



General Assembly

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PROVISIONAL

A/40/PV.22
4 October 1985

ENGLISH

Fortieth session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWENTY-SECOND MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 4 October 1985, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. DE PINIES (Spain)
later: Mr. KIILU (Vice-President) (Kenya)
later: Mr. DE PINIES (Spain)

- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements were made by:

Mr. Wolde (Ethiopia)
Mr. Kravets (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic)
Mr. Halefoglu (Turkey)
Mr. Hitam (Malaysia)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.25 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. WOLDE (Ethiopia): At the outset I should like, on behalf of the Ethiopian delegation and on my own behalf, to congratulate you, Sir, on your unanimous election to the presidency of this very important session of the General Assembly. I wish you every success, and assure you of the fullest co-operation of my delegation in the discharge of the onerous responsibilities entrusted to you.

I should like also to take this opportunity to express my delegation's appreciation to the outgoing President, Ambassador Paul Lusaka, for the able manner in which he guided the work of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

I also feel particularly happy to express my admiration for the diligence and skill with which our Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, is managing the affairs of the United Nations.

Forty years ago the vast majority of mankind collectively succeeded in bringing an end to the madness and horror of nazism and fascism. Beginning with the aggression against my country in 1935, these forces of darkness had spread death and destruction on an unprecedented scale throughout Europe, Africa and Asia.

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Embittered by this horror and inspired by the noble ideal of saving "succeeding generations from the scourge of war", the nations of the world entered into a covenant pledging to beat their swords into ploughshares, and established an international organization to harmonize their actions. The United Nations Charter is, thus, an embodiment of this commitment and of the deepest aspirations of mankind for peace, social progress and justice.

Since its founding, the United Nations has, without doubt, accomplished much. It has been instrumental in the acceleration of the decolonization process and has also contributed to the strengthening of global understanding and international co-operation in such diverse fields as economic and social development, the respect for human rights and the rights of peoples, and the elimination of all forms of discrimination.

However, given our immense capacity for collective endeavours, the wide gap that still exists between the achievements of the United Nations and our collective aspirations as enshrined in the Charter leaves no room for complacency, particularly in the present perilous international situation.

Mass poverty and the spectre of nuclear annihilation continue to constitute formidable challenges to our common resolve and goals of global peace and prosperity. Lack of trust among nations, the desire to achieve national objectives by the threat or use of force, and indifference to the lawless acts of some not only have run counter to the commitment we have undertaken in the Charter of the United Nations, but have actually become sources of global tension.

The retreat from multilateralism by some States has rendered the United Nations less effective in resolving conflicts and in arresting the ever-deteriorating economic and social conditions, particularly of the developing countries. No less ominous is the trend to undermine the effectiveness of multilateral institutions by actual or threatened withdrawal from important

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international organizations, such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Such manoeuvres obviously constitute an assault on the entire United Nations system and on the very concept of multilateral co-operation.

It is, of course, unfortunate that some consider the United Nations to be a mere forum for sterile polemics, where important and pressing international political, economic and social issues continue to appear perennially on the agenda of the General Assembly without any prospect of their resolution. Such views, I believe, underestimate the achievements and potentials of the United Nations.

In this context, we note with gratification the observance of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption in 1960 of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, a Declaration which stands as a living testimony to what the United Nations can achieve. The adoption of this Declaration was and still is an act of justice to those who have been and are still denied their inalienable rights to freedom and independence. By invoking this historic Declaration millions of subjugated peoples have been able to attain their independence and join the community of free nations.

One significant and important exception is, of course, Namibia. During the past four decades, the United Nations has adopted numerous resolutions on Namibia. But so far it has failed to dislodge the racist régime of Pretoria from its illegal occupation.

Indeed, the United Nations plan for Namibia, as contained in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), remains unimplemented as a result of the obduracy of the racist régime and the duplicity of some of its Western sponsors. By introducing extraneous issues into the implementation of the plan and by installing an illegal puppet administration in Windhoek, the forces of racism and imperialism have

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blocked the peaceful transition of Namibia to independence. In this connection, we vigorously condemn the so-called policy of linkage and call upon its proponent to abandon this self-serving stratagem and work with the United Nations in favour of the speedy decolonization of Namibia.

In South Africa, the struggle of the oppressed people has today reached a crucial stage. The fury of the masses has exploded into popular action. The flame of freedom has been set ablaze.

In the hope of extinguishing this flame, the racist régime has, none the less, responded with its all too familiar brutality. With the imposition of a state of emergency, the régime appears bent on leaving no stone unturned in its vain attempt to contain an uncontrollable situation. We are certain that the trepidation of Pretoria's fascist régime and its resort to naked force will only fuel the fire to stoke the flames of freedom and equality.

Already, the oppressed people in South Africa and Namibia are intensifying the armed struggle under the leadership of their liberation movements, the African National Congress (ANC) and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), respectively. We know for sure that the beginning of the end of the racist régime is well under way. But we equally recognize that, unless the international community acts more forcefully and decisively now, much blood is bound to be spilled in southern Africa. Pretoria will, of course, not be the only one to be held responsible for this crime against humanity. Those Western Powers that have aided and abetted racism for so long and continue to do so now will have to share the blame and responsibility.

To escape this responsibility, the Western Powers in general and the United States Government in particular must disengage and be seen to be disengaging themselves from the genocide in South Africa. They must also impress upon

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Mr. Botha that the policy of "constructive engagement" was not intended to destructively engage the defenceless people of South Africa with bayonets, bullets and bazookas. Disengagement from Pretoria must, therefore, be immediate and total. This, I submit, is the moral imperative of the time.

In this regard, we are encouraged by the popular movement in North America and Western Europe for the immediate and unconditional release of political prisoners, such as Nelson Mandela, and in support of sanctions against South Africa. Without the release of Nelson Mandela and other representatives of the South African people, there can be no effective political process in South Africa and no bridge can be built across the racial chasm.

As regards sanctions, we are discouraged by the hesitant and token measures so far taken by certain Western Governments and their attitude of selective morality. South Africa depends on the economies of the Western States, which are in a position to say, and have a moral obligation to say, to Pretoria, "we are not prepared to finance apartheid" which, I submit, is an outgrowth of nazism and fascism. The purpose of sanctions is to avert a racial blood-bath in southern Africa.

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Already the threat of financial sanctions and disinvestment has driven the leadership in Pretoria to think about reforms. But apartheid cannot be reformed. It has to be dismantled completely, and for that the pressure has to be continued. We therefore call upon Western Governments to join us here and now in the United Nations in imposing comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa through the instrumentality of the Security Council.

History has demonstrated that freedom, equality and independence do not come without sacrifice. The oppressed in southern Africa know this and, for their freedom and dignity, are prepared to sacrifice and are sacrificing even their lives, let alone the few marginal benefits that result from the merciless exploitation of their resources.

From this rostrum I pay a tribute and homage to the millions in Namibia and South Africa who have sacrificed so much for so long to bring closer the day of freedom and independence. Their cause is just and their sacrifices shall not be in vain. We in Ethiopia, indeed in the whole of Africa, are resolved to assist the armed struggle and the campaign to isolate Pretoria until Namibia accedes to independence and a just and democratic society is established in a united South Africa, with the current leadership swept on to the rubbish heap of history. Socialist Ethiopia also reaffirms its militant solidarity with the front-line and other neighbouring-States in their heroic efforts to withstand the onslaught and resist the pressure of racist Pretoria.

For close to four decades armed conflicts in the Middle East have not only claimed a huge toll of lives and destruction of property but have also been sources of grave danger to international peace and security. An end to the blood-letting in the area can only come about with the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all territories occupied since 1967 and the exercise by the suffering Palestinian

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people of their inalienable right to self-determination and to a sovereign and independent statehood.

Another essential ingredient for peace in the Middle East is scrupulous respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon and all other States in the region. In this connection, Ethiopia condemns the recent Israeli aggression against Tunisia and its deliberate extension of the Middle East conflict to the Maghreb.

Other international problems which still engage the attention of the international community are the Iran-Iraq war and the situations in Western Sahara, Afghanistan, the Korean peninsula, Kampuchea, Central America and Cyprus. Ethiopia's position on all these issues has been repeatedly expressed in the past from this same rostrum and needs no further elaboration. Nevertheless, I should like to reaffirm our solidarity with the Nicaraguan people and Government in their just struggle to defend their revolution and sovereignty from imperialist and externally-supported elements and express our full support for the Contadora peace process.

Our solidarity also goes to the Korean people, who are striving for their peaceful reunification. We are convinced that the withdrawal of foreign forces and the dismantling of foreign military bases in the peninsula will go a long way to accelerate the process of national reunification.

Our persistent expression of concern at the aggravation of international tension and our insistent call for the peaceful resolution of international conflict stem partly from knowledge of the possibility that any local, regional or international dispute could eventually lead to a nuclear confrontation. Nuclear weapons, as we all recognize, have made the world an unsafe place to live in. And yet no single issue has more completely failed to meet even the minimal aspirations of the peoples of the world than that of disarmament.

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The desire of imperialism to achieve military superiority under the guise of nuclear deterrence has surely exposed mankind to the danger of global nuclear holocaust. The so-called strategic defence initiative, contrary to the argument of its proponents, would undoubtedly markedly increase the risks of nuclear war. Every step in the sophistication of such weapons continues to accelerate man's journey to doomsday. With the nuclear arms race, not only have the sense of insecurity and the risks of nuclear war been increased but, as a result of the huge human, financial and material resources absorbed by arms production, the progress and prosperity of much of humanity has been unjustly forfeited.

We are, however, gratified to note that the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States have at long last agreed to meet in Geneva to resume serious bilateral negotiations on questions related to space and nuclear arms. We hope that the negotiations will open the way for an effective disarmament agreement.

We reiterate our steadfast position in favour of the denuclearization of Africa and the maintenance of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace as part of the disarmament process in general and the control of the spread of nuclear weapons in particular. In this respect and in line with the long-standing decisions of the United Nations and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, as well as those of the Organization of African Unity, we call once again for the elaboration of a treaty on the denuclearization of Africa and for the speedy convening of the conference on the Indian Ocean.

I should like now to turn to the very serious economic and social situation facing much of humanity. It is a fact of contemporary international life that the world economy is becoming more and more interdependent, requiring the intensification of co-operation among nations on a mutually beneficial basis. At the present time, however, world economic relations are unfortunately characterized by inequalities and imbalances to the disadvantage of the developing nations. The

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incessant and just call of the developing countries for the establishment of a new international economic order has so far been neglected and their efforts have been frustrated by the few nations which benefit from the existing lopsided relations.

Despite such resistance, the world community should none the less strive to bring about international co-operation in establishing a just and equitable international economic order. Co-operation implies a sense of shared responsibility for human welfare and an unswerving commitment to human solidarity. Failure to achieve global co-operation for the betterment of mankind will undoubtedly result in a grim alternative, the alternative of more rigid, fragmented and power-dominated international economic relations.

In this context, it is disturbing to note that the situation of the least developed countries, far from being ameliorated, has further deteriorated, largely owing to the devastating impacts of the international economic crisis and recurrent natural disasters. Although some donor countries have increased their assistance since the adoption of the Substantial New Programme of Action, its volume has been so insufficient and its distribution so uneven that it has failed to enable the least developed countries to achieve a minimum degree of performance in economic and social development as envisaged in the Programme.

The accelerated, effective and full implementation of the Programme during the remaining part of the decade, I submit, is a commitment that the international community has entered into and from which it cannot shy away.

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As is well-known, most of the least developed countries are in the African continent, whose already critical economic condition has been further exacerbated by the unfavourable world economic environment, characterized by the collapse of commodity prices, the spread of protectionism, the decline in official development assistance and the increasing burden of external indebtedness. Moreover, the fragile economies of African countries have also been hard hit by the prolonged drought and other natural calamities as well as by the alarming pace of desertification.

While this economic and social crisis of Africa has fortunately drawn the attention of the international community, Africa itself has set out long-term, medium-term, and short-term strategies at the national, sub-regional and regional levels, not only to cope with the emergency needs but also to lay the foundation for an internally-generated and self-reliant process of development.

Much of Africa's efforts and resources have to be complemented by that of the international community, however, and the twenty-first Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) has called for the convening of a special session of the United Nations General Assembly, both to sensitize further the world community and to mobilize additional resources. African leaders have also called for the convening of an international conference to search for ways and means to alleviate the heavy debt burden shouldered by many African States. We have every confidence that those calls will receive the favourable response they so rightly deserve from the international community.

While referring to the economic crises in Africa, I cannot but make some brief remarks about the situation in my own country. I have, of course, to preface my remarks by expressing the deep and heartfelt gratitude of the Ethiopian people and Government, to all those Governments, to the United Nations system, to intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, to the relief workers, the

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artists and the media, indeed to all men and women of goodwill who have so generously given us assistance to save the lives of the drought victims in Ethiopia. Without their help and assistance, thousands would have perished for lack of food and adequate medical care.

In this connection, a sincere word of thanks is due to Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, Secretary-General of the United Nations and to all the heads of the agencies within the United Nations family, indeed, to all those indefatigable international civil servants for all they have done to give life and hope to millions of my compatriots. At this juncture, I would be remiss in my duty if I were to fail to express Ethiopia's gratitude to Mr. Bradford Morse and his colleagues in the Office for Emergency Operations in Africa and to Mr. Kurt Jansson, the United Nations Assistant Secretary-General for Emergency Operations in Ethiopia, whose unparalleled contributions and compassion have strengthened our faith in both the United Nations and in humanity at large.

While relief assistance and logistical support from the international community will have to continue for the immediate future, I have to stress that attention and assistance must now be focused more on how best to avoid similar tragedies in the future. This, of course, leads us to the question of rehabilitation and long-term development.

For its part, the Ethiopian Government has already mapped out strategies for an integrated rural development, including the voluntary settlement of people from drought-prone areas to more fertile, but sparsely populated parts of the country. Mobilizing the human, material and financial resources at its disposal, the Government has so far settled over half a million people in the more fertile parts of the country. Furthermore, the Ethiopian Government has already determined that food production and the rehabilitation of agriculture will be given high priority in the nation's development efforts. All these plans will, undoubtedly, require

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resources, of various kinds, which we do not possess in adequate amount. Much as we are determined to make the present tragedy the last in our history, we dare hope that the international community will help us in this noble endeavour by matching its humanitarian relief assistance with increased support for rehabilitation and development.

At a time when the Ethiopian people and Government have been engaged in a massive campaign to contain and indeed eliminate the consequences of drought, an operation was set in motion by Israel, with the connivance and participation of the régime of former President Nimeiry, to lure and forcibly abduct members of the Ethiopian Falasha community to Israel. The Falashas, who have lived among their Ethiopian compatriots for thousands of years and who have no connection with Israel whatsoever, were uprooted from their original habitat and are now living in a land with which they have no cultural, geographical, historical, religious or anthropological links. Discriminated against and totally isolated from the Israeli society, they now lead a strange and miserable life in Israel. From this rostrum, I therefore call upon the United Nations and the international community to help us in the immediate and unconditional repatriation of our Ethiopian compatriots, to live in dignity, in the land of their birth where they rightfully belong.

In connection with the plight of children, I am happy to inform this Assembly that the Ethiopian Government is fully committed to realize the goal of universal immunization by the year 1990. Already a trial immunization campaign is under way in Addis Ababa in which most of the children under the age of two have been immunized. This campaign will be expanded in a phased manner throughout the country. In commending the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the World Health Organization (WHO) and their executive heads for their efforts in this regard, I should like to call upon the international community to increase its assistance to Member States and to the agencies involved.

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Regarding the status of women, one of the most productive segments of our society, again, Ethiopia recognizes that its revolution would not be complete, and indeed, would be less deserving of that name without the full and effective participation of our women in the development process. We therefore welcome the successful conclusion of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women held recently in Nairobi and the adoption by consensus of the Forward Looking Strategies.

Over the past 40 years, the United Nations has traversed a long and difficult path and we can all be proud that our Organization has survived, and has even thrived in some respects. Its membership has grown threefold, while the network of organizations within it and the variety of activities undertaken by it have greatly expanded. For us this underlines the fact that the United Nations remains the last hope of mankind and the sole universal forum for multilateral efforts in the search for solutions to common problems.

Although the past performance of the United Nations leaves much to be desired, its failures cannot be ascribed to shortcomings in the structure and function of the Organization. The strength and weakness of the Organization corresponds to the support which its Members are ready or reluctant to give it. Our task today should, therefore, be one of introspection. We should also utilize this occasion to rededicate ourselves to the noble objectives of the United Nations. We have to strive that the future which we will bequeath to our children and grandchildren will be markedly different from the past we had to endure.

Let us, therefore, march forward together with the United Nations for a better world, and in the meantime, the struggle continues.

Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): Mr. President, please accept our warm congratulations on your election to the presidency of the fortieth anniversary session of the General Assembly of the United Nations and to wish you every success in this responsible work.

We wish also to pay due tribute to Ambassador Paul Lusaka for the skilful and qualified way in which he led the work of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR would like to express its deep condolences to the people and the Government of Mexico over the very heavy earthquakes that have caused much loss of life and much destruction in that country.

As we celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, it is quite appropriate to look back at the path traversed by the Organization, to try to appraise its achievements and to consider what it has to do in the future and how its effectiveness can be enhanced.

The United Nations was created during and immediately after the greatest battle of peoples to save civilization from Fascist barbarity. From the extremely trying times of the Second World War, in which the Ukrainian SSR alone suffered the loss of one-sixth of its population, emerged the idea of uniting peoples for peace. The States of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, which called themselves the United Nations, joined together in the pursuit of the most humane possible goal, namely, "to save a succeeding generations from the scourge of war". They have enshrined this goal in the Charter of their Organization.

We wish to pay tribute to the founders of the United Nations and its Charter, who devised the fundamental principles and mechanisms of international relations, which even today, after forty years, in this new nuclear and space age, have forfeited none of their importance. The United Nations Charter, which calls upon all countries "to live together in peace as good neighbours", reflects the concept

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of peaceful coexistence among States with different social systems. This document lays down the just and democratic principles of the non-use of force, sovereign equality, freedom and self-determination of peoples, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion. This is, in effect, a concise description of the better world which our Organization is striving to achieve.

We believe that mobilizing the efforts of all countries for the solution of the key problem of our time, that of preventing thermonuclear war and preserving life on Earth, would be a fitting tribute to the Organization's fortieth anniversary. The solution of all other urgent problems and the very survival of human civilization depend on whether the world can avoid a nuclear catastrophe.

The fortieth session of the General Assembly is taking place against the backdrop of a sharp deterioration in the international situation caused by the actions of imperialist forces. The United States, with the support of its closest North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) allies, is continuing to whip up the arms race, and is pursuing a course aimed at achieving military superiority and blatantly interfering in the internal affairs of sovereign States. The plans of the United States Administration and its military-industrial complex, designed to turn outer space into an arena of military rivalry, pose a special danger.

In the NATO camp, and above all in the Federal Republic of Germany, revanchist forces, trying to cast doubt on the results of the Second World War and the post-war structure, have become more active. They are openly and provocatively calling for a return to the frontiers of 1937 and for the creation of some kind of future Europe of the so-called "free peoples", in which there is to be no place

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left for the States of the socialist system. It is not difficult to see where this pernicious road is leading.*

The key question today is how to halt the arms race, which has assumed global dimensions, how to prevent its spread into outer space and how to make a start on reducing the already existing means of mass annihilation of human beings. The Soviet Union has repeatedly emphasized that in reducing and limiting any type of arms it will go as far as its negotiating partners are prepared to go. The Soviet Union is ready for the most radical measures in order to prevent an arms race in outer space and to end it on Earth. Indeed, instead of inventing so-called "means of defending" oneself from nuclear warheads, would it not be better and safer to agree to reduce and then to eliminate altogether the very means of such attack?

The socialist countries want an end to be put to the arms race and are calling for a radical solution to the problem of nuclear weapons: their complete prohibition and elimination. I should like to emphasize that this is not a time-serving policy nor is it a propaganda ploy, of which some are often trying to accuse us, but the basic course pursued by the countries of the socialist community in their external policies. A very apt response to critics of this kind was given by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Sergeevich Gorbachev, who said:

"We have ceased nuclear explosions. You Americans could take your revenge by doing likewise. You could deal us yet another propaganda blow, say, by suspending the development of one of your new strategic missiles. And we would respond with the same kind of 'propaganda'. And so on and so forth. Would anyone, I wonder, be harmed by competition in such 'propaganda'?"

* Mr. Kiilu (Kenya), Vice-President, took the Chair.

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It is by no means a propaganda effect that we, together with other peoples of the world, expect from the forthcoming meeting between the leaders of the Soviet Union and of the United States. The time has come to put Soviet-American relations on a normal track, because, after all, the destinies of the world and of world civilization depend on relations between these two countries. As has been demonstrated in the general debate at the current session of the General Assembly, all those who adopt an attitude of political realism are ready to contribute to the success of this meeting and are indeed pinning serious hopes on it.

In the present tense international situation the initiative of the Soviet Union, which led to the start of the Soviet-American negotiations on nuclear and space arms in Geneva, was, in our view, of particular importance.

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The Soviet Union, in proposing a dialogue to the United States, was guided by a deep sense of responsibility for the cause of world peace. Convincing proof of this is provided by its constructive proposals to declare a moratorium on the development, including research, testing and deployment, of space strike weapons and a freeze on strategic nuclear weapons. To demonstrate its sincerity and good will the USSR has announced a unilateral cessation until next November of the further deployment of its medium-range weapons and suspension of other counter-measures in Europe. This constructive step has been commended by the world community.

If it sincerely wished to reach agreement, the other side would have surely made use of those proposals and actions; but all indications are that the United States does not want this. It is feverishly carrying out a gigantic programme of accelerated development of further new types of weapons of mass destruction, it is proceeding with the deployment of first-strike nuclear missiles in Europe in the futile hope of achieving military superiority over the socialist countries and has already begun testing anti-satellite weapons.

Washington is, in fact, using the ongoing negotiations as a screen for its aggressive plans. How else can one explain that when the Geneva talks were already under way the United States took a decision to allocate \$1.5 billion for the construction of 21 additional MX missiles which were blasphemously called the "peace-keeper"? It is difficult to trust the assurances given by the United States side that it intends to conduct the dialogue in a constructive spirit, given its actions undermining the SALT II Treaty. Moreover, the United States Administration plans to amputate the fundamental provisions of the SALT II Treaty as soon as they become obstacles to its programmes for the development and stockpiling of strategic

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weapons. It is the duty of the General Assembly to appraise such actions and resolutely speak out against any steps which would undermine the existing system of agreements in the field of arms limitation and disarmament.

The fact that the United States is seeking not the cessation of the nuclear-arms race but an arms build-up is clearly reflected in the approach of the United States Administration to the issue of the non-militarization of outer space. It is clear even to a layman that one cannot seriously expect progress in the field of nuclear disarmament if in parallel to that the "star wars" programme is being implemented. Between 1983 and 1993 the United States is planning to spend \$70 billion on preparations for "star wars". We are profoundly convinced that the realization of these sinister projects would sharply increase the danger of war and disrupt efforts to limit and reduce arms in all areas.

Just as the development of nuclear arms did not eliminate conventional weapons but spurred on the race in both types of arms, the development of space weapons will have the same effect: the arms race will further intensify, spread to new fields and assume an uncontrolled and irreversible character. Talk about the allegedly defensive nature of space strike weapons cannot and must not deceive anyone. The truth is that the United States proposes, with the help of the strategic defence initiative, to paralyse the Soviet Union's strategic weapons, hoping in vain that it would acquire the possibility of making a first nuclear strike while remaining immune to retaliation.

Those officials in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries who believe that Washington's military space plans are directed only against the Soviet Union and its friends and allies are deeply mistaken. Such a position is, to say the least, short-sighted. It ignores the fact that the extension of the arms race

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to outer space creates a threat of a global nature, upsetting strategic stability in the world as a whole and affecting the vital interests of the peoples of all countries and continents.

A sensible alternative to that fatal course is the new Soviet proposal on international co-operation in the peaceful exploration of outer space in conditions of its non-militarization.

It should not be permitted that mankind, standing on the threshold of the space age, should be subjected to a mortal danger from outer space instead of making outer space serve peaceful and creative purposes and bring increasingly tangible benefits for the improvement of life of the inhabitants of that planet. I repeat that the only reasonable choice worthy of the space age can and must be made in favour of preventing the militarization of outer space and reserving it for peaceful activities.

The document entitled "Main Directions and Principles of International Co-operation in the Peaceful Exploration of Outer Space in Conditions of its Non-militarization", which has been submitted for consideration at this session, stresses that the militarization of outer space would create insurmountable barriers to the development of wide-ranging and equitable international co-operation in the peaceful exploration of outer space for the benefit of the economic and social progress of all peoples and permitting the solution of global problems facing mankind, including those of development, and the elimination of economic backwardness.

In order to set in motion the process of interaction among States in conditions of the non-militarization of outer space, it is being proposed that a world space organization should be established with the aim of harmonizing, co-ordinating and uniting the efforts of States in peaceful space activities,

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including assistance in this field to the developing countries, as well as helping to verify compliance with the agreements which have already been concluded or which will be concluded with a view to preventing an arms race in space. After the necessary preparatory work, a representative international conference could be convened, by 1987 at the latest, to consider in its entirety the issue of international co-operation in the peaceful exploration of outer space in conditions of its non-militarization and to agree on the main directions and principles of such co-operation.

We also support the proposal of the Polish People's Republic on the desirability of preparing, under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary-General, a study of the harmful consequences of the militarization of outer space.

The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR also considers it necessary to address specifically the question of the cessation of all nuclear-weapon tests. The urgent need to solve this problem is evident. It is well known that tests serve to accelerate the nuclear-arms race, in the course of which new, increasingly dangerous kinds and types of weapons of mass destruction are developed and perfected. In 1982 a document was submitted for consideration at the United Nations General Assembly, entitled "Basic Provisions for a Treaty on the General and Complete Prohibition of Nuclear Weapon Tests". The overwhelming majority of States supported that proposal. The only dissenting voices were those of the United States and its closest allies - of those on whom its realization actually depends.

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The United States Administration did not respond to the proposal for introducing, on a mutually agreed date, a moratorium on all nuclear explosions, saying that American nuclear tests would continue because they were necessary for the modernization of the existing nuclear weapons and the production of new ones.

In seeking to put an end to the dangerous competition in the build-up of nuclear arsenals, the Soviet Union decided unilaterally to cease all nuclear explosions as of 6 August of this year, the date which is known throughout the world as the day marking the tragedy of Hiroshima. There is no doubt that a mutual moratorium by the USSR and the United States on all nuclear explosions would be a good example to all other States which possess nuclear weapons.

As you know, the Soviet moratorium is to be in effect until 1 January 1986, but it could continue even beyond that date if the United States refrained from setting off nuclear explosions.

In addition to other measures in the field of disarmament, it would be of major importance if all nuclear Powers followed the example of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China and pledged not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. This step would amount to the elimination of the threat of nuclear war.

Following the tests of nuclear weapons and the test of the anti-satellite system ASAT, the United States is embarking on large-scale production of a qualitatively new kind of chemical weapon, the so-called binary weapon. The House-Senate Conference Committee of the United States Congress, under strong pressure from the Administration and the Pentagon, has recommended that \$155 million should be earmarked for this purpose in 1986; overall \$10 billion is to be spent on the programme for producing binary chemical weapons. At Pine Bluff, Arkansas, the first factory, with a productive capacity of 70,000 units of binary munitions, consisting of artillery shells and air bombs, is now ready to go into operation. In accordance with the United States military strategy, binary chemical

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weapons are intended for offensive operations and are to be used in a first strike situation. Thus, these weapons take on a strategic significance. It is worthy of note that all this is happening while the Geneva Disarmament Conference is engaged in painstaking efforts to draft an international convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons. Here again, as in other areas of arms limitation, the practical steps taken by the United States Administration are very much at variance with its pronouncements.

The United States binary weapons programme poses a major military danger, particularly to Europe, since binary weapons - and Washington does not conceal this fact - are to be deployed on the territories of West European countries - the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and some others.

It is quite clear that, if those plans were to be implemented, Europe would be turned into a potential theatre of chemical warfare in which, by the logic of things, the civilian population would become the main victim. Western experts estimate that, in chemical warfare, casualties among civilians are 20 to 30 times higher than military casualties. Western Europe would thus become the Pentagon's dual hostage for both nuclear and chemical warfare.

The socialist countries are strongly in favour of ridding Europe of chemical weapons. They put forward a proposal to this effect in 1983. The Ukrainian SSR supports the proposal of the Governments of the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia, addressed to the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, on establishing a chemical weapon-free-zone in Central Europe.

Implementing the socialist countries' proposals on the mutual freezing of military expenditures and their subsequent reduction, and on the mutual non-use of military force and the maintenance of peaceful relations between the countries parties to the Warsaw Treaty and the States members of NATO would be a substantial

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contribution to curbing the arms race and to achieving disarmament.

In this connection, we would like once again to emphasize most strongly that a world without wars and weapons, a world of good-neighbourliness and co-operation, a world of friendship among nations is the ideal of socialism and the goal of our policy. Precisely for this reason the Ukrainian SSR is in favour of finding radical solutions to the key problems of our time on a fair and equitable basis and in a way which would help us all to move towards the cherished goal of completely eliminating the threat of nuclear war and consolidating the foundations of world peace. We want the forces and energies of people and the genius of mankind to be directed, not at developing new means of destruction, but at eliminating hunger, poverty and disease and at attaining the goals of peaceful development.

This year will mark the fifteenth anniversary of the adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. This date should be an occasion for joint efforts by Member States to find ways to implement the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and to adopt specific collective measures to eliminate conflicts and crisis situations, put an end to acts of aggression and eradicate the vestiges of colonialism. Unfortunately, there remain quite a few so-called hotbeds of tension on our planet.

A dangerous source of tension persists in the Middle East. Its causes are well known. It is the aggressive, expansionist policy of Israel. A few days ago Israel carried out yet another alarming act of aggression against Tunisia, grossly flouting all norms of international law. All this is being done with the aid, protection and connivance of the United States, whose aim is to place the Middle East region under its direct military and political control.

The interests of peace and international security urgently require that a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement in the Middle East be achieved without delay. Such a settlement can be achieved only through joint efforts with the

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participation of all the parties concerned. The harmful practice of separate partial deals infringing the legitimate rights of the Arabs, and of the Palestinians in particular, only tends to aggravate the situation in the region.

We believe that the best way of putting into effect the well-known principles of a Middle East settlement is to convene an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations and with the participation of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization.

As a result of Washington's aggressive policies the situation in Central America is becoming more and more grave. There is a growing threat of a direct armed intervention by the United States in Nicaragua, while military and other United States interference in the civil war in El Salvador is expanding and the threats and pressure against Cuba are continuing.

The policies of aggression and State-sponsored terrorism conducted by the United States against the countries and peoples of Central America, and in particular against sovereign Nicaragua, are in flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and of the elementary rules of relations among States.

The Ukrainian SSR stands solidly behind the just struggle of the Nicaraguan people in their defence of the independence of their country and the achievements of their revolution.*

* The President returned to the Chair.

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We are convinced that the existing problems must and can be settled through negotiations on a mutually acceptable basis, with due regard for the legitimate interests of all countries in the region and with full respect for their sovereignty. A real opportunity for this has been provided by the initiatives of the Government of Nicaragua and the negotiating mechanism for the settlement of the situation in Central America, that is, the Contadora group. Safeguarding the sovereign rights of Nicaragua is of fundamental importance for defending the freedom and independence of all small States.

The situation in southern Africa has become particularly grave. Relying on its alliance with the United States and enjoying the support of Israel and some other countries, the racist régime is stepping up its acts of aggression against neighbouring African States, primarily against Angola, intensifying terror and repression against the civilian population and anti-apartheid fighters, and continuing its illegal occupation of Namibia, while blocking in every possible way a solution of the Namibian problem.

The Ukrainian SSR believes that a decision by the Security Council to impose comprehensive sanctions against South Africa in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter should be adopted forthwith. Only such a decisive step can compel the racists to stop their aggressive acts against Angola and other African States, comply with United Nations decisions on the granting of independence to Namibia, and put an end to the shameful system of apartheid.

The twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples this year should be marked by the adoption of effective measures aimed at the final eradication of the vestiges of colonialism and the elimination of racism and apartheid.

The unlawful actions of the United States with respect to Micronesia are clearly contrary to the goals of the Declaration on decolonization. The intention of the United States to legitimize the dismemberment and annexation of that

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Territory and turn it into its strategic military and nuclear staging area poses a threat not only to the people of Micronesia but also to other countries of the region and runs counter to the desire of the States of the Pacific to establish a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific. The Ukrainian SSR believes that the United Nations should take all necessary steps in order to prevent the colonial subjugation of Micronesia by the United States of America.

As a result of the separatist actions carried out in part of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus that is under foreign military occupation, the threat to the existence of Cyprus as an independent States and to its territorial integrity has substantially increased. We favour the withdrawal of foreign troops and the removal of military bases from the island and a just settlement of the Cyprus problem on the basis of the relevant United Nations resolutions, without outside interference and with due regard for the legitimate interests of both communities. The mission of the Secretary-General, authorized by the Security Council quite recently, aimed at promoting a lasting and just settlement is of major importance in this context.

Creating a healthier environment on the Asian continent would be facilitated by the realization of the initiatives calling for an overall comprehensive approach to the problems of security in Asia and a possible concertation of efforts of the Asian States in this direction. Implementation of the proposal of the Mongolian People's Republic on concluding a convention on mutual non-aggression and the non-use of force in relations among the States of Asia and the Pacific and the conversion of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace would all contribute to a relaxation of tensions in the region.

The Ukrainian SSR expresses its solidarity with the struggle of the Korean People's Democratic Republic for the peaceful reunification of Korea, the withdrawal of United States troops from South Korea, and the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone on the Korean Peninsula.

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The Ukrainian SSR supports the constructive proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan paving the way to a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. We also give our full support to the well-known initiatives of Viet Nam, Laos and the People's Republic of Kampuchea regarding the normalization of the situation in South-East Asia.

The founding States Members of the United Nations which signed its Charter 40 years ago regarded the promotion of economic and social advancement of all nations as one of the primary goals of the Organization. It is indisputable that the United Nations has contributed to resolving this problem. We need only recall that it was within the United Nations that many progressive principles and recommendations have been drawn up contributing to economic decolonization and greater sovereignty of the developing countries over their natural resources and facilitating wide-ranging international co-operation in the trade and economic areas. These principles are reflected in their most concentrated and complete form in such documents as the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States and the Declaration and Programme Action of Action on the Establishment of the New International Economic Order, which are of key importance for normalizing international relations in this area.

The fact that it has still not proved possible to implement those documents is entirely the fault of the developed capitalist countries, which are trying to preserve their dominant position in the system of international economic relations and are not averse to using crude methods of power pressure such as diktat, sanctions and blackmail. They are resorting to unilateral, narrowly self-serving actions that disorganize the entire system of international economic relations and have a particularly harmful impact on the developing countries. The Ukrainian SSR strongly condemns such a course.

The programme of action proposed by the socialist countries could, in our view, usefully serve the purpose of improving international economic relations,

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ensuring economic security and building confidence in this most important area of relations among States. Enhancing the role of the United Nations and its agencies is one of the organic elements of this programme adopted at the summit conference of the countries members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), held in June 1984. Our delegation will be guided by that approach in the consideration of a broad range of economic issues included in the agenda of the present session.

Economic and social progress is possible only if individual rights and freedoms are guaranteed. Achievements of the Ukrainian SSR serve as striking proof of that fact. Formerly a backward appendage of tsarist Russia, where foreign capital was predominant and 80 per cent of the population was illiterate, our Republic has achieved in a short historical span of time impressive successes in all spheres of human activity.

A guaranteed right to work and to fair remuneration, the society's concern for the individual from birth to old age, flourishing national culture, respect for the dignity and the rights of the individual and active participation of workers in government are all enduring values and organic features of the socialist way of life.

The Twenty-Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Twenty-Seventh Congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party will be an important stage in accomplishing the grandiose tasks of our further development. To implement our plans we need durable peace. Vladimir Shcherbitsky, Member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and First Secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party, has emphasized that "the preservation of peace and, above all, the prevention of nuclear war has become a task of genuinely paramount importance to all mankind".

The Ukrainian SSR intends to work actively with other States Members of the United Nations in order to ensure universal peace and security and develop wide-ranging, mutually beneficial and equitable international co-operation.

Mr. HALEFOGLU (Turkey): I have the pleasure of congratulating you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the fortieth session of the General Assembly. I am confident that under your guidance this session will constitute a significant and meaningful milestone in the life of the United Nations by giving us the opportunity to make an assessment of the past 40 years while trying to look constructively into the future.

I wish also to pay a warm tribute to the President of the thirty-ninth session, Ambassador Paul Lusaka of Zambia. His conduct of the work of the General Assembly contributed substantially to the success of the previous session.

I should like first of all to express, on behalf of the people and Government of Turkey, our profound feelings of sorrow and condolences to the people and Government of Mexico for the terrible earthquake that occurred in Mexico recently, entailing great loss of life and heavy material damage. As a country which has often suffered from earthquakes and other natural disasters, we fully understand the tragedy that has befallen the Mexican people and sympathize with them.

In trying to contribute to the collective assessment that the fortieth anniversary prompts us to make, I should first like to underline two major developments of the post-war era around which numerous other related issues seem to cluster. There have indeed been drastic and profound changes in the world during the past four decades and consequently in the thrust, scope and general orientation of international relations.

First, the end of the Second World War brought in an era of sharp divisions in the form of East-West tensions coupled with ever-growing security concerns of a different magnitude. Nuclear weapons and the dilemmas arising out of their existence are also now in their fortieth year. Efforts for a progression from a cold war to a stable relationship through the search for détente and co-operation,

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and for arms control and disarmament, have not yet taken us to a point that could correspond to the basic assumption of the Charter.

Secondly, the world political scene has changed in more than one way, as reflected by the process of decolonization in which the United Nations has played such a decisive role. This process has in turn modified not only the composition and structure of the United Nations, but has also made a profound impact on the approach to the problems facing hundreds of millions of people as well as on their order of priorities. Decolonization has given effect and meaning to a large extent to the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples enshrined in the Charter and to the universality of the Organization. This process has yet to be completed. On the other hand, the economic problems of the developing countries have not been adequately and effectively addressed. The vision of the founding fathers of this Organization which initiated a new political order of the world should be coupled with steps towards the adjustment and improvement of the world economic structure.

There is no doubt that the United Nations system has been instrumental in providing economic and technical assistance to the developing countries. However, basic problems, starting with hunger and poverty in the world and extending to the debt problem of the developing countries, have remained with us.

Many global issues and regional questions on the agenda of this session have been with us from preceding years, some in fact since the inception of the Organization. As we commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the new beginning made in San Francisco, persistent armed conflicts, confrontation and acts of violence continue to dominate the international scene.

My Government is committed to support every realistic effort aimed at improving the international climate and promoting just and equitable solutions to existing problems through peaceful means. My Government's basic approach to

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all international, regional and bilateral issues is guided by the overriding importance we place on dialogue and negotiations. Our geographic location and our experiences constantly enhance our awareness of the fundamental need for both regional and international peace and security. These are the main pillars of the Turkish foreign policy laid down more than 60 years ago by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the founder of the Turkish Republic.

Improvement of East-West relations is the key to progress in vital questions related to the future and indeed to the very survival of humanity. The search for détente through constructive dialogue and broad co-operation, as well as the strengthening of peace by establishing a stable military balance at the lowest possible level of forces through arms control and disarmament, are the basic goals to which we reaffirm our commitment in this context.

We have welcomed the negotiations in Geneva between the United States and the Soviet Union on their strategic and intermediate-range nuclear weapons and defence and space systems. These negotiations, intended to work out effective agreements between the two countries, enjoy the support of all nations. Moderation and restraint in the general context of international relations would facilitate the search for agreement in all three areas of negotiation.

Lack of confidence has stood out for too long as the most salient feature of the international scene and has cast uncertainty on the future by increasing tensions and risks of confrontation. The approaching summit meeting between the United States and the Soviet Union rekindled expectations for future efforts gradually to reverse this trend. We hope eventual progress towards a better understanding between the two countries will help pave the way for tangible results in other related areas.

(Mr. Halefoglu, Turkey)

Confidence building on a wider scale constitutes an important prerequisite for the success of disarmament initiatives. Progress on all aspects of arms control and disarmament through balanced and verifiable agreements continue to be our basic aim in this field.

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Negotiations have been under way for verifiable reductions in conventional forces in Europe, as well as verifiable confidence-building measures covering the whole of Europe which have yet to produce militarily significant and politically binding agreements. In a world-wide context, a comprehensive and verifiable ban on chemical weapons is the imminent task in the face of the proliferation and use of such weapons.

International co-operation in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion is one of the basic purposes of the United Nations. Human rights, as highlighted by the Charter, embody the concept of non-discrimination and are directly related to the concepts of international peace, security and justice. Gross and persistent violations, such as the system of apartheid, are bound to provoke the reaction of the international community and lead to tensions that endanger peace and stability. Racism and racial discrimination should be eradicated in all their forms. The grave situation and the social and political unrest in South Africa arising from the policy of apartheid have continued to place a heavy burden on both the human conscience and international relations.

Turkey has never established political or economic ties with the racist régime of Pretoria and on every occasion has raised its voice against the inhuman and degrading policy of the Government of South Africa against the black majority. We sincerely hope that all citizens of South Africa will soon enjoy human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Besides the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, 1985 also marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In spite of the great contribution of the United Nations to the process of decolonization throughout these years, we are still faced with situations where colonization and oppression persist.

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World public opinion has this year focused more than ever its attention on developments in southern Africa and has persistently called on South Africa, both within and outside the United Nations, to alter radically its policies with regard to Namibia. The United Nations has a direct legal responsibility for the achievement of Namibian independence, through the exercise of the right to self-determination by the people of Namibia in accordance with the unanimously adopted resolution of the Security Council.

It is clear then that unilateral action by South Africa in Namibia constitutes a direct affront to the expectations of world public opinion. Neither the humanitarian dimension of the problem, nor the continued use of Namibian territory as an outpost for military operations can be overlooked or tolerated.

As a founding member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, we shall continue to give support to the legitimate and just struggle of the people of Namibia, as well as the efforts of the Secretary-General for the implementation of the relevant Security Council resolutions on Namibian independence.

Another area which requires better awareness and firm international co-operation is the question of terrorism in all its aspects. We hold the view that international terrorism is a direct threat to human rights. Since the right to life is the most elementary and obvious of all human rights, it should be more effectively protected against this menace. The formulation of measures and the promotion of effective international co-operation to prevent, combat and punish all acts of international terrorism have become an urgent task. When one remembers the linkages which have been identified and exposed between the illicit traffic in narcotic drugs, arms smuggling, and international terrorism, there can be no hesitation on the need to fight this very real danger against humanity and international life.

(Mr. Halefoglu, Turkey)

I regret to say that since the last General Assembly new mass violations of human rights have been added to those already existing. In some cases national minorities, safeguarded by international agreements, are being deprived of their basic rights. Widespread oppression includes such methods as the forcible change of names and identities, interference with religious practices, proscription against cultural and ethnic preservation and injunction against emigration. No distorted historical argument may justify such flagrant violations of human rights. We hope that the international community will find ways to remedy this intolerable situation that contradicts all basic standards of contemporary societies.

The tragic situation in the Middle East, which constitutes a serious threat to world peace, requires our utmost attention. We believe that a lasting solution cannot be found unless the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people are recognized. The common approach reached between Jordan and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) may provide an opportunity for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. We should like to hope that all the parties directly concerned will not fail to seize the opportunities this initiative has created, with reciprocal goodwill and political vision.

We are aware, however, that peace in the Middle East is indivisible and that a just and lasting comprehensive settlement in the Middle East, one that must satisfy the legitimate rights and concerns of all the parties involved, will continue to elude us until Israel withdraws from Arab territories under its occupation since 1967, including Jerusalem.

It is most unfortunate that Israel, instead of adopting a conciliatory attitude that would contribute to enhancing chances for a negotiated settlement, continues to aggravate the situation further. The recent act of aggression by

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against the sovereignty of a peace-loving country, Tunisia, should also be condemned as a flagrant violation of international law and the basic principles of the Charter.

Throughout the year, we have followed with growing concern and much anguish the developments that have tragically obscured hopes for the restoration of calm and order in Lebanon. We have always regarded the preservation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon as an essential element for the stability of the region. In this context, Lebanon needs and deserves support from all of us in its quest for addressing effectively the threatening chaos that has regrettably been prevailing on its soil. We should, therefore, like to call on Israel promptly to withdraw those elements of its forces that are still in southern Lebanon. Any undue delay in the removal of the obstacles preventing Lebanon from recovering its territorial integrity and achieving national reconciliation, free from any outside interference, would entail further human suffering and would hamper diplomatic efforts for peace in the Middle East as a whole.

(Mr. Halefoglu, Turkey)

Turkey is deeply distressed by the prolongation and escalation of the war between Iran and Iraq, which endangers the stability and security of the region. Being the only neighbour of both Iran and Iraq, and having deep-rooted relations of friendship with them, we are exerting efforts to help bring the devastating war to an early end. We deeply regret the human suffering and material losses of the two nations. We also regret that the efforts made by the Secretary-General of our Organization, as well as by other eminent individuals, have not thus far produced solid results.

Turkey is also trying to make its contribution to those efforts both at a bilateral level and within the framework of the Peace Committee of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. We are maintaining our dialogue with the two parties and we continue to be available for any assistance we can give them. We regret that common ground has not yet been found between the two sides which might provide a basis for a mutually agreeable, lasting and honourable peace. Meanwhile Turkey has contributed, through the Turkish Red Crescent, to the exchange of prisoners-of-war between the two countries, which may to some extent alleviate the immense human suffering in this war.

The situation in Afghanistan continues to be a major source of concern which adversely affects the international climate. We respect and admire the resolve of the Afghan people freely to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination, secure the withdrawal of foreign military forces from Afghanistan and ensure the voluntary return of Afghan refugees to their country. In this connection, we should also like to reiterate our appreciation to the Government of Pakistan for its sincere and constructive attitude vis-à-vis the efforts of the Secretary-General, as well as for its continued humanitarian assistance to millions of Afghan refugees. Meanwhile, repeated violations of Pakistan's air space and territory are a matter of particular concern.

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No less important is the situation in Kampuchea. The policy of seeking a military solution in Kampuchea which destabilizes South-East Asia and entails grave human suffering should be abandoned. A comprehensive political settlement requires the withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea and the exercise of the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny. In this respect, we continue to support the efforts of the member countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), which have consistently worked for a political settlement.

I should also like to stress the significance we attach to the continuing search for effective dialogue in the Korean peninsula in order to develop peaceful solutions to all the questions between the two sides and thus pave the way to their representation in our universal Organization. To emphasize the humanitarian aspect of the existing problems would be most effective way to create the favourable climate necessary for meaningful progress. Therefore we welcome the recent efforts designed to diminish inter-Korean tensions.

Central America remains under the influence of regional tensions and armed conflicts despite the efforts of the Contadora Group. Strained political relations, combined with persistent economic and social problems, adversely affect the search for peace and stability in the region. The climate of confrontation, extending beyond the area, has made an unfavourable impact on international relations. We hope the process initiated by the Contadora Group will maintain its momentum and will continue to enjoy the genuine political support of all the interested parties.

Consistent with our basic approach of settling international disputes through negotiations, we support the good offices mission of the United Nations Secretary-General on the question of Cyprus. We regret, however, that a historic opportunity was missed at the summit meeting of 17 January 1985 because of the

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intransigence of the Greek Cypriot side. It should also be underlined that a serious obstacle to the solution of the Cyprus problem is the basic attitude of Greece, which rejects the agreed premises on which the talks between the Turkish and Greek Cypriots are proceeding.

In respect of the trends and prospects of the world economy, the overall results of the last few years require a comprehensive reassessment. The world economy is expanding after the longest and most serious recession since the end of the Second World War. However, this expansion is limited in scope and magnitude. Indeed it shows wide disparities from country to country. While growth has been quite rapid in some economies, it has been weak or negligible in others. In this context, the situation in many of the developing countries calls for immediate attention, as they are still facing acute economic problems which seriously hinder their prospects for the future. The current international economic situation also remains at risk, particularly because of unresolved questions related to structural adjustment, international trade, money and finance.

Most of the developing countries have been forced to cut their imports drastically because of the insufficient inflow of foreign currency. This situation may lead them into further impoverishment with serious social, humanitarian and political consequences.

Among developing countries, those who manage to increase their productivity and export capabilities are facing severe trade barriers and import restrictions from the industrialized countries. This situation leads in most cases to difficulties in debt servicing, and further cuts in imports and investments.

This makes all the more urgent the need for a new impetus to the North-South dialogue, one of the most important tasks facing the international community. So

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far the efforts aimed at the establishment of a new international economic order have not lived up to our expectations. All countries have an important role to play in this regard. The efforts of the developing nations are not enough by themselves to produce the desired results. The recent experience of some developing countries which have implemented tight adjustment measures shows us that these efforts are bound to be insufficient if the conditions in the external environment continue to exert a negative influence.

In this connection, my country's experience may have some relevance. The success of the steps which we have taken since 1980, and their increasing momentum during the last two years, have been the result of our determination in implementing an effective adjustment programme. However, the protectionist policies followed by the industrialized countries create major obstacles which frustrate our efforts.

Indeed, it is of particular importance to reverse the growing protectionist tendencies. Unless the developed countries clearly demonstrate a determination to take the lead in a process directed towards the relaxation and dismantling of restrictive trade measures, the developing countries will continue to face grave difficulties in successfully carrying out export-oriented growth strategies. On the other hand, it is also in the interest of developed countries to stop protectionist practices, since such practices have a restrictive impact on the overall level of their economic activities and divert them to lower productivity areas.

In the monetary and financial fields, appropriate national budgetary and monetary policies are necessary but not enough. International efforts are also required to find a solution to the debt problem and to improve conditions for increasing financial flows to developing countries.

(Mr. Halefoglu, Turkey)

We must also not overlook the human dimension of economic development. The round table discussion organized last month in Istanbul under the joint sponsorship of the United Nations Development Programme and the North-South round table provided an opportunity for an overall assessment of this important subject.

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As indicated in its concluding Istanbul Statement:

"recent national and international pressures lead to serious neglect of the human dimension in development. Unless remedied, this neglect will distort and handicap the future development of at least a generation to come."

The situation the world faces is not an optimistic one. Yet we believe that with common determination we can work out a more peaceful and prosperous future and we may overcome many difficulties confronting us.

We should all try to replace confrontation with conciliation and understanding, tension with dialogue, restrictive economic measures with a global and more responsible approach to the economic problems of the world. We cannot let poverty and hunger prevail. The collective wisdom of the international community should not permit those problems to fester. We owe it not only to this generation but also to the generations to come.

Mr. HITAM (Malaysia): Mr. President, may I on behalf of the Malaysian Government congratulate you on your election to the presidency of this fortieth session of the General Assembly. Your unanimous election to preside over this historic session of the General Assembly reflects the high regard in which you are held as a diplomat of outstanding ability and experience. I am confident that, like your predecessor, your adroit leadership will effectively chart the course of this fortieth session. I should also like to pay tribute to our esteemed Secretary-General who has shown that the most impossible job in the world can indeed be done creatively and effectively.

The United Nations is an assembly of sovereign States and the world is its constituency. At the outset, then, in the full glare of questions and expectations on the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, may I without hesitation state that the United Nations has done well and although it can do better, the world is

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certainly a better place today than it was in 1945. But there is indeed need to do more as we confront challenges which threaten the United Nations as an open forum of multilateral diplomacy.

The effective functioning of the United Nations is difficult enough without detractors. Those that cannot get their own way compound that difficulty through propaganda. Propaganda claims that many Member States vote with or vote against one or the other of the two super-Powers. This is presumptuous and a slur on the Member States' right and ability to vote. To me, the coincidence of our voting patterns with one or other of the two super-Powers depends on the attitude of these super-Powers themselves. We reject the allegation that the United Nations is controlled by an automatic majority and that the automatic majority pushes through extreme and unrealistic resolutions. These allegations fail to consider the responsible and painstaking efforts made to work for a consensus on major issues. Surely it must be appreciated that we vote on issues rather than on whom to please, or to displease for that matter.

While the polemics between the two super-Powers are issues that they themselves must address, we who are not involved will stress the need for reasoned and rational dialogue which is, after all, what diplomacy is all about, and what the United Nations is, or should be, all about. Certainly we will do all we can to ensure that debates will throw light rather than heat, and that resolutions will be arrived at, to the extent possible, by a broad consensus.

There is, however, one aspect of this matter which we must not forget. For much of the world, the outlook is desperate and almost hopeless. We are merely raising our voices in the hope that they, and we, may be heard. We seek to express our appeal and our indignation on behalf of the wretched of the world, the poor, the dispossessed, and the alienated, who are all part of our common humanity. We seek to remind the callous and the complacent of the indecency and horror of

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apartheid, of the cruel disregard for the rights of the Palestinian people, and of the continuing struggle of so much of humanity to ensure minimally decent lives for themselves and their children. I venture to suggest that the tone of the international dialogue will be transformed beyond recognition if on these three issues we can all be seen to pull together.

We are outraged at the perversity of the apartheid system itself, which seeks to strip forever every fundamental right of the vast majority on the basis of colour, and at the brutality and cruelty of the South African régime which makes war on everyone who dares to challenge its dogma of white supremacy. This is a régime which openly invades, destabilizes and intimidates its neighbours of which the aggression against Angola in the past week is only the latest example.

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It clings to Namibia in defiance of the international community. But we are also outraged at the complacency and the double-talk of those who, having finally uttered words of condemnation, then go on to find all manner of excuses to do nothing effective. The apartheid régime is a moral evil and a threat to the world. We must collectively give clear notice of our resolve to work for its dismantlement and within a conceivable time-frame.

Turning to Palestine, what we insist on is a commitment to an independent State of Palestine. It is beyond comprehension to me how it can be asserted that the Palestinians, an ancient and historical people, should be denied the right to their own independent homeland. Hence, we raise our voices in outrage at Israeli intransigence, at the Israeli policy of annexation, invasion of neighbouring countries, and brutal treatment of its victims. We are outraged by Israeli brand of "justice", which was seen most recently and shamelessly in its act of aggression against Tunisia only three days ago. But we are also outraged by those that continue to give Israel unquestioning support, which only encourages its intransigence. Is it any wonder, then, that we are disenchanted?

I referred earlier to the continuing struggle of so much of the world to improve its economic lot, which is sometimes no more than a struggle to move up one notch from going to bed hungry every night, which is the lot of some 800 million people on this earth. Here I plead for a sense of urgency and of shared purpose. We must address ourselves with equal vigour to a world of massive unemployment in which the debt problem threatens the survival of the international financial system, in which commodity prices have fallen in real terms to their lowest levels for 50 years, in which protectionism has raised its head even more dangerously. But positive action at the multilateral level has been conspicuously wanting. There is, alas, no international forum in which North-South dialogue is being seriously conducted today.

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The economic development of the developing countries must, of course, remain their own primary responsibility. But our efforts against great odds must be matched by the developed countries in terms of financial flows and supportive trade, monetary and economic policies. This is not a plea for charity or benevolence. It is only a reminder of the interdependence of the contemporary world, of shared interest and, therefore, of shared responsibility. Yet the experience of the last few years has been disquieting. We have seen too much of trade barriers, of market manipulation at the expense of primary producers, of exclusive economic clubs, and of aid in the form of military hardware, which benefits the provider more than the receiver. The challenge is urgent and fundamental. The outlook is indeed gloomy unless we can rise to that challenge together.

We all also face a common challenge, and we all also share a common interest in the survival of the human race. History would have taught us nothing if we ignored the fact that the two world wars were caused in part by the failure of the great Powers to achieve the limitation and reduction of national armaments by international agreement. We recognize that no progress towards nuclear disarmament can be made unless proposals originate from the major nuclear Powers themselves and unless there is mutual acceptance by the major Powers of the need for real and qualitative improvements in their relations. We therefore hope that the meeting soon to take place between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev, would usher in a spirit of true co-operation which will open the road to nuclear disarmament.

The threats to the world stem not only from nuclear annihilation but, more immediately, from limited, local wars and conflicts. Sadly, there are too many examples, but here I will refer only to the situations in Central America, in

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Afghanistan and in South-East Asia. In each instance, important principles of the Charter - the non-use of force, the territorial integrity of States, the right of self-determination of peoples and the peaceful settlement of disputes - are at stake.

In Central America the situation is fast approaching a critical point: either the Contadora process will move forward or a dangerous downward spiral will be set in train, with tragic consequences. Malaysia supports the Contadora countries, which are undertaking truly regional efforts to resolve regional issues free from East-West ideological conflict. These efforts to ensure that the struggle of peoples for freedom, development and justice can be managed solely in their own interest, without external interference, deserve the support of us all.

In Afghanistan, a vicious and bloody war continues, and the victims are the brave people of that ancient nation. The United Nations must let them know that the cause of their freedom is not forgotten and thereby send a message to nations, powerful or weak, that we shall never allow force to be the arbiter of any nation's fate.

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Malaysia calls upon all to assist in practical ways the Mujahideen freedom fighters in their valiant struggle, as well as to support the efforts of the Secretary-General to seek a durable political solution.

The occupation of Kampuchea by Viet Nam persists in defiance of the will of the international community so clearly and repeatedly affirmed by resolutions passed by this Assembly. Seven years have indeed passed, but this Assembly must show that its stamina and its attention span will last as long as necessary to ensure that peace, freedom and self-determination return to the Kampuchean people. This Assembly should neither dilute its principles nor fall prey to all manner of subterfuges to avoid consideration of the essential issues, namely, the withdrawal of Vietnamese occupation forces and the exercise by the Kampuchean people of their right to choose their own government.

While remaining firm on principles, Malaysia and other countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) have always shown our flexibility and our sincere desire to bring the present conflict to an end by peaceful means. Most recently, we have proposed that proximity talks be held as a means of breaking the present impasse. Unfortunately, Viet Nam's response has been negative. Malaysia and the other ASEAN countries have repeatedly stated that we are committed to a political, not a military solution to the present conflict. We are pleased that conversations do take place between Viet Nam and ASEAN and other countries for that purpose. Unfortunately they have been fruitless, and the most graphic demonstration of Viet Nam's intentions so far is the massive military offensive during the last dry season.

Looking to the future, Malaysia would like to make its contribution to a more safe and orderly world by raising issues which are of global concern and on which action is both necessary and possible. That is why my country, together with some others, has raised the two issues of narcotic drugs and Antarctica.

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The immensity of the drug problem is vividly illustrated by a finding in a recent study that in one major country alone the earnings of traffickers in cocaine, heroin and marijuana have been estimated at between \$US 90 and \$US 100 billion per year, a sum which may well exceed the national budgets of most of the developing countries combined.

Aside from the human costs of drug addiction, which are tragic, these tremendous resources in the hands of drug traffickers are the best illustration of the changed dimension of the international drug problem, which cannot be regarded any longer as a social or humanitarian problem but must be regarded as one which threatens the stability, development, security and very survival of States and Governments. That is why my Government, together with others, is insisting that the international drug problem must be met with a heightened sense of urgency. It is with this sense of urgency that this session of the General Assembly should unanimously endorse the proposal by the Secretary-General to convene an international conference on drugs in 1987 so that preparatory work can proceed expeditiously.

The facts about Antarctica are well known: it covers one tenth of the globe; there is no agreement on sovereignty; it occupies a strategic location, it has a fragile ecosystem, it is of enormous scientific interest, and it possesses rich marine and mineral resources. The question, therefore, is: how should such a region of the globe be managed in the best interest of all mankind? Why should the United Nations be excluded from involvement?

In dealing with Antarctica, my Government does not seek to confront the Antarctic Treaty parties or to destroy what they have successfully created. Rather we seek to build upon what they have achieved. Bearing in mind the characteristics of Antarctica, we wish to see that the system for the management of that continent

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is one which would be accountable to the international community, which would make it possible for the relevant international agencies to be more directly involved and which would ensure that the fruits of the exploitation of its resources could be more equitably shared as the common heritage of mankind but taking into account the position of the claimant States. In other words, accountability, involvement and equity should be the elements of the system for managing Antarctica.

In dealing with this matter we recognize that the issues involved are legally complex and politically delicate. That is why Malaysia continues to believe that a committee of the United Nations should be established to examine in particular the relationship between the Antarctic Treaty system and the United Nations system so as to reconcile the interest that the international community undoubtedly has in Antarctica with what exists and what has been achieved under the Antarctic Treaty system.

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The last four decades have seen the evolution of international institutions so that today we have in place the necessary tools to deal with the many problems which face us. Increasingly, however, the question is whether we want to use them, whether we still believe that the way forward lies in multilateral co-operation. The road to multilateralism is fraught with frustration, not only for the major Powers, which are no doubt often tempted to take the short-cut of the unilateral solution, but for many others as well, who see so little progress on issues of vital significance to them. But in the long term, it is the only feasible road to advance our common interest in a world of peace and freedom, development and human justice. In this, the fortieth anniversary year of the United Nations, Malaysia pledges to do its utmost in all practical ways to strengthen the spirit of multilateralism, to build upon what exists and always to push forward the frontiers of international co-operation.

The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.