to belong to the world Organization and the importance of the United Nations achieving full universality. For all these reasons, we would view with satisfaction the admission to the United Nations of the two Republics of Korea, jointly or separately, since the right to belong to the world Organization cannot be made contingent upon peoples being able to act as one.

Concerning occupied territories, Ecuador has insisted upon, and will continue to insist upon the withdrawal of foreign forces from all territories which, directly or indirectly, are under occupation by foreign military forces. It is essential that the peoples and territories that are victims of foreign occupation in whatever continent regain the right to self-determination and to the exercise of their own sovereignty.

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In the matter of relations with neighbouring countries, the Government of Ecuador, loyal to its traditional policy of unrestricted adherence to the rule of law in relations among States, and convinced of the need to contribute to the strengthening of a creative peace which allows all peoples to satisfy their legitimate aspirations for progress and well-being, renews its decision to encourage and strengthen friendly relations with the governments of neighbouring countries in order to contribute to the well-being of their peoples, destined to have close ties, and to provide the climate for a just, peaceful and honourable solution to the territorial problem within a framework of mutual co-operation.

Concerning the Beagle case, Ecuador views with great satisfaction the settlement achieved ... the peaceful solution of the Beagle Channel issue and congratulates Argentina and Chile for the clear example of Latin American brotherhood that they have given the continent by arriving at this agreement.

Regarding geostationary orbit, Ecuador reiterates its position with respect to outer space, to the geostationary orbit, and the frequency spectrum. These resources must be used exclusively for peaceful purposes and for the good of all States, in particular for the development of the developing countries, and with due regard for the rights of the equatorial countries.

With regard to the protection of human rights, Ecuador considers that all Member countries of the United Nations are obliged, by virtue of the San Francisco Charter, to protect and respect them. The universal nature of the norms proclaimed by the international community for the implementation of human rights cannot be distorted through selective or discriminatory criteria inspired by reasons of a political or ideological nature.

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In Ecuador of human rights are fully respected. The rule of law has been consolidated. The present Government takes its inspiration from Christianity as a doctrine that defends the equality and dignity of the human person and is directed towards the goal of the welfare of the people under the rule of freedom and justice.

An important contribution to the international law of the sea has been made by the group of countries forming the organization of the South Pacific. The new Convention on the Law of the Sea enshrines the rights of the littoral States. This is clear progress towards the legal development of issues relating to the sea. These principles have been maintained by Ecuador and a large group of developing countries bordering the oceans.

My country reiterates its resolve to defend Ecuadorian rights and interests in the context of this branch of international law which is developing so quickly. A few days ago the President of the Republic of Ecuador proclaimed that the continental shelf of Ecuador comprised the sea-bed and marine subsoil situated between the Ecuadorian territorial sea and the insular sea pertaining to the Colon archipelago up to a distance of 100 miles from the 2,500 metre isobath.

Ecuador will continue to participate in the development of the new international law of the sea and of its related institutions. It will do so in the work of the Preparatory Commission for the International Sea-bed Authority and the International Tribunal, which it is attending as an observer.

A country devoted to peace, Ecuador feels deep concern at the arms race in which the world is now involved. It recognizes the obvious sovereign right of States to safeguard their internal security, but this fundamental right can very well be reconciled with reasonable policies. There must be no toleration of an arms race which benefits only the arms dealers, while the safety of mankind as a whole is endangered.

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In all international forums Ecuador has criticized the arms race, whatever its origin. Ecuador is a party to the Treaty of Tlatelolco which is intended to preserve Latin America as a nuclear-free zone.

Disarmament is the goal which mankind must seek, but the least we can do is to seek arms limitation. It follows that Ecuador welcomes the proposal by the President of Peru, Mr. Alan Garcia Perez, to stem the arms race. But we believe that we must go beyond that objective towards real disarmament, above all in the most conflict-ridden regions of the world.

Ecuador has traditionally respected fundamental human rights. It considers that the human being, and not the organization or the system, is the essential reason for the existence of the State, and his welfare the sole moral goal of governments.

Consequently we have eliminated all forms of discrimination, which can be justified only on the grounds that some human beings are considered to have greater rights than others. No distinctions are made or tolerated in Ecuador for reasons of race, religion, sex, age, nationality or political belief. Women have the same rights as men, and if a woman freely chooses a function within society she does so because of her natural vocation and not because there are laws or policies that bar her from any activity or that limit her aspirations.

The Government of Ecuador views with deep concern the increase in the illicit traffic in drugs, and in terrorism. These real crimes against mankind have become the scourge of our generation. Society finds itself threatened by terror as a weapon for domination or political destabilization, and by drug traffic as an instrument for the organic and mental destruction of human beings and of young people in particular.

Ecuador supported the General Assembly's declaration last year in which traffic in drugs has been defined as a crime against mankind, and it is ready to

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continue to give its support to the world Organization in promoting co-ordinated action by the international organizations and States against terrorism and the drug traffic, in relation to which commitments to fight these scourges were made by various Latin American Governments in the Quito Declaration of 11 December 1984.

Terrorism has in recent days caused an international upheaval which deserves the unanimous condemnation of the international community. The daughter of the President of El Salvador, Mr. Napoleon Duarte, has become the victim of a kidnapping. The pressure of the crime of terrorism has gone so far as to involve the most personal feelings of a Latin American Head of State. Ecuador conveys to Mr. Duarte, President of El Salvador, its deepest feelings of solidarity. We strongly condemn this attempt to exert pressure on him. We are convinced that not only the action of the Government of El Salvador, but also the unanimous agreement of the international community in condemning this act will curb the action of terrorism so that the victories it attempts to obtain will in fact only lead to universal condemnation.

The debt problem must be the shared responsibility of debtors and creditors. Ecuador has an open attitude to dialogue and negotiation with the industrialized countries and the financial organizations. But it stresses the need for renegotiation to allow the essential leeway needed not only for the survival but also for the progress of the debtor countries.

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While Ecuador has brought to a successful close the process of debt renegotiation, in terms which allow for an acceptable development of our national economy, the only effective and permanent solution will have to come from a restructuring of the economic policies which, having been based on an ill-advised protectionism, are largely to blame for Latin America's growing current account deficit in the balance of payments.

Latin America needs access to the market of the Eastern and Western industrialized countries for its exports, with the elimination of restrictive measures that prevent such access. The renegotiation effected by the Government of Ecuador commits approximately 30 per cent of current export revenues to debt amortization. This figure, while still high, nevertheless allows for the development and progress of the Ecuadorian people.

Although Ecuador's acute problem has been substantially ameliorated, our international conscience is not dulled to the general problem of the debt and, above all, to the position of the South American countries. Consequently Ecuador supports and participates actively in the Cartagena Consensus group. For the peoples of Latin America the commitment of a disproportionate percentage of their export revenues to debt amortization is not a purely financial problem; it is a historic problem of survival.

In the context of this dramatic crisis, Latin America's social, as well as its economic stability, and even the political outlook of its democratic régimes, constitute separate elements in this one basic problem.

While it is not admissible for Ecuador to have any intent of declaring a unilateral moratorium, and still less to create debtor organizations directed to that end, Ecuador wishes to make clear to the Governments of the creditor countries, with complete frankness, the seriousness of the Latin American crisis.

The contribution of the world Powers to the developing countries must be intensified. Multilateral development projects need to be extended and increased. It is essential that both the donor countries, and the recipient countries should be clearly aware of the fact that capital inflows, the transfer of technology, and the opening of credits and markets by the most developed countries, are all essential in order to promote the economic development and ensure the social peace of the developing countries.

With respect to the Central American crisis and the Contadora Group, I wish to say that the serious breach of the peace which afflicts the Central American region is of continuing concern to the Government of Ecuador. Nothing that happens on our continent, much less something so distressing, can fail to be of concern to Ecuadorians. The Government of Ecuador considers that the enjoyment of true democracy in Central America is a sine qua non for the restoration of peace. It has therefore welcomed such electoral processes as those which took place in El Salvador last March and those about to take place next November in Guatemala. Moreover, it considers that the disarmament of the region is a necessity, since the imbalance of forces between States normally carries with it continuing threats to peace and constant breaches of the peace.

In the same spirit, Ecuador has indicated that the time has come to resume the the conversations between the Government of El Salvador and the rebel forces, and it has given its approval to the proposal by President Ronald Reagan to encourage a dialogue between the Sandinista Government and its opponents.

In general, Ecuador believes that disputes between States must be resolved by peaceful means. Rational understanding, and not armed confrontation, is the way to solve differences. Consequently, the efforts of the Contadora Group are highly praiseworthy. Not only that means of dealing with the problem, but all those provided for under international law can be, and we hope will be, attempted in order to restore harmony in that afflicted region. To this end Ecuador looks with

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hope to the blossoming of the basic ingredient of peace, goodwill, that makes it possible to soften intractable intentions and overcome insurmountable obstacles.

With respect to our work in the future, the Ecuadorian delegation wishes to stress, as it did last year, that the work of the General Assembly should focus on specific actions which may make it possible to achieve practical results, and seek above all every opportunity for understanding and points of agreement, rather than further deepening the differences, which, by increasing tension, or excesses, hamper the work of the Assembly.

The action of States and of the United Nations must be based on the adoption of increasingly positive goals. We must move away from lofty rhetoric and concentrate on a modest but attainable objective. We must abandon the progressive dialectics of insult and instead stress common values. We must foreswear the primitive simplicity of fighting and make an act of faith in the effort of establishing brotherhood. In other words, we must seek harmony: that of man with nature, that of peoples among themselves, and that between nation and nation. The result of such an attitude will be progress and peace.

Let us hope that in the last years of this century we may be able to witness the fact these ideals have become an objective shared by all the peoples of the earth.

Mr. GRATZ (Austria): I congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly. Austria entertains cordial relations and has developed close co-operation with your country. Your wide experience in the United Nations specially qualifies you to guide this Assembly in its deliberations. Please accept our best wishes for the accomplishment of the difficult task that lies ahead of you.

May I also express my thanks to the outgoing President, Mr. Paul Lusaka, who so ably fulfilled his role on behalf of the Assembly. His visits to Austria during his tenure were highly appreciated.

I should like also to express our sincere gratitude to the Secretary-General of our Organization for his efforts to promote peace and co-operation and to improve the image and enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations.*

At the outset, on behalf of the Austrian Government, I wish to convey our profound and deeply-felt condolences to the people and Government of Mexico. We share their sorrow at the untold suffering and loss of human life. Austria will contribute to the best of its abilities to helping the victims of the earthquakes.

Uncertainty about the future and fear overshadow the lives of people all over the world. Their fear is not irrational. Existing nuclear arsenals are sufficient to kill mankind many times over. We are tired of the argument that lasting security can be ensured only through the build-up of military power. Multiple crises and armed conflicts in the world continue. While the fear of the atomic bomb prevails, we must not forget that conventional wars have killed millions of people since the end of the Second World War.

Pessimism and resignation must not doom our efforts. We do not hold office to lament the state of the world; it is our task to better it. It may sound like a

*Mr. Bouziri (Tunisia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

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cliché but it is still a truth: Governments are there to implement the will of the people. And the people of our countries want peace. Peace can be secured, and progress can be achieved. What we share as fellow human beings is much more important than what divides us. The present situation calls for a thoroughgoing change of attitude. Policy has to reassert its primacy over technology. Not competition in military power but co-operation is the key to real security.

It is my firm conviction that substantial arms-control and disarmament agreements can be achieved. Having listened to the speeches of the Foreign Ministers of the United States and the Soviet Union, this belief is strengthened. The forthcoming meeting between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev offers a unique chance to break the deadlock and prepare the ground for significant disarmament measures. I appeal to both sides to exert every effort to overcome their differences and to take the first steps towards a more peaceful world.

Weapons do not cause wars, and arms control and arms reduction alone cannot guarantee peace. Peace is not a technical process of counting weapons; peace has to be built upon confidence between peoples, confidence in the good will and the peaceful aims of the other side.

In Europe the Stockholm Conference, within the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, has added this important dimension to the process of détente. The mandate for the Stockholm Conference centres on measures to strengthen confidence between East and West. We now expect the participants in that Conference to enter into concrete negotiations.

By adopting the Final Act 10 years ago the States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe created a comprehensive framework of co-operation for the entire European continent. They opened up opportunities for co-operation in the fields of security and human rights, in the areas of trade, science, culture, human contacts and information. Building a more constructive

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relationship between East and West demands permanent efforts. Austria remains firmly committed to the process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. There is no better way to reduce tensions and strengthen the stability in Europe which is so essential for world peace. We look forward with hope and confidence to the follow-up conference in Vienna in 1986.

One of the main global issues today - and many previous speakers have touched on this subject - is the economic crisis in the third world. People in developing countries must be freed from poverty, hunger and disease. They must have a fair and equal chance to develop their strength and abilities. We urgently need a vigorous new beginning in the dialogue between North and South in order to build a more equitable and just international economic order. Above all, we need the political will to address the world's most pressing economic and social problems.

The debt crisis has already taken a heavy toll. Dozens of third-world countries have lost a decade or more of development. In the next five years two thirds of their debt will have to be rolled over or paid off. Austria shares the view that crisis management on a case-by-case basis should be complemented by a comprehensive approach. The serious social and political implications of the debt problem must finally be taken into account. This problem cannot be left as the responsibility of banking institutions alone. Loan conditions which undermine the dignity and well-being of the people endanger democratic institutions.

Governments have to contribute their share to the crisis management. We must improve access for developing countries to the markets of industrialized States. Closing our markets to products of developing countries while urging them to earn more money by increasing their exports is a contradiction in itself. Urgent measures have to be taken to help countries suffering from extreme fluctuations in their export earnings. Concerted international action is required to ensure greater monetary stability.

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We must never forget one essential aspect - that economic progress is not an end in itself; it has to serve the individual. Let me emphasize three points in this respect.

First, full respect for the cultural heritage and the social fabric of society is a condition of a life in dignity. Efforts to promote economic development must take this into account.

Secondly, economic development to the benefit of all furthers the emancipation of the individual. It facilitates political participation and promotes respect for human rights. It is no less true that democracy and freedom stimulate a people's creative energy and contribute to its economic progress. The two objectives are complementary. Towards both the United Nations has to make a major contribution.

Thirdly, improving the quality of life is not a matter only of economic growth rates; it is equally important to solve the pressing environmental problems.

Today more than 2 billion people live without adequate water supply. Every year far more than 100,000 square kilometres of forest disappear from the face of the earth. Deserts are spreading; valuable soil is eroding. Many species of plants and animals have already been lost for ever. While the world population continues to expand, the basis of its survival is shrinking. We must intensify our efforts to preserve our earth for future generations as a place where people can live. Therefore we need to strengthen the United Nations Environment Programme as an instrument of international co-operation in this area.

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How young people perceive and experience the world of today will shape the world of tomorrow. The International Youth Year in 1985 provides us with an opportunity to focus on the problems of the young.

More than ever before the education of a person determines his whole life. It is therefore our duty to provide a solid education preparing young people for professional life. But in many developing countries educational opportunities for young people are lacking, and in some industrial countries existing opportunities are insufficiently utilized.

The international community must direct greater attention to these issues. I appeal to all Member States to fight the spreading problem of youth unemployment by joint efforts.

Youth unemployment is neither a statistical nor a financial problem. For me, one of the greatest tragedies of our time is that hundreds of thousands of young people live without hope and confidence in their future. We are deeply convinced that there are ways to give hope to your young, if we are determined to make an effort. We raise this matter out of concern for the young people in the world, although in my country, due to a continuing effort by the Austrian Government, the youth unemployment rate is below 5 per cent.

Austria intends to submit a draft resolution on this subject. We are also considering an international meeting of experts and youth representatives. Such a meeting could take place in Vienna in the first half of the year 1987 to discuss new ways of dealing with the problem of youth unemployment.

Let me now turn to the situation in Africa. No other region poses a greater challenge to international solidarity. In Addis Ababa in July 1985, African Governments courageously declared that they have the primary responsibility for addressing the present crisis. But let this not be an excuse for inaction on the

part of the industrialized countries: the millions of starving Africans will survive only if international relief aid is continued and intensified.

I would like to commend the United Nations Secretariat for its efforts in co-ordinating emergency assistance to drought-stricken countries in Africa. This example of international co-operation should inspire us all. If all nations work together the prospects for recovery, growth and development in Africa will brighten. Austria intends further to increase and intensify its efforts.

Africa suffers not only from economic hardship but also from severe political problems. The crisis in South Africa has dramatically escalated in recent months. Every day it becomes more evident that the majority of the South African population will no longer tolerate the injustices of apartheid.

Austria has always rejected and condemned apartheid. As a political system based on racial discrimination, apartheid negates the very foundation of civilization: the dignity of the human being. Democracy, equal rights and the abolition of all kinds of apartheid should not be an act of grace but the result of a genuine dialogue with the leaders of the democratic black organizations.

As an organization committed to the promotion of peace, freedom and justice, the United Nations bears a special responsibility to contribute to the elimination of apartheid. We all have to join in the efforts to bring about a peaceful transition to a free and democratic South Africa with equal rights for all.

In adopting resolutions 566 (1985) and 569 (1985) the Security Council recommended a set of measures to be adopted by Governments in this regard. The Austrian Government has decided to take the following six autonomous steps in accordance with these resolutions: first, to suspend all investments by Austrian public enterprises in South Africa; secondly, to prohibit the import of krugerrands and all other gold coins minted in South Africa; thirdly, to impose restrictions in the field of sports and cultural relations; fourthly, to stop government guarantees for export credits; fifthly, to prohibit the participation

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of public enterprises in South African procurement procedures in the nuclear field, although no such case has arisen so far; sixthly, to prohibit all exports of computer equipment that may be used by the South African army and police.

Austria remains firmly committed to the achievement of freedom for Namibia. The only acceptable basis for Namibia's independence is Security Council resolution 435 (1978), adopted as much as seven years ago. Yet, in defiance of international law, in defiance of the expressed will of the international community and in disregard of the aspirations of the Namibian people, South Africa continues to obstruct the implementation of the United Nations plan. We reject the installation of a so-called transitional government for Namibia as a further attempt by South Africa to impose a unilateral solution.

The situation in Central America has not improved. Centuries of social and economic injustice have resulted in a widespread atmosphere of crisis and despair. The problems of the region must be solved by the countries of the region themselves. Any attempt to introduce elements of the East-West conflict further complicates the situation. The principles of non-interference and the peaceful settlement of disputes must be fully respected.

The peace process initiated by the Contadora Group still provides the best chance to achieve a solution. We regret that thus far this peace plan has not been implemented. We want to assure all countries of the Contadora Group of our continuing support.

Violence and human suffering continue to characterize the situation in the Middle East. Oppression and terror, mistrust and hatred have made the people suffer through decades of confrontation and war. World peace and international security are directly threatened.

Austria's position on the elements of a solution of the Middle East problem remains unchanged. The right of all States in the region, including Israel,

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to exist within secure and recognized boundaries must be respected. The Palestinian question is at the core of the Middle East problem. A solution therefore requires the recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to their own State. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), as the representative of the Palestinians, must participate in the peace process. Israel must withdraw from all territories occupied since 1967. Austria supports the proposal to convene an international peace conference on the Middle East. As the only international forum open to all parties to the conflict and all other interested Powers, the United Nations has the capacity and the responsibility to contribute substantively to peace in the Middle East.

During the last months various important initiatives have been undertaken. Prospects for a genuine dialogue have improved. It is now essential to maintain the momentum and to remove all existing obstacles to the beginning of negotiations. Both sides have to come to terms with each other's existence and legitimate interests.

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The Middle East is rich in natural resources, it has a great cultural heritage. If the people of this area could work together in peace, their region could be one of the most prosperous on earth.

Almost six years have passed since the military intervention in Afghanistan. We remain deeply concerned about the continuing occupation of this traditionally non-aligned country and the violation of its independence. The suffering of the refugees must not be forgotten. Any solution must enable these refugees to return home in safety and honour. We support the efforts of the Secretary-General's Special Representative in his search for a political settlement.

In Kampuchea the military occupation, the use of force, the misery of refugees and the denial of human rights continue. Only negotiations between the parties to the conflict on the basis of the resolutions of the General Assembly and of the International Conference on Kampuchea will lead to a just settlement which could ensure a better future for the severely tried Kampuchean people.

I have briefly touched upon some of the conflicts in today's world. No doubt their origins are different. But let us not overlook what they all have in common: violent deaths, human suffering, flows of refugees, destruction of homes and devastation of land. This human dimension of international conflicts should guide our deliberations in the weeks to come.

Let me add some words on peace-keeping operations. They are one of the major achievements of the United Nations in the field of international peace and security. Since 1960, almost 25,000 Austrian soldiers have, through their participation in these operations, actively contributed to international stability. We strongly feel that peace-keeping should be strengthened and further developed.

One area of special concern is the financing of these operations. We believe that further measures should be taken to alleviate the burden currently borne by

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troop-contributing countries. A sound financial basis for this vital activity of the United Nations has to be created. Troop-contributing countries, in support of the Secretary-General's appeals, have urged Member States to start or increase voluntary contributions for the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP). Let me again strongly underline this appeal.

Developing a network of contacts and co-operation with neighbouring countries is a central element of Austria's foreign policy. Close ties - not only between governments but also between peoples - are the best guarantee for fruitful and stable relations. Austria therefore continues to extend and deepen co-operation with all neighbouring countries regardless of their political system.

Let me say a few words about our relations with Italy. Austria entertains good and friendly relations with this important neighbouring country. They were further strengthened by the official visit of Austria's Federal Chancellor to Rome two weeks ago, and in this context the question of South Tyrol is of special importance.

In 1969, the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly in 1960 and 1961 led to an agreement between Austria and Italy on a new framework for the autonomy of South Tyrol. Since then, a number of measures have been taken to implement this autonomy. Yet, after 16 years some important provisions still remain to be fulfilled. The use of the German language in courts and before civil authorities ranks foremost among the open issues.

It appears important to me that the 1969 agreements be implemented without further delay. On the occasion of the recent visit of the Austrian Federal Chancellor to Rome, he received assurances to this end from the Italian Prime Minister, Bettino Craxi. We trust that the Italian Government will take the necessary measures in agreement with the South Tyrolean German-speaking community in order to achieve an early and full realization of the autonomy of South Tyrol.

(Mr. Gratz, Austria)

I began my statement by emphasizing that politics have to serve mankind. This is especially true with regard to human rights. In spite of different social and political systems, different interpretations and values, it seems that there is a worldwide growing awareness with regard to the observance of human rights. All our efforts should be aimed at the maintenance, or more so, the acceleration of this momentum.

It is not the definition of human rights which is lacking, but their implementation. This implementation requires intensive efforts by every State within its own borders as well as on the regional and global levels. Specific steps within each region to improve the protection of fundamental rights and freedoms are particularly promising. In this context I would like to refer to the successful outcome of the ministerial conference on human rights, held under the auspices of the Council of Europe in Vienna in March 1985.

Austria has worked for many years towards one specific goal: namely the restriction or elimination of the death penalty. We seriously hope that progress can be achieved. Austria will continue its endeavours in this respect.

The founding of the United Nations 40 years ago was the most ambitious effort ever undertaken to establish institutions and mechanisms to bring peace and progress to the world. The idea is still valid. The institutions and mechanisms are all in place. We are confident that the United Nations can be greatly strengthened if Member States abide by their obligations under the Charter and make constructive use of the Organization. On the occasion of its fortieth anniversary let us all recommit ourselves to the United Nations. The Organization has a vital role to play in promoting peace, justice, freedom and progress for all humanity. To this end, let us unite our efforts.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I now call on His Excellency Sheikh Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, and special envoy of his Highness Sheikh Jaber Al-Ahmad Al-Sabah, Emir of the State of Kuwait.

Mr. AL-SABAH (Kuwait) (interpretation from Arabic): At the outset, I should like to express the sense of shock felt in my country at the earthquake in Mexico, a disaster which has resulted in thousands of casualties among the friendly people of Mexico, as well as total destruction of houses, installations and facilities.

While we trust that the people of Mexico, well-known for its courage and patience, will be able to recover from this tragedy, we should like to declare from this rostrum that the people of Kuwait stands by the people of Mexico in its plight and that the Government and people of Kuwait will not hesitate to send every possible assistance in an effort to alleviate the burden of the Mexican people in its present affliction.

Mr. President, it is my pleasure to congratulate you on behalf of Kuwait on your election as President of this significant session of the United Nations. You represent a venerable and friendly nation with whom Kuwait and the Arab world have historic ties, characterized over the ages by friendship, co-operation and understanding. With your renowned wisdom and remarkable abilities, we are confident that success will be yours in the conduct of the affairs of this session.

I should like also to pay tribute to the fruitful efforts of your predecessor, Mr. Paul Lusaka, during his presidency of the previous session of the General Assembly.

(Mr. Al-Sabah, Kuwait)

I also want to register our thanks to Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, Secretary-General of the United Nations, appreciation of his services to world peace and in upholding the role and effectiveness of the United Nations.

The Amir of Kuwait, His Highness Sheikh Jaber Al-Ahmad Al-Sabah, would have liked to be here today to address this important body on this historic occasion, had it not been for compelling circumstances. His Highness has asked me to convey to the Assembly his best regards.

There is no doubt whatsoever that the period in the history of mankind in which we live is faced with a number of threats that jeopardize the future of man in an unprecedented manner. Our realization of the magnitude and nature of those threats makes it imperative that we pause for a lengthy review of the forces and factors which influence the direction of our collective march forward for generations to come. It makes it imperative that we undertake a sincere discussion of the best methods for preventing any diversion from the course of this march, which is guided by the United Nations Charter.

During this century, mankind has been afflicted by two world wars which came close to destroying the wealth of civilizations built by our forefathers in every part of the world. Evil tendencies coupled with overpowering force overshadowed truth and the supremacy of law in such a way that eyes everywhere were turned with hope towards the international efforts which were being made at that time to reorganize the world in which we live by putting forward an international formula which would, on the one hand, put an end to world wars and guarantee the security, peace and stability of the world and, on the other, lay down the outlines of a new world order in which the rule of law, justice, peace, harmony and prosperity would prevail. As a result of these sincere and enormous efforts, the world Organization

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came into being, and its birth was a source of hope that the world might be moving towards a brighter reality and a more promising future.

We cannot find a better time than this, when the United Nations is celebrating its fortieth anniversary, to pause and reflect on the future of the world Organization, a forum in which this gathering of world leaders is discussing its problems.

We should like to begin by saying that in reviewing the 40 years of the existence of the world Organization, we are bound to come across a great number of hopeful signs. Yet, at the same time, we confront a great number of signs which give cause for pessimism. We also find ourselves compelled by intellect and logic to state that our world today is very far removed from perfection or, to say the least, from the situation we hoped would prevail when our forefathers drafted the United Nations Charter 40 years ago.

For despite the fact that the darkness of colonialism has already receded and that the dawn of political liberation and economic advancement has emerged, the shining light of independence which has reached the remotest parts of the world has stopped short of reaching some nations, which continue to languish under the yoke of one form of colonialism or another. I speak particularly of the peoples of Palestine, Namibia and South Africa, which are all struggling against tyranny. Furthermore, the vestiges of times gone by are still with us and accentuate the wide gap between the advanced and developing nations.

In taking up the task of evaluating the assets of the United Nations and its role in the international community, we must ensure that we do so from the proper perspective - namely, through dealing with failures only against a clear background of successes - and that we evaluate whatever has been achieved of the goals of the United Nations only from that standpoint.

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Heading the list of those goals which the United Nations was established to achieve is, naturally, the maintenance of international peace and security. In spite of the fact that world peace and security during this period have fallen short of our hopes, as the result of either limited local and regional wars, which frequently break out, or because world problems and dilemmas threatening world peace and security have persistently remained unsolved, it is clear that the world has not witnessed any world wars during this period despite the frequent recurrence of world crises during which limited wars threatened to spill over into other parts of the world or to bring the world increasingly closer to the brink of catastrophe as a result of the escalation of the cold war between East and West.

There is no doubt that the periods in which the policy of détente prevailed between the two super-Powers, short as these were, have been the only periods when relative tranquility prevailed and negative expectations about the future of mankind lessened.

The United Nations has repeatedly proved its effectiveness during those international crises, either through mediation efforts or through the use of its good offices represented by its Secretary-General, or by sending peace-keeping forces to areas of international tension.

One should not ignore the role played by the United Nations in defence of human rights, particularly the fact that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was completed only three years after the establishment of the world Organization. It therefore heads the list of great achievements of the United Nations, even if this does not mean that this Declaration has eliminated continuing violations of human rights in various parts of the world.

We should also pay tribute to the role of the United Nations in the field of self-determination and independence - a role that was embodied in the Declaration

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on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, whose twenty-fifth anniversary is also being celebrated this year. The fact that so many countries have joined the United Nations is by itself an indication of its success in this outstanding area of the Organization's work, as well as a source of hope that the nations that are still languishing under the yoke of imperialism and foreign domination will attain their full rights.

The success of those United Nations efforts is complemented by an even greater success in its attempts to achieve the other two principal goals for which the Organization was established, namely, the promotion of friendly relations among all States and the achievement of international co-operation solving economic, social and development problems. Current international efforts, led by the United Nations, aimed at ridding Africa of the problems of famine and drought are one of the landmarks of the Organization's endeavours in this respect.

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All those positive elements should constitute the appropriate background for any genuine evaluation of the effectiveness of the United Nations - particularly when some tend to criticize a number of negative elements which, up until now, have stood in the way of the effective implementation of the Charter - without giving any consideration to the forces which occasionally try to orient the Organization in a direction contrary to the causes of peace, security and prosperity in the world. It is our conviction that those negative elements fall into two categories:

One is endemic, stemming from a fault or deficiency in the functional structure of certain United Nations organs, particularly the Security Council, where the permanent members have the right of veto, which has paralysed the Council on various occasions when world peace and security hinged on a strong unanimous resolution by the Security Council.

The other is extraneous to the framework of the United Nations and stems from the policies of certain States which insist on having their own interests outweigh those of the international community as a whole. This is evidenced by the eagerness on the part of certain major Powers to try to settle international problems through individual efforts that bypass the United Nations. The recurrence of such actions undermine the role and prestige of the United Nations in its efforts to solve international disputes.

When we review the list of international problems which continue to prevail because of negative attitudes surrounding the decision-making process and the implementation of United Nations resolutions, the question of Palestine, which has been on the United Nations agenda since its inception, leaps to the forefront.

While the Security Council is unable to deal with the developments of this problem, which flare up periodically, thus threatening world peace and security and requiring decisive action on the part of the Council, we find that the General

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Assembly, on the other hand, has adopted scores of resolutions which guarantee the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to self-determination, to return to its home and establish its own State on its national soil.

Furthermore, the General Assembly has repeatedly expressed its concern to find a solution to this problem, in the creation of which the United Nations itself took part when it decided to partition Arab Palestine, and when it then accepted the Zionist entity in its membership before any opportunity was given to the Palestinian people to establish its own State.

That concern has been reflected by the setting up of a special committee, namely the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and the convening of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine in Geneva in 1983.

The obvious discrepancy between the positions of the Security Council and the General Assembly is a consequence of the positions of certain major Powers designed to protect the aggressor, namely, Israel, by sparing it from any international pressure, either by paralysing the Security Council, or blocking the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East. Such positions have increased Israel's arrogance, increased its continued arbitrary policy and its continued occupation of Arab territories, the very thing which has led to the increasing inability of the United Nations to perform its functions in accordance with the Charter.

The continued Israeli occupation of cherished Lebanese land reflects yet another chapter in the continued Israeli aggression on Arab territories. Consequently, Israel must expect the Lebanese national resistance to remain the Sword of Damocles until its genuine withdrawal from the land it occupies and until it ceases to interfere in the internal affairs of this Arab sister state.

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The second problem of concern to the United Nations and which the world Organization should not spare any effort to solve, is the problem of southern Africa, the ugliest facet of which is the continued control by the white minority in South Africa over the destiny of the black majority, with its iron-fisted rule imposed without any regard for the will of the international community.

This deplorable picture is also reflected by its continued occupation of Namibia. The United Nations concern in this respect has found expression in the establishment of the United Nations Council for Namibia whose function is to administer this Territory until it gains independence.

This arrogance on the part of the apartheid régime in South Africa is supported by the positions of some Western States, which not only associate with the racist régime, despite its condemnation by the United Nations, which calls upon all nations to impose sanctions, but they actually support it, whether by refusing to impose and implement strong deterrent sanctions against it, or by introducing impossible conditions, the end result of which would be to keep the general situation in South Africa and Namibia exactly where it is today.

The insistence on the part of Western States to take such positions encourages the racist régime to persist in its aggressive policy against the black majority, on the one hand, and the neighbouring African countries on the other. While hailing the current popular upsurge in South Africa, Kuwait hopes that this will motivate all the States which have relations with the racist régime to reconsider such relations and to give full support to this courageous upsurge.

Besides these questions, our world is not devoid of other areas of tension. There is the problem of Afghanistan, whose people continue to languish under the yoke of a régime supported by Soviet troops. There are also the problems of Cambodia and Central America, which are awaiting a solution from the international community, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, which guarantees the

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freedom, independence and sovereignty of all States of the world and which prohibits interference in the internal affairs of other States, as well as the use or threat of use of force.

The common denominator in all these problems, as we see it, is the intervention by major Powers in a way that will not help their solution. It is our conviction that involvement, if based on using the good offices of those major Powers, in an effort to solve those problems, and thus serve the cause of peace, would constitute a constructive effort. However, for that involvement to serve only the interests of those same Powers, or of the aggressors, would be something that is unacceptable to the international community.

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However, although most of the blame for the failure to settle most of the international problems rests squarely with certain major Powers, either because of their interventions outside the framework of the United Nations or their blocking of the Security Council through exploiting the use of the veto, there are some other international problems in which the parties to the dispute or some of them are to be blamed for the lack of a settlement. Heading the list of these problems, is the Iran-Iraq war, a war which broke out over five years ago, and which has brought death, devastation and destruction to thousands of people on both sides, all this despite the repeated appeals and ceaseless mediation efforts, both by the world Organization itself, which has played a great role in this field, and by certain States or organizations which are interested in seeing this destructive war come to an end. However, while we see one of the two parties to the dispute, Iraq, constantly expressing its readiness to put an end to the war, we find that the other party, Iran, fails to respond to the will of the international community, which wants this war to end without delay.

If there is one region eager to have this catastrophic war come to an end it is undoubtedly the Arabian Gulf area, which appreciates the gravity of the responsibilities of its States. Those States are represented by the Gulf Co-operation Council, which considers co-operation among its member States a basis for their constant pursuit of peace, harmony, stability and prosperity in this sensitive region of the world. Furthermore, the continuation of this raging war all these years has exposed, and indeed continues to expose, the States of the Gulf area to the danger of a widening of the war's scope so as to engulf other parts of the region. Kuwait itself has repeatedly been exposed to the fallout of war. In recent days, the problem of the interception of some Kuwaiti commercial vessels by Iranian authorities has recurred in a manner that constitutes a flagrant violation

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of all international norms and conventions and the principle of free navigation in international waters, as provided for in Security Council resolution 552 (1984), which described such acts as a threat to the security and stability of the area and which reaffirmed the need to respect the rights of all States to free navigation in accordance with international law.

For all these reasons, we reaffirm our absolute support for all the efforts aimed at putting an end to this destructive war between two Moslem neighbours, Iran and Iraq, and restoring peace and prosperity to this region.

The world situation, fraught as it is with apprehensions about the implications of the failure to solve the international problems which jeopardize world peace and security is also overshadowed by a dark cloud which makes all those concerned about the security and tranquillity of mankind feel extremely concerned. I am speaking of the wave of terrorism which the world has been witnessing for several years.

Kuwait has been subjected to a series of such blind terrorist attacks, attacks which aimed at challenging the rule of law, international norms and ethics. Kuwait, therefore, calls upon the United Nations to make more serious and sincere efforts to define the dimensions of international terrorism and to lay down an effective international co-operative basis for the elimination of this dangerous international phenomenon as soon as possible. Combating international terrorism has become an international collective responsibility which we all have to assume sincerely and honestly.

The universality of the United Nations has made of this world Organization a true mirror reflecting the collective will of the international community, and that, in itself, involves tremendous burdens on Member States, both individually and collectively. Consequently we call upon all States, at this time when the

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United Nations is celebrating this important anniversary, to seize this opportunity to renew their commitment to the general principles which govern international conduct in accordance with the Charter. The destiny of the world depends upon the commitments of States.

In the course of discussing these general principles we should like to refer more particularly to some of the rules to which States should adhere, foremost among those rules derived from the spirit of the Charter are the following. First, is the need for all States, both large and small, to make all possible efforts to reinforce the role and effectiveness of the United Nations, through rendering every possible assistance to any action taken by the United Nations for world peace and the prosperity of mankind. Second, is the need for the Security Council to shoulder its responsibilities under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security. Third, is the need to support the various efforts of the Secretary-General in the use of his good offices, and to strengthen his role in the settlement of international problems. Fourth is the need to refrain as far as possible from settling international problems in isolation from the United Nations. The recently increasing tendency to concentrate on individual efforts in international relations will undoubtedly have a harmful effect on the concept of international co-operation and collective efforts.

While reviewing, at this time, the United Nations experience with all its elements of success and failure after 40 years of its existence, the eyes of the world are directed towards us to see whether we have learnt from this experience, with all its favourable and unfavourable elements, and whether we have striven to ensure that the world Organization will be an effective instrument which will help us solve our problems through dialogue and not confrontation.

In assuming our common historic responsibilities within the framework of the United Nations, we sincerely hope that our future will be better than our past, a

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future where truth is restored, a future where reason and justice, freedom, fairness and equality prevail. Let us work together for a tomorrow where the collective human experience will reach the stage of maturity with whatever that entails in terms of a common sense of the depth and worth of this experience for the present and future of mankind. May God grant us his help and support.

Mr. KUSUMAATMADJA (Indonesia): It is a great pleasure for me to extend to Mr. Jaime de Pinies, on behalf of the delegation of Indonesia, my sincere congratulations on his election as President of the General Assembly at its fortieth session. His elevation to this high office is a tribute to his personal qualities and reflects the esteem in which Spain is held among the community of nations. The fact that he has served his country as a diplomat with great distinction and ability over the past four decades, three of them at the United Nations, eminently qualifies him to carry out his onerous duties with authority and efficiency.

I also wish to express the gratitude and deep appreciation of my delegation to his predecessor, Ambassador Paul Lusaka of Zambia for the dignified and skilful manner in which he guided the work of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, as well as for his chairmanship of the Preparatory Committee for the Fortieth Anniversary of the United Nations.

The Assembly is greatly indebted to our distinguished Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his dedicated leadership in guiding the work of the Organization. His incisive analyses and candid assessments of the impediments standing in the way of achieving the full potential of the United Nations, and the measures he has proposed to improve its performance, have provided us with a useful framework for our efforts to make the Organization assume its proper role in creating a better world.

Before proceeding, I would like to express my delegation's heartfelt sorrow for the victims of the tragic earthquakes that have struck Mexico with such devastation. Our sympathy and feelings of solidarity go out to the Government and people of Mexico, in their hour of anguish and great hardship.

We are all aware of the particular significance of this fortieth anniversary session of the General Assembly, taking place as it does amidst the turbulence of sweeping changes and the emergence of historical trends in the world. Some of

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these changes are to be welcomed as opportunities for the advancement of world peace, justice and the well-being of mankind, while others pose new problems and challenges to our collective ingenuity and resolve.

On this auspicious occasion, therefore, we shall have the opportunity both for deep reflection on the history of the past forty years and a collective reappraisal of how further to enhance the effectiveness of the Organization in its realization of the purposes and objectives enshrined in the Charter.

The United Nations was founded in the aftermath of a world conflagration of such devastation and destruction as to cause the founding fathers to summon up the common determination "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". Significantly, they had the clarity of vision to conceive an organization designed not only to prevent war but to seek the elimination of the seeds of war as well: by establishing the principles of sovereign equality, justice, self-determination and freedom; by instituting a system of collective security based on non-interference and abstention from the threat or use of force; and by developing an international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social progress of all peoples, through friendly relations and co-operation among nations.

While still in its formative stage, the United Nations faced major challenges unforeseen by the Charter. The security provisions, premised on great Power unity and co-operation, were frustrated by the emergence of new antagonisms immediately after the war. Neither the division of the world into military and ideological blocs nor the fierce competition for spheres of influence were anticipated, and the Organization, instead of serving as a "centre for harmonizing the actions of nations", became an arena for the contending forces of the cold war.

Confronted by the darkening clouds of great-Power rivalry and a profoundly disturbing international situation, the leaders of the newly emergent States moved

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to consolidate their unity and solidarity in order to address the plethora of problems before the international community. Nurtured by their common colonial legacy and the shared experience of the struggle for independence, they met in Bandung in 1955, at the historic Asian-African Conference, to define together their concept of a just world order and the relationships that would flow from it.

First and foremost was their genuine desire to promote the Charter objectives of eradicating colonialism, ensuring respect for fundamental human rights, eliminating racial discrimination, encouraging the peaceful settlement of disputes, halting the arms race and promoting economic development through international co-operation. Indeed, of the Ten Principles enunciated by the Conference, the very first reiterated respect for the purposes and principles of the Charter. And at the observance of the thirtieth anniversary of the Asian-African Conference that my Government had the honour to host in Bandung last April, the participants reaffirmed their conviction that "the United Nations is the unique and indispensable forum for resolving the major world issues".

The Bandung Declaration found concrete expression in the birth of the Non-Aligned Movement, in Belgrade in 1961, where its founding members undertook to revise fundamentally the dangerous simplicities of the cold war. Their objective was and still is to free the world from the policies of force, bloc rivalry, domination, hegemony and exploitation. The Non-Aligned Movement has sought to achieve a peaceful progression towards a democratized, international system of peaceful co-existence and co-operation among nations and to strengthen the vital role of equitably conceived international institutions in the attainment of this objective.

The positive contributions of the Non-Aligned Movement to the further growth and direction of the United Nations are a matter of record, especially so in accelerating the process of world-wide decolonization, a process in which our

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Organization has played a central role. Since the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the twenty-fifth anniversary of which we are also commemorating this year, there has been a profound transformation in the quantitative as well as qualitative nature and workings of the United Nations. As a result, at its fortieth anniversary, the Organization has come ever closer to its goal of true universality.

The constraints of time inhibit me from elaborating on the other achievements and the multitude of other activities on the positive ledger of our Organization's record during the past four decades. They are to be found in the numerous programmes and measures that are continuously being formulated and implemented by its various organs, specialized agencies and related institutions. They cover international co-operation in such diverse fields as economic and social development; monetary and trade arrangements; the codification of basic concepts of international law; the promotion of fundamental human rights; education and scientific development; the peaceful uses of outer space; the exploitation of the sea-bed and ocean floor; the safeguarding of the environment, and many more.

Can we any longer envisage a world without the United Nations and its specialized agencies to provide assistance and relief to the many thousands of refugees, to the millions of undernourished children and mothers, to those afflicted by hunger, poverty, disease and illiteracy? Can we deny such landmarks as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention on the Law of the Sea and the outer space Treaty, to name but a few?

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Of course, in all these activities and programmes success has not always been forthcoming; but what has been achieved and what continues to be done indeed touch on the essential purposes for which the United Nations as our collective instrument was created: that of building peace, of working on the essential conditions for lasting peace with justice in the world.

Even in the field of keeping the peace, the other basic function of the United Nations, which through the years has been the object of such scathing public criticism because of its real or perceived failures, the record is not as poor as is sometimes suggested. It is true that the United Nations has failed to halt and reverse the global arms race, which has assumed such dangerous and irrational proportions as to threaten the very survival of mankind. It cannot be denied that the United Nations has not been able to prevent the 130 or more armed conflicts which since its founding have erupted in various regions of the world. But, to the extent that blame for this state of affairs can at all be attributed to the Organization, the pertinent fact to remember is that the United Nations can do only what its component Members want it to do and can succeed only if its Members are committed to make it succeed. Thus in assessing its performance in the maintenance of international peace and security the inherent limitations of its role must be taken into account. It can then be seen that in several conflict situations between Member States the United Nations has actually succeeded in finding a peaceful settlement. In many more instances, where a comprehensive solution could not be found immediately, the United Nations has been able to restrict the scope and intensity of conflict, by substituting dialogue for armed hostilities and by providing an acceptable framework within which the search for a solution could proceed in a peaceful way. In this context, United Nations peace-keeping operations have proved to be an important, innovative instrument in conflict control and in preventing the escalation of disputes into larger conflagrations.

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While admittedly the collective security system has not been able to function as envisaged by the Charter, even this limited role of the United Nations, as a channel for constructive dialogue between contending parties, is shown to have been of immense value. Hence, in looking back at both its successes and its failures and, more importantly, in looking towards the future, we should not indulge in either lamentation or self-congratulation but rather try to draw positive lessons from them.

We should acknowledge that the challenges the United Nations has faced throughout these years and the advances it has made towards a world of greater peace, larger freedom and well-being for mankind make a compelling case for the further strengthening of multilateral co-operation. Such co-operation should be seen as the inescapable expression of the concept of shared responsibility inherent in the Charter, of the sense of human solidarity that lies at the heart of multilateralism. But neither should we fail to act with even greater purpose and determination to rectify the obvious inadequacies and shortcomings of our Organization in addressing the central issues of our time.

The underlying causes of existing conflicts persist, and new conflicts continue to emerge. There has been a precipitous decline in mutual trust and confidence among States, accompanied by an alarming recourse to armed force in the settling of disputes. The marked increase in tensions between the great Powers has led to a heightened polarization and to the revival of power politics. The rule of law, essential for a stable international order, is all too often being flouted. The world economy is plagued by stagnation, inequity and dislocation - and all this is occurring against the background of the most perilous arms race the world has ever known.

In the past 40 years the United Nations and the international community at large have faced no greater challenge than the growing risk of nuclear war,

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propelled by an ever-escalating armament race and the excessive accumulation and qualitative refinement of weapons of mass destruction. At present the nuclear arsenals in the possession of the two major Powers have reached such levels as to be wholly disproportionate to any possible national security requirement. Indeed, they have acquired the capability to obliterate all life on earth many times over. Thus, while the nuclear-weapon States must assume primary responsibility for this state of affairs, the imperatives of disarmament and international security cannot be left to their exclusive concern, for what is at stake is the most fundamental right of humans and of nations, which is the right to their very survival and existence. It is a matter of deep concern to note, therefore, that, while disarmament negotiations under United Nations auspices have yet to yield meaningful results, those conducted outside it have equally remained stalemated. We regret that this can be the only possible characterization of the recently resumed Geneva negotiations between the two major Powers, whose avowed objective is the termination of the arms race on earth and its prevention in outer space.

Meanwhile new technologies and new generations of weapon systems are continually being devised and deployed and new strategic doctrines formulated to rationalize their use. Consequently the threat of nuclear war has become more menacing than ever before. We continue to believe, therefore, that an immediate halt to all testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems, as a necessary first step, would greatly facilitate negotiations between the nuclear-weapon States. We also hope that the forthcoming summit meeting between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev will at least generate the necessary momentum to break the log-jam in all negotiating forums on disarmament.

Indonesia has always supported the concept of nuclear-weapon-free zones in the context of a regionalist approach to disarmament. In South-East Asia the member

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States of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) are at present engaged in working out principles and modalities in order to arrive at a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region. As a Pacific-rim country, we welcome the recent establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific. Likewise we support the stand taken by the South Pacific Forum countries against continued nuclear testing in the region.

As a maritime nation and a non-nuclear-weapon State, Indonesia has viewed with mounting concern the proliferation and geographical dispersion of nuclear weapons on the world's oceans and seas. By resolution 38/188 G, of 20 December 1983, the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General to carry out, with the assistance of a group of governmental experts, a comprehensive study on all aspects of this particular dimension of the overall arms race. The group of experts has now finalized that study, and, having actively participated in its work, my delegation looks forward to the Secretary-General's report on the subject, which will be submitted for consideration by the Assembly at this session.

It is our sincere hope that the study will generate concerted and concrete follow-up action by Member States, first, through the negotiation of effective measures of nuclear disarmament and confidence-building at sea and, secondly, by identifying possible ways in which naval organization and capabilities may contribute to the establishment of enhanced ocean management policies for the peaceful uses of the sea and its resources, to the benefit of all mankind.

Another task of great urgency facing our Organization is to ensure the speedy decolonization of Namibia, for the situation in that Territory not only epitomizes all the odious features of classical colonialism but also contains the added dimensions of racist oppression and illegal plunder of natural resources, thus posing a unique challenge to our collective sense of justice and morality.

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It is long been self-evident that South Africa has never had any intention whatsoever of co-operating in good faith in the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibian independence, as contained in Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Indeed, after blocking the realization of that plan, inter alia, by linking extraneous and irrelevant issues to Namibian independence, the racist Pretoria régime has most recently perpetrated a new act of wilful obstruction by establishing yet another so-called "interim government" in the Territory in arrogant defiance of world censure and rejection. At the same time, it has not ceased to use Namibia as a launching pad for attacks against the front-line States, as evidenced by the renewed aggression against Angola unleashed just a week ago, in yet another futile attempt to crush the freedom fighters of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

South Africa's stubborn flouting of all accepted norms of international law and civilized behaviour and the dismal failure of the policy of so-called constructive engagement have long since convinced my Government that nothing short of comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter can bring South Africa to its senses. But while the Security Council has yet to overcome its inability to adopt effective enforcement measures, we cannot afford to wait.

We should keep up the pressure by widening international ostracism and the scope of mandatory and voluntary embargoes and boycotts. We should step up concrete support of the Namibian people's struggle, under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative. Increased aid should be extended to the front-line States, which are fulfilling a crucial role in the liberation struggle.

Pretoria's policies of ruthless oppression and illegal occupation in Namibia are in fact reflective of the inherent nature of the régime itself, which in South Africa has implanted and perfected the obnoxious system of apartheid, a system of

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institutionalized racism pronounced by the United Nations as a crime against humanity.

Indonesia views the latest developments in South Africa with the utmost gravity and concern. The imposition of a state of emergency by the racist régime has unleashed a further escalation of violence, repression and terror. Indeed, the state of emergency - or, more precisely, martial law - has been used by Pretoria as a pretext for its security forces to perpetrate indiscriminate killings and to drag innocent men, women and children from their homes into arbitrary and indefinite detention. Their plight is of serious concern to us, as is the continued incarceration of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, who personify the courageous struggle of black South Africa under the leadership of their national liberation movements. The immediate and unconditional release of all detainees must continue to be our unyielding demand.

South Africa's black majority today is under virtual siege. The racist régime has shown itself to possess neither the policy nor the capability for progressive change and that, short of brute force, it is politically bankrupt. Any lingering hopes for a peaceful, evolutionary end to apartheid were dashed by the statement of Prime Minister Botha last month in which he categorically rejected the basic and just demands of the oppressed majority while at the same time demonstrating an arrogant disregard for the legitimate concerns of the international community. But then we knew all along that apartheid cannot be reformed or improved by incremental measures. It must be dismantled in its entirety. In its place, a non-racial, democratic society based on majority rule should be established as a guarantee for lasting peace.

The Arab-Israel conflict has also been a major preoccupation of the United Nations for most of the 40 years of its existence. Encouraged by the almost

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unquestioning support extended to it by its friends and protectors, Israel has habitually flouted the cardinal principles and rulings of our Organization. As events over the past years show, Israel persists in its efforts to impose by force of arms its own aggressive and expansionist designs on the region, in complete disregard of world censure.

It is the unwavering conviction of my Government that the three core issues of the conflict cannot under any circumstances be sidetracked. They are the right of self-determination for the Palestinian people and its right to sovereign and independent statehood in Palestine, Israel's withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and the need for the States in the region to live in peace within secure borders.

In order to attain these fundamental goals as well as to deal with the multiplicity of contending interests inherent in them, the General Assembly has called for the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations. Indonesia's support for the peace conference is based on the assumption that such a conference would launch a comprehensive negotiating process and provide a forum in which all the parties concerned would participate on an equal footing, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

There is no question that the convening and success of the peace conference will inevitably depend on the political will and the support of the major Powers, who must eschew their strategic designs on the region and co-operate with the Secretary-General in his continuing efforts to achieve agreement on the modalities for the conference, for surely the alternative can only be an inexorable slide

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towards yet another and even more destructive cycle of war and violence, with disastrous consequences, not only for the region, but for the world as a whole.

In South-East Asia, the situation in Kampuchea continues to be the principal barrier to regional peace and stability. In addressing the Kampuchean question, Indonesia and the other members of Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) have consistently maintained a position based on internationally recognized principles rather than on animosity or confrontation. Thus the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchean soil and the establishment of a government of the people's own choosing must necessarily form the basis for any solution, as this would reflect the essential vindication of those principles.

At the same time ASEAN has repeatedly demonstrated its flexibility as regards the modalities for a comprehensive and peaceful settlement which would take into account the legitimate interests of all parties involved. We were dismayed, therefore, by events earlier this year when renewed armed clashes involving the massive use of military force resulted in numerous deaths and widespread destruction and led to the influx of thousands of Kampuchean refugees into Thailand in search of safety and shelter. These developments not only have rendered a solution to the conflict infinitely more difficult but also underscore the tragic dimensions of the current crisis in Kampuchea.

In the face of the incessant military operations against its resistance forces, the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK) has maintained its effectiveness, as well as the continued support of the Kampuchean people. Moreover, the international community's ever-increasing support of the CGDK, under the presidency of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, is another factor of encouragement.

During the past year, it was Indonesia's hope that, as the designated interlocutor of ASEAN vis-à-vis Viet Nam, its efforts to promote a genuine dialogue

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and a viable approach to a solution could bring positive results. While the ongoing discussions between Indonesia and Vietnam have brought mutual clarification on a number of aspects of the problem, differences still exist on some important points and these will have to be resolved if the process towards genuine dialogue is to be sustained.

In yet another reflection of ASEAN's continuing sincere desire to explore all possible avenues that could lead to the restoration of peace in Kampuchea, the Foreign Ministers meeting in Kuala Lumpur last July proposed proximity talks between the parties directly concerned. As in the past, our initiative has been prompted by a genuine concern for the fundamental rights and interests of the Kampuchean people and their survival as a nation, at peace within its borders and with its neighbours. We continue to hope that Viet Nam will respond positively to international efforts to achieve a comprehensive settlement of the Kampuchean problem leading to an independent, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea.

Similarly it is our sincere hope that a comprehensive solution will soon be found to the problem in Afghanistan, where the continued presence of foreign forces has prevented the restoration of regional peace and stability.

(Mr. Kusumaatmadja, Indonesia)

With so many regions beset by numerous conflicts and disputes, the progress made by the Contadora group in building a new structure for regional harmony and co-operation in Central America is most heartening. At this juncture, we note with great satisfaction that the Contadora peace process has reached the stage where a meeting of plenipotentiaries could be convened to work out the final modalities with a view to signing the act on peace and co-operation. The culmination of the long and arduous process to establish a framework for regional reconciliation that the act represents will also be a source of emulation for other regions beset with similar problems of conflict and strife.

In 1945, freedom from war and economic want were among the central objectives of mankind. Now, four decades later, the issues of international security and development are inextricably linked and in their absence, peace and prosperity cannot be guaranteed. The persistent neglect of pervasive poverty and gross inequalities will gravely endanger the social and political fabric not only of the developing countries but of the world at large. And, as in 1945, their resolution can only be effectively sought through international co-operation. There can be no viable or lasting alternative.

Since we assembled here one year ago, the distinguishing features of the global economy and of international economic relations have remained essentially unchanged and are perhaps even more apparent. The halting economic recovery after a devastating global recession, the erosion of multilateralism amidst increasing interdependence, are still our major preoccupations. In addition, the progressive breakdown of the international trading and monetary systems, the stark implications of the international debt problem and the magnitude of the critical economic situation in the most distressed countries, dominate our agenda at this Assembly and challenge our collective wisdom and resolve.

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Rather than the promise of imminent growth and progress, the failure of the recovery's expansion throughout the world has been translated into a frustratingly poor performance in most of the developing countries. Even those whose economies were considered to be doing well have experienced setbacks compared to past performance. Escalating protectionism which impedes access to markets, plummeting commodity prices, reduced flows of financial resources and the accumulation of staggering debt burdens are but some of the damaging implications of this failure. Likewise, acute payment imbalances, exchange rate volatility and the imposition of a disproportionate share of the global adjustment process have also inhibited their best efforts. Thus, for many developing countries severe contractions in their development growth and an ominous decline in the living standards of their people have become a harsh reality. For others, especially in Africa, crippling stagnation, if not in fact negative growth, has taken hold and poses a critical threat not only to their social and political stability but often to their very survival.

These multiple difficulties attest to the structural inadequacies and inherent imbalances that underlie the current world economic system. There can be no sustained or lasting recovery, nor can there be any acceleration of development in the developing countries, without the promotion of genuine interdependence and a thorough restructuring of the international economic order.

It is in the profound awareness of these challenges that we view the urgency of a new vision in international economic co-operation which recognizes that the world economic recovery will be durable only if it is accompanied by comprehensive measures to reactivate the development of the developing countries. The promotion of genuine interdependence among nations and the reinvigoration of multilateral co-operation for development are therefore required. It is precisely in this

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context that we should like to state again our commitment to the global negotiations. We also believe that the International Development Strategy for the third United Nations Development Decade remains absolutely valid.

The interrelated issues of trade, money and finance demand our immediate attention. International trade, long recognized as a classic instrument for promoting mutual economic gain, is increasingly being stifled. Indonesia is fully committed to an open international trading system based on the principle of differential and favourable treatment for the developing countries and supports all efforts aimed at the progressive dismantling of protectionism. In commodity trade, we strongly support the implementation of the Integrated Programme for Commodities and the full operation of the Common Fund. The decreased flow of development finance has exacerbated the loss of income due to diminishing export earnings and deteriorating terms of trade. The resultant havoc is vividly manifested by the current debt crisis and its many ramifications. A significant increase in the transfer of real resources, both official and private, is therefore imperative. A creative and comprehensive response, such as an international conference on money and finance for development, as called for by the New Delhi Seventh Summit Meeting of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries should be pursued with urgency.

The continuing crisis in Africa as a consequence of the relentless onslaughts of a prolonged drought and famine is not unrelated. While the international response has been remarkable, there is still a tremendous need, beyond emergency relief and crisis management, in this follow-up period of readjustment. Medium and long-term development support are required if the crisis is to be effectively overcome and if future calamities are to be averted.*

*Mr. Marinescu (Romania), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Kusumaatmadja, Indonesia)

In an international economic situation where disillusionment increasingly reigns, South-South co-operation is not only welcome but indispensable and its intensification is of paramount importance. In this regard the deliberations of the fourth meeting of the Inter-Governmental Follow-Up and Co-ordination Committee of the Group of 77, held in Jakarta a few weeks ago, testified to the enduring relevance and significant importance of the Caracas Programme of Action on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries. The strong endorsement for the purposeful implementation of that Programme of Action registered at the meeting is encouraging for the future role of collective self-reliance in the acceleration of development. We should not allow this renewed spirit and refreshed momentum to dissipate.

Another cause for encouragement is the successful outcome of the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women, held in Nairobi last July. Given the crucial role of women in development, we fully support the objectives contained in the document on Forward-looking Strategies and trust that they can be successfully fostered and implemented during the Decade for Women and for the balance of this century.

As a country whose youth comprise over 60 per cent of its population, Indonesia attaches great importance to the United Nations World Conference for the International Youth Year. The general condition of youth, which reflects the deteriorating world economic situation, in particular job opportunities, has continued to worsen. However, we are fully confident that the forthcoming World Conference will effectively address this question and thus promote the universal hopes and aspirations of youth.

The alarming proportions to which illicit drug trafficking and drug abuse have grown in many parts of the world is a serious danger to the stability and even the

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security of many countries. Indonesia welcomes the current efforts in combating this grave menace and fully supports the Secretary-General's proposal to convene an international conference on narcotic drugs at the ministerial level in 1987.

As the General Assembly has grown in membership, its expanded activities have led the Assembly to become a depository of ever more items for deliberation and debate. Clearly there is a need for streamlining the Assembly's agenda through the removal of items which have ceased to be relevant, the deferral of those that are in the process of negotiation and the grouping of related issues under the same item. Through such an approach the General Assembly could more clearly define its work programme and impart greater importance and authority to its decisions.

With regard to the Security Council, it is hardly necessary for my delegation to dwell on its shortcomings in the discharge of its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. The superimposition of East-West rivalries on the deliberations of the Council has rendered even unanimously adopted resolutions unimplementable. Moreover, in the process of eliciting support of the permanent members, resolutions become diluted to the point of being mere declaratory exhortations.

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In order to stem this erosion of the authority and effectiveness of the Security Council, it is essential for the permanent members to recognize their wider international responsibilities inherent in their status and in their acceptance of the Charter. An effective Security Council is essential if we are to avoid the kind of confrontations which in this nuclear age can only mean mutual annihilation.

The uncertainty and discord concerning the composition, financing and mandate of peace-keeping operations have often impeded their effectiveness. It is important to search for ways in which consensus could be built to assure global support for such activities. To this end, the roles of the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Secretary-General will require careful reassessment.

In the context of restricting and resolving conflict situations, my delegation endorses the various initiatives and actions taken by the Secretary-General in encouraging dialogue and negotiations between the parties concerned. While, admittedly, the Secretary-General's untiring efforts have yet to bear fruit in resolving such problems as those of Afghanistan, Cyprus and the Malvinas, he has nonetheless established a framework to facilitate peaceful settlements in accordance with relevant resolutions. It is our sincere hope that the parties to these and other conflicts will extend their unstinted co-operation to the Secretary-General's endeavours to achieve comprehensive and just solutions.

Forty years after the establishment of the United Nations, the quest for an effective, peaceful and more equitable international order has slowed and the incentive to develop international institutions commensurate with the realities and risks of our times has weakened. In a world characterized by growing insecurity, regional conflicts, economic dislocation, exploding populations and deteriorating ecosystems and overshadowed by the pervasive threat of nuclear war, the development of a strong and effective United Nations system is a vital imperative.

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In today's world of intensifying interactions, interlinkages and interdependence, multilateral co-operation should be the dominant theme. Regrettably, however, bilateral and even unilateral policies in pursuit of short-term expediency have made major incursions into multilateralism. Such unpredictable and arbitrary use of power will not only result in greater instability and uncertainty but could precipitate the breakdown even of the existing structures and institutions of international co-operation. Indonesia remains fully convinced that multilateralism is the only viable and responsible approach to the global realities of our time.

The United Nations as the embodiment of multilateralism, with all its weaknesses and shortcomings, represents the best available structure for this purpose. It must be supported and strengthened, not undercut and derided. Only then will interdependence become a constructive rather than a negative force in the affairs of mankind.

At this critical juncture in the life of the United Nations, the overriding need is for all Member States to rededicate themselves to the principles and purposes of the Charter and to renew their faith in the capacity of the United Nations to fulfil its functions and to meet its aims and objectives. For only then will the Organization be able to assume once more the role for which it was established.

Mr. TINDEMANS (Belgium) (interpretation from French): Allow me first of all to offer my warmest congratulations to Mr. de Piniés on his accession to the presidency of the fortieth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

His remarkably broad experience - it is indeed the twenty-eighth time he has attended the proceedings of our Assembly - as well as the prestige and authority he has thus acquired constitute the best guarantee of success in our work. My country is delighted at the election of a representative of Spain, a country it holds particularly dear and which is about to join the European Community.

(Mr. Tindemans, Belgium)

Before starting my statement, I wish to express to the Government and people of Mexico my deepest sympathy for the terrible tragedy which they have just suffered.

In the troubled world in which we live, our Organization has been fulfilling for 40 years now the essential task of helping to resolve world problems and to ensure that harmonious international relations prevail. This session, which is meant to celebrate this event, instills in many of us the hope for renewed energy and for a renewed awareness of the need to accomplish the tasks set out by the founders of our Organization.

I have no doubt that under the wise guidance of Mr. de Piniés the Assembly will go down in the annals of the United Nations as having contributed effectively to the fulfilment of the ideals and purposes of our Charter.

I should also like to reiterate here the expression of our deep appreciation for the devotion and effectiveness shown by Mr. de Piniés' eminent predecessor, Ambassador Lusaka, in discharging his high functions.

As always, I took keen note of this year's report submitted by the Secretary-General. How can we not share his concerns with respect to multilateralism in this anniversary year? How can we fail to heed his insistent appeals for greater solidarity and for the establishment of a system of international relations which takes fully into account the obligations and responsibilities which have fallen to us as Members of the United Nations? How can we fail to respond to his request for profound reflection at a high level on the objectives, accomplishments and shortcomings of our Organization, which is about to celebrate its fortieth anniversary?

How, finally, can we remain indifferent to the assaults on the universal character of our Organization or ignore its historic deficiencies? Suffice it for

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the moment to refer to the example of the Korean Peninsula. Its reunification presupposes a peaceful and democratic solution to the problems that separate the two parts. My country shares the view of the Republic of Korea that direct talks between the two parts must first aim at restoring the climate of confidence which has been lacking for so long. While we wait for this dialogue, which we strongly encourage, lead to reunification, Belgium favours the simultaneous entry of the two Koreas to the United Nations.

My colleague from Luxembourg, Mr. Poos, the current President of the Council of Ministers of the European Community, has faithfully reflected from this rostrum the views of the ten member States, including Belgium, on the whole range of international questions which now more than ever are of concern to the world community.

I wish to thank my colleague for his statement, because it allows me to focus my comments on a few subjects which seem of particular interest to me. Whether we wish it or not, the international situation remains strongly marked by the state of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union and their respective allies.

Last year I had the opportunity to point out from this rostrum how bleak the outlook was with regard to East-West relations. Since then, the situation has not really improved. Distrust is prevalent everywhere and paralyzes attempts to resolve the many problems of the world.

(Mr. Tindemans, Belgium)

This climate of incomprehension and mutual fear has deep roots. The uninterrupted large-scale deployment of nuclear missiles aimed at Western Europe has led my country, together with others, to accept deployment on its territory of cruise missiles. This difficult political decision does not reflect any bellicose sentiment or aggressive intentions; it is the inevitable consequence of legitimate fear due to sustained military pressure by which the balance of forces had been undone. It is this dangerous spiral of threats, distrust and fear which we have tried to slow down and, if possible, to break.

The proposals we made at the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe in Stockholm went in that direction. They were ambitious in scope - which was to make disarmament possible by rebuilding confidence - but modest and perfectly workable as far as their implementation was concerned. They did not tend to put obstacles in the path of security agreements but, on the contrary, to favour small steps towards the lessening of tensions. Accordingly, Belgium attaches great importance to two elements of the rather gloomy picture of East-West relations, which in the course of the last months have given rise to some glimmer of hope.

On 12 March 1985 the United States and the Soviet Union resumed in Geneva negotiations on strategic arms, intermediate nuclear forces and space weapons. Belgium considers these negotiations as being of the greatest importance. It seeks as sweeping a reduction as possible of the number of existing systems, with due consideration, however, of the balance and stability of the strategic relationship between the two parties. New technologies, particularly in outer space, cannot be implemented unless they strengthen that stability.

Also in Geneva, the President of the United States of America and the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will meet in November. Belgium, like all other nations, expects this summit meeting to contribute to

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breaking the barrier of distrust, the ill effects of which I denounced earlier. It also expects it to lead to a constructive dialogue of which the whole world and not only the participants is in great need.

It is in Geneva as well that the negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament take place. In this context, and without wanting to minimize the importance of other points of discussion, I should like to broach the question of chemical weapons. We were horrified by the use of chemical agents in recent conflicts. We will never forget that Belgium was the first battlefield where such weapons were used. One of the agents is called Yperite after the name of the Flemish city of Ypres, which since 1916 has become famous throughout the world. My country is, therefore, in a very good position to request: full and unconditional compliance with the Geneva Protocol of 1925 which bans the use of chemical weapons; the conclusion of a new international convention which totally prohibits not just solely the use but also the production, stockpiling and transfer of chemical weapons. In 1984, a draft to that effect was submitted at the Conference on Disarmament by the Vice-President of the United States. It is urgent that the conference reach an agreement on this point.

Belgium, for its part, has already decided to put stricter controls on the export of "key precursors", that is to say, the basic elements in the composition of toxic weapons. But here, as elsewhere, the crucial problem underlying disarmament agreements remains the setting up of an adequate verification system. Verification is the indispensable element of any security and disarmament agreement. He who rejects verification bears the responsibility for failure. Only openness and transparency will allow us to lessen the distrust, to relax the atmosphere and to move on to a more secure climate.

(Mr. Tindemans, Belgium)

In the same spirit, I should like to appeal for scrupulous compliance with the agreements already concluded in the field of disarmament and security. Nothing fosters distrust more than the suspicion that commitments already undertaken are not, or not fully, complied with. This is not a question of accusations or polemics. Let us simply acknowledge that if existing agreements are not implemented in good faith, it will become more difficult to conclude new ones.

At the end of July, in Helsinki, I said that I felt some disappointment with regard to the manner in which certain provisions of the Final Act had been implemented. Frankness compels me to repeat that, in my view, the great expectations which had been placed in that Act have not been fully met. The outcome of the Ottawa Conference on Human Rights is but an illustration of the pitfalls we find in our path. I persist, however, in believing that the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe process may still be improved and supplemented. Belgium, for its part, will prove itself to be persevering and determined with regard to the further development of this process. We cannot allow ourselves to be pessimistic on this point.

If on the multilateral level we did not spare any effort in favour of disarmament and peace, on the bilateral level also we have translated our principles into action. Belgium has always declared itself ready to enter into a dialogue with countries wishing to do so and has not failed to play to the full its role in the concert of nations. This role involves establishing contacts, using restraint and establishing credibility and reliability with respect to our existing commitments.

East-West rivalry and the confrontation between the nuclear Powers are not the only threats to international life. Because of tradition and historical bonds, my country is particularly interested in the African continent, whose severe crisis is still a source of concern.

(Mr. Tindemans, Belgium)

Today, economic difficulties, drought, agricultural crises and food shortages are in many places complicated and their consequences multiplied by armed conflicts, internal disturbances and international confrontations. The combination of these situations has ultimately given overwhelming dimensions to these evils. Too many African countries experience poverty, which carries in its wake suffering, death and displacement of populations fleeing natural calamities and the disasters of war.

In the face of this situation, the international community did not remain indifferent. Under the momentum given to us by our Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, measures have been taken, and continue to be taken, to meet the most urgent needs of the African peoples. In order to achieve greater effectiveness, the co-ordination of the aid has been strengthened at the levels of the various organs of the United Nations as well as of the donor countries.

This effort must be continued and supplemented through longer-term actions geared towards the development of the populations. Among these long-term actions my country gives the highest priority to integrated rural development, the only lasting solution to the problems of hunger and malnutrition, the only means of fighting rural exodus and anarchic urban growth. It is at this goal of development of rural areas that Belgium aimed when it established the Survival Fund for the Third World to help the famine-stricken countries to recover and to improve their food production in order to achieve self-sufficiency.

In October 1983, with the help of four United Nations agencies, we selected the countries of the Horn of Africa as beneficiaries because it is one of the regions of the world where, due to starvation, the mortality rate is one of the highest.

(Mr. Tindemans, Belgium)

Since the end of 1984, Belgium, together with various non-governmental organizations, is also engaged in a series of emergency aid operations in several drought-stricken African countries. This aid, in equipment or cereals, is today indispensable, but is obviously not enough. We consider development aid to developing countries as the first duty of industrialized countries.

(Mr. Tindemans, Belgium)

At this time, when the international crisis is hitting all countries, but more severely the developing countries, international solidarity together with a sense of responsibility is necessary now more than ever before.

The decade of the seventies has favoured infrastructural development which was an indispensable phase. However, some reforms of another kind are just as necessary.

It is in this context that I wish to call to mind the tragic events which in recent months have taken place in South Africa.

Racial discrimination leads to violent confrontation, with the number of innocent victims running into the hundreds. The threat of civil war looms larger with it its train of suffering and misery leading to the economic collapse of half the continent. Like so many others, I, too, should like to appeal, from this rostrum, to the Government of the Republic of South Africa to undertake forthwith the dismantling of apartheid which Belgium condemns unreservedly. My country appeals to all South Africans to move towards constructive dialogue. My Government ventures to hope that in each community, responsible leaders will be found who, leaving aside violence and slogans, will seek original solutions to complex problems. No citizen of South Africa, regardless of the colour of his skin, stands to gain from a bloodbath or economic chaos. As Mr. Poos stated, on behalf of the Ten, I believe that the only solution lies in granting equal rights to all citizens of South Africa, within a system of protection of minorities and the dialogue that I have just mentioned. Through its clear action, Belgium, together with the Ten, hopes to convince the South Africans to adopt such a policy.

(Mr. Tindemans, Belgium)

It is in this spirit that Belgium, together with its partners in the European Community, decided to take restrictive as well as positive measures vis-à-vis South Africa. Belgium, as a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, insists that the Namibian question be resolved as soon as possible on the basis of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). It is convinced that the settlement of this problem will lessen tensions in the region, thus initiating an overall evolution in the situation in southern Africa. This makes us insist on the need for an urgent solution to that problem.

Finally, I should like to tackle the issue of terrorism, an evil which today encompasses the whole world.

At his press conference of 21 June 1985, the Secretary-General stated the following at the time of the taking of hostages on the TWA plane:

(spoke in English)

"As a human being, I have a feeling of shame. I think that what the terrorists are doing all over the world is not only a crime but also an act of cowardice. I believe that you all share with me this feeling of shame. It is not a matter of ideologies; it is not a matter of religious beliefs. I think it is a matter that affects our conscience as human beings."

(continued in French)

I should like to join with the Secretary-General and respond to the appeal he made to us as citizens of the world and as mere human beings.

I am not unaware of the difficulty of the response to be given and of the efforts already undertaken by our Organization.

As early as 1972, on the occasion of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, the Secretary-General of the United Nations took the initiative to submit this problem for discussion by the General Assembly and requested the Member States to inform him of their comments on this subject.

(Mr. Tindemans, Belgium)

Resolutions were adopted and a special committee was set up to study the question and to make proposals in order to find effective solutions to the problem of terrorism.

However, we were unable to reach consensus. The discussions were not confined to principle and law, but led to a political confrontation between countries favouring total suppression of terrorism and countries which considered that they would rather look into its causes. Of course, international terrorism cannot be eradicated completely without an improvement in the political, economic and social situations which encourage it.

Nevertheless, terrorism cannot be a means that is justified by the goals it pursues. There are acts which are so barbaric, so heinous, and so contrary to society that nothing can justify them. Unless we acknowledge these, the fight against international terrorism will be completely paralysed.

Given the aggravation of international terrorism which threatens the lives and the security of innocent people all over the world, the time has come to determine the criteria for acts which cannot be justified or excused, notwithstanding the sympathy and understanding which some political, cultural, social or economic situations may arouse. It seems urgent to us to establish, over and beyond all ideological confrontation, a series of universally recognized measures against those criminal acts. The view that assaults, the taking of hostages and other such criminal behaviour, are acts which call for leniency because of their political nature and may be committed with impunity by their perpetrators, can no longer be tolerated.

It is, no doubt, encouraging to see that various measures and regulations have already been agreed on at the regional and the sectoral levels.

(Mr. Tindemans, Belgium)

At the regional level, I should like to mention in particular the 1977 European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism which, after thorough discussions, has just been adopted by the Belgium Parliament. Consequently, this Convention will be in force among the 15 member States of the Council of Europe united in their struggle against that scourge.

The so-called partial approach has, furthermore, allowed the international community to legislate on various kinds of terrorism. I am referring to the Tokyo, Montreal and The Hague Conventions concluded within the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) framework. They have all been ratified by Belgium as well as the International Convention against the Taking of Hostages adopted in 1979 by the United Nations General Assembly. That Convention will soon be submitted for approval to the Belgium Parliament. Thus, Belgium has already adopted the approach recommended in the resolution on terrorism adopted unanimously by the Seventh United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders which was held recently in Milan.

Experience has shown that no country is safe from terrorism. The drafting of a general convention on international terrorism is doubtless a goal which is too ambitious, which probably cannot be reached in the near future. It would be better, I think, to try to resolve the problem by considering its various aspects successively. Any system of terror runs counter to the principles of the United Nations Charter and it is therefore incumbent upon Member States to help to eradicate it.

The efforts to be made at the multilateral level, within the United Nations, must also be supplemented by bilateral agreements. Discrepancies between legislations and the sensitiveness of national sovereignty should not allow terrorists to escape punishment.

(Mr. Tindemans, Belgium)

Among the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism were certain proposals which meet our concerns and which I should like to bring to the attention of the General Assembly: the recommendations to the appropriate specialized agencies and to the regional organizations, to consider measures likely to prevent and to combat international terrorism within their fields of competence and in their region; an invitation to all Member States to co-operate more closely, especially by exchanging relevant information on preventive measures and on the struggle against international terrorism, by entering into special treaties or by incorporating in the appropriate bilateral treaties special provisions, in particular with regard to the application of the principle of "extradition or prosecution" to international terrorists; and the consideration by the General Assembly of the need to work out one or more additional international conventions based on the principle of "extradition or prosecution" to combat acts of international terrorism which are not yet covered by other international Conventions of a similar nature.

I have already mentioned the European Convention on Suppression of Terrorism. In Article I this Convention enumerates a certain number of acts which are not to be considered as political offences. Among them are, in particular, "offences involving the use of a bomb, grenade, rocket, automatic firearm or letter or parcel bomb if this use endangers persons".

Would it, for instance, not be conceivable to give special attention to the use of booby-trapped devices, as was already done to the taking of hostages. It is certain that the use of such devices is a particularly heinous act when it is prone to endanger the life and physical integrity of innocent people.

(Mr. Tindemans, Belgium)

The *raison d'être* of our Organization is to preserve, in spite of rivalries and confrontations, a climate of peace in the world. It seemed to me that at this time the preservation of this climate is particularly linked to the resumption of the East-West dialogue, to action against hunger and poverty in the world, particularly in Africa, and to practical measures against international terrorism. This was the message I wished to bring to this Assembly.

Mr. IACOVOU (Cyprus): It is with particular pleasure that I extend to Ambassador de Piniés our warm congratulations on his well-deserved election to the high office of the presidency of the fortieth session of the General Assembly. We consider his personality, his reputation as an experienced and skilled diplomat, and his long-standing commitment to the cause of the United Nations as the best guarantees for the successful accomplishment of his difficult task. His far-sighted opening statement has been most reassuring and has confirmed our belief in the wise guidance he will provide us during the current session. Furthermore, it is a source of great satisfaction for my Government and for the people of Cyprus that the presidency of this lofty body is in the hands of a representative of a friendly country, with which we share close relations and which rightfully enjoys great esteem and reputation internationally.

At the same time, I wish to extend our appreciation to his predecessor, Ambassador Paul Lusaka of Zambia, a country with which we have excellent relations, for the most competent way in which he guided the work of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

I should like from the outset to place on record our gratitude for the Secretary-General's efforts to promote international peace and security. We also thank him for his untiring efforts with regard to the Cyprus problem, which has been the concern of the United Nations and his own personal concern. I should be

(Mr. Iacovou, Cyprus)

remiss if I did not stress how much we value his efforts towards achieving a just and viable solution to the problem in accordance with the United Nations principles and resolutions.

The disaster inflicted upon Mexico by the recent catastrophic earthquakes has shocked us all. We express our deep sympathy and solidarity with the friendly people and Government of Mexico and call upon this body immediately to implement an emergency programme for the alleviation of the plight of the victims of this devastating calamity. Mexico is suffering from a catastrophe of unprecedented proportions, and we strongly believe that an urgent international response is essential to assist this nation to recover as soon as possible. In this respect we fully appreciate the urgency with which the General Assembly responded to this critical situation by adopting resolution 40/1 of 24 September 1985, which we fully support.

As we celebrate this Organization's fortieth anniversary, we cannot but think of our founding fathers who sought to transform into action the deeply felt and widespread desire for concrete and effective action by establishing an Organization based on universality, with the aim of protecting and maintaining international peace and security, the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms, the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples, the development of friendly relations among nations and the achievement of international co-operation in solving international problems.

In evaluating the progress achieved so far in international relations, we should ask ourselves if we may claim that we are well on our way to realizing the dreams and aspirations of the founding fathers of this Organization. We must admit, with regret, that the record gives little cause for satisfaction, as we enter the fortieth year of the life of this Organization.

(Mr. Iacovou, Cyprus)

This does not mean that the past was devoid of successes, since reference can be made to many achievements of this Organization. We could mention progress made in various fields: decolonization, peace-keeping, standard setting in the field of human rights and the humanitarian programmes. That we have so far escaped the scourge of another world war, despite local conflicts, is no minor achievement.

(Mr. Iacovou, Cyprus)

Although we all share the same aspirations for peace, security and justice, it is a sad commentary on the 40 years that have just elapsed that the international political and economic situation is again critical. The threat or actual use of force, military aggression and interference, the intensified arms race, gross violations of human rights, poverty and famine paint a gloomy picture of today's world. Yet, however frustrating our experience has been so far, we have not abandoned hope that the dream of a peaceful and economically secure future can yet become a reality.

The commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations affords us the opportunity to take stock of progress, concentrate on shortcomings, draw appropriate conclusions and chart the correct course to ensure peace and survival. Renewed confidence in the United Nations can be enhanced only if all Member States adhere strictly to the purposes and principles of the Charter, thus rendering the Organization more effective. The provisions and mechanisms of the Charter, if appropriately, effectively and resolutely applied, could deter lawlessness and secure peace and justice.

The Security Council should live up to the expectations of mankind, employing all means at its disposal, and it should also take such other measures as those referred to by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization, which we welcome and support. Particular reference should be made to the Secretary-General's idea that the Security Council should

"make a deliberate and concerted effort to solve one or two of the major problems before it by making fuller use of the measures available to it under the Charter" (A/40/1, p. 7).

(Mr. Iacovou, Cyprus)

The single most important issue affecting the international community is disarmament. The continued build-up of armaments, particularly nuclear armaments, creates potentially dangerous conditions, holding mankind hostage to the balance of terror and the threat of nuclear war. Moreover, the increasing military expenditures are diverting valuable resources from development which could close the widening gap between the developed and developing countries. It is earnestly hoped that this year will be marked by real progress towards disarmament.

Closely and directly tied to disarmament is international security. The ultimate goal of complete and total disarmament is unachievable unless the collective security provisions of the Charter are fully implemented. Let us hope that during the fortieth anniversary the Member States, particularly the permanent members of the Security Council, take up this issue as a question of urgency.

It has always been our firm belief that implementation of the security provisions of the Charter, along with actions to implement United Nations resolutions, in particular Security Council resolutions, would lead to an improved world situation by eliminating critical issues that threaten the maintenance of international peace and security.

Of equal concern is the world economic situation. Though there was a certain improvement in the case of industrialized countries earlier this year, the developing countries' plight continues unabated. They are burdened with a multitude of problems, both structural and developmental, often compounded by natural disasters. Commodities prices, trade, financing and debt servicing are matters requiring urgent attention and even more urgent remedial action.

The international community must act decisively in moving without delay towards the establishment of a new international economic order; otherwise the increasingly divergent world economic and social conditions and difficulties will

(Mr. Iacovou, Cyprus)

exert severe pressures on the developing countries' social and political fabric, with unforeseen consequences, including possible undermining of their democratic institutions.

The grave economic crisis facing African countries gives cause for concern and requires the urgent adoption of special and concrete actions for resolving that crisis. While the Declaration on the Critical Economic Situation in Africa which was adopted last year at the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly provided a framework for international action, there is still much to be done, particularly in the field of assistance in the development efforts of the African States themselves. In dealing with this problem, the Non-Aligned Movement formulated a Plan of Action which was adopted at the Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Movement held in New Delhi from 19 to 21 April 1985.

Since the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a number of standard-setting instruments in the field of human rights and fundamental freedoms have been promulgated. More recently a welcome trend towards the establishment of implementation mechanisms has been observed. Cyprus is a party to many of these instruments; the two International Covenants on civil and political rights and social, economic and cultural rights, the Convention against racial discrimination and, most recently, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, to name some examples.

Notwithstanding progress in the field of human rights and fundamental freedoms, there is continuing concern for the massive, flagrant and persistent violations of human rights that are taking place in various parts of the world, especially when they come in the wake of occupation and aggression or threaten democracy.

(Mr. Iacovou, Cyprus)

In world affairs the Non-Aligned Movement increasingly plays a positive and constructive role in working for a just world order based on its lofty principles, pronounced at the Bandung Conference and further elaborated at subsequent meetings.

Cyprus, a founding member of the Movement, will continue its role in the Movement, as it has done before, underlining the principles of the non-use of force in international relations and of non-interference in the internal affairs of States. The people of Cyprus are particularly grateful for the Movement's principled stand and support on the Cyprus problem. High appreciation is given to the non-aligned countries' contact group on the Cyprus problem, which has always rendered valuable assistance and support.

The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe is an important and dynamic ongoing process. Cyprus actively participates in that Conference and co-operates particularly with the other neutral and non-aligned States that are taking part in an effort to promote security in Europe and hence in the whole world.

The non-implementation of United Nations resolutions not only impairs the effectiveness of the Organization but also erodes its credibility and its image as an instrument for peace and justice. It will be recalled that at the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly, the President of the Republic of Cyprus in his address to the Assembly, requested the inscription of an item entitled "Implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations". It should also be recalled that the Non-Aligned Movement has repeatedly welcomed and supported the consideration of the question of the implementation of United Nations resolutions at the United Nations General Assembly.

(Mr. Iacovou, Cyprus)

We are happy that, as a result of the inclusion of this item in the agenda and of the support it received from the membership of the United Nations, informal consultations were held by members of the Security Council on the strengthening of the authority and the effectiveness of the United Nations. It is the intention of the delegation of Cyprus to work with other interested delegations for the achievement of this goal.

As we have stated on numerous occasions, the Middle East problem, at the core of which is the question of Palestine, gives rise to grave concern. Cyprus, along with other non-aligned countries, fully supports the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to establish an independent state pursuant to General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX). We again stress the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and call for full respect of the human rights of the Palestinian and Arab population in the occupied Arab lands.

The persistence of the problem poses a serious threat not only to peace in the region but also to international peace and security. High in our priorities must be the intensification of the efforts for the total and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all Arab lands occupied since 1967. We shall continue to support the just struggle of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), their sole and legitimate representative.

Cyprus, a close neighbour of friendly Lebanon, shares the agony of that country and will continue to provide any help necessary, as we have been doing over the last few years. We fervently hope that the factional strife will end and that national reconciliation will be achieved so that the people of that nation will be able to prosper again in peace and tranquillity. Once again we express our full support for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and unity of Lebanon and call for the total withdrawal of all Israeli forces from its territory.

(Mr. Iacovou, Cyprus)

The Iran-Iraq conflict continues unabated. We are deeply grieved that two non-aligned countries are involved in such a confrontation, which has brought about massive destruction and great loss of life. We are deeply disturbed that a just and honourable solution has not yet been found. We earnestly hope that every effort will be exerted with a view to reaching such a solution for the normalization of the situation in the region and the restoration of peace.

Recent developments in South Africa, and in particular the imposition of a state of emergency in a large number of districts, which was accompanied by an escalation in violence and repression by the South African forces against the oppressed majority, have once again attracted attention and widespread condemnation of the apartheid régime. We fully support all United Nations and non-aligned resolutions on this issue, particularly the recent Security Council resolution 569 (1985), which condemned the apartheid régime and the South African imposition of a state of emergency, as well as the mass arrests and detentions recently carried out by the Pretoria Government and the murders which have been committed. The resolution fully acknowledged once again the legitimate aspirations of the people of South Africa to benefit from all civil and political rights and to establish a united, non-racial and democratic society. We fully endorse this resolution. We call upon the Security Council to proceed urgently to consider action under Chapter VII of the Charter, so that an end may be put as soon as possible to the abhorrent system of apartheid.

While we are gravely concerned about the situation in South Africa itself, we are equally concerned over developments in Namibia, including the recent incursions, and over the lack of progress in the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) on the independence of Namibia.

This year marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and at the same

(Mr. Iacovou, Cyprus)

time the fortieth year of intensive efforts by the United Nations to bring about the independence of Namibia. Despite these solemn declarations and the efforts of the international community to put an end to colonialism and to ensure genuine independence for Namibia, South Africa's intransigence has blocked all progress.

In its latest attempt to circumvent the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia, the South African régime proceeded with its plans for a so-called internal settlement in Namibia by promoting puppet political institutions.

The refusal of South Africa to comply with the wish of the international community, as expressed in the relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, has been condemned by the Security Council and prompted the Non-Aligned Movement to convene an extraordinary plenary meeting of its Co-ordinating Bureau on the question of Namibia in New Delhi in April 1985.

Cyprus fully supports the heroic struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), their sole authentic representative. We shall continue to provide every possible assistance to the efforts made to achieve Namibia's genuine independence.

The position of Cyprus on the question of Western Sahara is fully in line with that of the Non-Aligned Movement, as expressed in its various declarations, including that of the seventh summit meeting, held in March 1983. We express the hope that a solution will be found along these lines.

The Central American region remains a hotbed of tension. The situation remains volatile and poses serious threats to regional and international peace. The need for dialogue instead of armed conflict cannot be overstressed. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States in the region, as well as non-interference in their internal affairs, are principles from which there can be no deviation.

(Mr. Iacovou, Cyprus)

The situation concerning Nicaragua has been of deep concern to the international community and the Non-Aligned Movement over the last few years. The Non-Aligned Movement has considered developments there repeatedly and has expressed its solidarity and support to the Government of Nicaragua, while actions aimed against the Government and people of Nicaragua have been strongly condemned.

The efforts of the Contadora Group, which we fully support, have not yet come to fruition. We hope that all concerned will co-operate constructively with the Group and will continue to work towards a negotiated peaceful solution to the problems of Central America.

While celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations we are bound to focus our attention on our own country, the small, historic island of Cyprus, where the Charter of the United Nations, its purposes and principles, and indeed the whole concept and effectiveness of this Organization are being tested.

There can be no excuse and no justification for the continuous military occupation of a significant part of Cyprus for 11 years now in complete defiance of the Charter of the United Nations and of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, an occupation which constitutes a sad reminder of flagrant violations not only of human rights but of almost everything that this Organization stands for and, at the same time, poses a distinct challenge to its authority.

(Mr. Iacovou, Cyprus)

In this fortieth anniversary year, our people are bewildered and wonder how, despite the principles of the Charter, the occupation of 37 per cent of our territory is allowed to continue; why they were expelled from their homes and to this day are denied voluntary return in conditions of safety, as required by United Nations resolutions; why 50,000 settlers from Turkey were transplanted into their homes; why an occupation army is still allowed to remain on our soil.

Likewise, they know that there exists no justification for the destruction of the cultural heritage being attempted in the occupied area, no justification whatsoever for the divisionist acts which have taken place in the occupied areas and which culminated in the proclamation of a so-called state and subsequent illegal acts in complete disregard and defiance of United Nations Security Council resolutions 541 (1938) and 550 (1984), which declared such acts null and void.

I reiterate once again our firm support for the mission of good offices of the United Nations Secretary-General and his initiative aimed at finding a just and viable solution to the problem. We co-operate fully and constructively with the Secretary-General and have all along helped him in his difficult task. This co-operation will continue with sincerity and good will. We call on all to do likewise and assist him in his efforts to find a solution of the problem. Our response to his latest initiative was positive and unequivocal and our reply was in the affirmative. This has already been referred to by the Secretary-General in his latest report to the Security Council, dated 11 June 1985.

The solution of the Cyprus problem must conform fully to the principles of the Charter, the relevant United Nations resolutions and the High Level Agreements. Turkey must abandon its partitionist designs and any other plans to control or dominate Cyprus, directly or indirectly.

(Mr. Iacovou, Cyprus)

I would like to reiterate what I have stated recently, that to strive for a solution of the problem is a duty we owe to ourselves, but, furthermore, to strive to reverse the effects of aggression is a duty that is owed to the world at large.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): We have heard the last speaker for this meeting.

The representative of El Salvador has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply. I remind him that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements made in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by representatives from their seats. I call on the representative of El Salvador.

Mr. MARTINEZ GUTIERREZ (El Salvador) (interpretation from Spanish): Once again, Cuba is committing an act of aggression against El Salvador. This time it is verbal aggression which is added to acts of aggression of other kinds undertaken directly and through others, in violation of the rights of the people of El Salvador. Its continued behaviour over the last few years, in particular from 1980 to this date, is eloquent proof of its responsibility in the Salvadorian conflict and for the high degree of suffering among the Salvadorian population. The support given by Cuba to the violent radical left of my country is highly significant. For that reason, and because it represents a strident and unqualified voice, it does not deserve a lengthy response in this exercise of the right of reply. Furthermore, because of the many political prisoners rotting in Cuba's gaols through conscience demands that we repudiate the hypocritical and ill-intentioned criticism leveled by the representatives of that régime.

The meeting rose at 7 p.m.

