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Forty-sixth session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 64th MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Thursday, 5 December 1991, at 3 p.m.

**President:** Mr. SHIHABI (Saudi Arabia)

**later:** Mr. FLORES BERMUDEZ (Honduras)  
(Vice-President)

**later:** Mr. AYALA LASSO (Ecuador)  
(Vice-President)

- Report of the Economic and Social Council: report of the Second Committee (part II) [12]
  - The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security [29]
- (a) Report of the Secretary-General

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- (b) Draft resolution
- (c) Report of the Fifth Committee
- The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives [31]
  - (a) Reports of the Secretary-General
  - (b) Draft resolution
- Cooperation between the United Nations and the League of Arab States [34]
  - (a) Report of the Secretary-General
  - (b) Draft resolution
- Question of peace, stability and cooperation in South-East Asia
- Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa [37] (continued)
  - (a) Report of the Special Committee against Apartheid
  - (b) Report of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa
  - (c) Reports of the Secretary-General
  - (d) Report of the Special Political Committee
  - (e) Draft resolution
- United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa [102] (continued)
  - (a) Report of the Secretary-General
  - (b) Draft resolution

The meeting was called to order at 3.10 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 12

REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL: REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE  
(Part II) (A/46/727/Add.1)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): I request the Rapporteur of the Second Committee, Mr. Martin Rakotonaivo of Madagascar, to introduce the report of the Second Committee on agenda item 12.

Mr. RAKOTONAIVO (Madagascar), Rapporteur of the Second Committee (interpretation from French): I have the honour to present the report of the Second Committee contained in document A/46/727/Add.1 on agenda item 12, Report of the Economic and Social Council.

In paragraph 4 of the report, the Second Committee recommends to the General Assembly that it adopt a draft resolution entitled "Revision of the General Regulations of the World Food Programme and enlargement of the Committee on Food Aid Policies and Programmes of the World Food Programme".

I wish to call the Assembly's attention to the fact that this draft resolution was adopted without a vote in the Second Committee at its 42nd meeting, on 15 November 1991.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): If there is no proposal under rule 66 of the rules of procedure, I shall take it that the General Assembly decides not to discuss the report of the Second Committee that is before it today.

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): Statements will therefore be limited to explanations of vote.

(The President)

The positions of delegations regarding the recommendation of the Second Committee have been made clear in the Committee and are reflected in the relevant official records.

May I remind members that under paragraph 7 of decision 34/401 the General Assembly agreed that

"When the same draft resolution is considered in a Main Committee and in plenary meeting, a delegation should, as far as possible, explain its vote only once, that is, either in the Committee or in plenary meeting unless that delegation's vote in plenary meeting is different from its vote in the Committee."

May I remind delegations that, also in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Before we begin to take action on the recommendation contained in the report of the Second Committee, I should like to advise representatives that we are going to proceed to take a decision in the same manner as was done in the Second Committee.

The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Second Committee in paragraph 4 of its report (A/46/727/Add.1). The draft resolution is entitled "Revision of the General Regulations of the World Food Programme and enlargement of the Committee on Food Aid Policies and Programmes of the World Food Programme".

The draft resolution was adopted by the Second Committee without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 46/22).

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): We have thus concluded our consideration of part I of the report of the Economic and Social Council allocated to the Second Committee.

## AGENDA ITEM 29

THE SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY:

- (a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/46/577 and Corr.1)
- (b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/46/L.13)
- (c) REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/46/743)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): I am of the view that draft resolution A/46/L.13, now before the General Assembly, is a balanced text which duly reflects the concerns of the parties involved and underscores the urgent need for a comprehensive political solution of the situation in respect of Afghanistan.

Accordingly, the draft resolution I have submitted is the result of a consensus between the parties. I trust that the General Assembly, too, will adopt it by consensus.

Before we proceed to take action on the draft resolution, I wish to point out that, as part of the understanding between those directly concerned, it was agreed that there would be no debate on the item in the General Assembly. It is therefore suggested that we abide by this understanding, which is designed to permit the broadest possible support for the draft resolution.

If I hear no objections, I shall take it that the General Assembly agrees not to discuss the item now before it.

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): I should now like to draw the attention of members to the fact that the report of the Fifth Committee regarding the programme-budget implications of the draft resolution is contained in document A/46/743.

May I take it that the Assembly wishes to adopt this draft resolution?

Draft resolution A/46/L.13 was adopted (resolution 46/23).

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): The Assembly has thus concluded its consideration of agenda item 29.

#### AGENDA ITEM 31

THE SITUATION IN CENTRAL AMERICA: THREATS TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY AND PEACE INITIATIVES:

- (a) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/46/658 and Corr.1, A/46/713)
- (b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/46/L.30 and Corr.1)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): I call on the representative of El Salvador, who will introduce draft resolution A/46/L.30 and Corr.1 in the course of his statement.

Mr. CASTANEDA-CORNEJO (El Salvador) (interpretation from Spanish):

I have the honour to speak on agenda item 31, "The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives", on behalf of the Central American delegations of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama.

First, I should like to take this opportunity to express, on behalf of Central America, our pleasure and our congratulations to Mr. Boutros Boutros Ghali on his election as the new Secretary-General of the United Nations beginning on 1 January 1992. We pledge to him our fullest support and cooperation in his delicate future functions. His performance will be vital to the building and restructuring of the new world order. His proven wisdom and broad experience will enable him to continue successfully the extraordinary work done by his predecessor, the retiring Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar.

During the past year new events in the international arena have again confirmed the fact that we are moving towards a new world order different from the bipolar system which emerged in the aftermath of the Second World War and in which political and ideological factors and the military and strategic interests of the super-Powers had a decisive effect on the events and situations that shaped international relations, which today are in a state of flux.

Our subregion could not escape the confrontation and conflicts of interest that have occurred and has unfortunately been involved in the struggle for power and zones of influence at the world level. An obvious example can be found in the crises and confrontations our countries experienced during the 1980s, the most serious situation since the years of the Great Depression and one that was viewed as a threat to international

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peace and security. In his address to the General Assembly on

23 September 1991, Mr. Alfredo Cristiani, President of El Salvador, stated:

"We Salvadorians have been the scapegoats of that abusive and irrational polarity that divided the world into inevitable factions on the basis of an artificial ideological fanaticism." (A/46/PV.4, p. 23)

That situation was also referred to by Mr. Mario Carias Zapata, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Honduras, in his statement on 26 September of this year in the General Assembly, when he said:

"The socio-political problems faced by certain countries, together with tensions between States that reflect the East-West conflict in the area, triggered an acute crisis in the 1980s that posed a real threat to regional and international peace and security." (A/46/PV.11, p. 97)

As a result, the countries of Central America came to be known on the international scene not so much for their achievements and potential as for their critical situation, for the magnitude of their political and economic problems, for their social ferment and, above all, for the internal armed conflicts that some of our countries have experienced in recent years. Those problems arose essentially from the structural shortcomings of our own societies, but as they developed, external factors also came into play and exacerbated them, producing a problem that spread beyond regional control. However, that fact in turn gave Central American leaders a greater awareness of their historic role in solving the priority problems of our nations. They realized that they must endeavour, by political means, to achieve peace, stability, national reconciliation and just and equitable social and economic development.



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There can be no doubt that the radical changes that have occurred on the international level have had a significant impact and influence on the course of events in Central America, substantially altering the regional situation, bringing greater confidence, understanding and interregional solidarity and leading to new and more optimistic ideas about the future of the peoples of the Central American isthmus.

Recognizing the efforts and initiatives undertaken to find a political solution at the beginning of the Central American crisis, particularly the work accomplished by the Contadora Group and subsequently by the so-called Group of Eight, we are pleased to note that a little over four years have now passed since the signing of the Esquipulas II agreement on 7 August 1987, whereby the Presidents of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua decided to pursue a process in which Central Americans would be the principal actors and assume fully their responsibilities for meeting the historic challenge of shaping a peaceful destiny for their region and that during that period the development of the "Procedures to the establishment of a firm and lasting peace in Central America" has produced positive results, with advances that are clear and incontestable. The critical stage of confrontation and tension in relations between the States of Central America, which, it was once feared, might turn into a widespread armed conflict, must now be deemed a part of the past.

Indeed, if we look back at the implementation of the peace procedure as part of an ongoing and still unfinished process, we can say that different goals of Esquipulas II have been achieved at different stages and that the realities of Central America are gradually improving.

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As we near the end of 1991, we can say with satisfaction that the present Central American Governments are products of the popular will, that there has been an end to the armed conflict in Nicaragua, that in Honduras the camps of the Nicaraguan resistance fighters have completely disappeared and that in El Salvador and Guatemala the negotiations between the Governments and the irregular forces are continuing with very encouraging prospects for the signing, in the near future, of agreements that will put an end to the existing conflicts there.

Because of the impact and importance of the cases of El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua in the regional context, I should like to say a few words about the political processes in those countries.

In the case of El Salvador, I may say that the agreements reached at the New York meeting during the latter half of September 1991 between the delegations of the Government and the Front for National Liberation (FMLN), with Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, Secretary-General of the United Nations, acting as mediator and meeting directly but separately with the parties to the conflict, broke the deadlock and made continued negotiations more viable. Subsequent rounds of negotiations were held at Mexico City in October and November 1991 and they are continuing at the present time. Substantive progress has been made, smoothing the way towards a definitive end of the armed confrontation. It has become clear in political circles that both sides have shown a willingness to negotiate and that there is a possibility of final agreement before the end of the year.

With regard to the situation in Guatemala, it is important to single out the initiative for total peace taken by President Jorge Serrano Elias, which rests on four essential elements, namely, a negotiated end to the armed

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conflict, greater economic and social justice, respect for and strengthening of the rule of law and a reinforcement of the democratic process. In that connection, on 27 September 1991 the President of Guatemala stated in the General Assembly:

"This initiative, which seeks to achieve total and lasting peace, in addition to seeking the end of the armed struggle, also seeks to lay the basis for reconciliation and harmonious coexistence within the Guatemalan family". (A/46/PV.13, p. 7)

That reaffirms the political will of the Government of Guatemala and its desire to achieve peace in that country by the peaceful path of negotiation, demonstrated in the meetings that have been held between government representatives and the Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca. Under the coordination of Bishop Rodolfo Quezada Toruño and in the presence of an observer representing the Secretary-General of the United Nations, on 26 April 1991 the parties signed in Mexico an agreement establishing procedures and an agenda for the peace process, with a view to finding a political solution to the internal armed conflict. That agreement constituted the basis for the subsequent negotiations in which an overall framework for the democratization of Guatemala has been established.

In the case of Nicaragua, free elections which ended with the victory of the opposition party and the accession to power of President Violeta Barrios de Chamorro were followed by the start of a promising period of transition to the consolidation of democracy, characterized by the return of peace to the country and the launching of a firm policy of reconciliation, the restructuring of the rule of law, the full exercise of public freedoms and the strengthening of effective machinery for economic and social

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harmonisation. In addition to that progress, there has been an end to the hyperinflation which had lasted more than 30 months, attention has been given to the social challenges associated with the problem of poverty and with the costs of the adjustment process, and the country has had new access to multilateral sources of financing for development. In January 1992 Nicaragua will begin a broad national dialogue designed to base peace and stability in the country on stronger and more lasting foundations.

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Furthermore, in order to give continuity to the regional peace process, machinery was created for consultations and meetings at the level of Presidents of countries and including other bodies in order to evaluate observance of the commitments entered into and to follow them up at the regional level; legal means were adopted and complementary mechanisms created to improve the situation of human rights; democracy was encouraged through the expansion of political space that will ensure the existence of true pluralistic systems in which all political and ideological movements can organize, express themselves and participate freely in the search for solutions and in the adoption of decisions on priority problems affecting our peoples.

It is important to emphasize that the regional crisis and the peace process have given us a clearer vision of the dimension of regional problems. We understand that we must go beyond political considerations and armed conflicts and that we cannot achieve the consolidation of democracy nor a lasting and durable peace if we do not adopt measures to promote a more just economic and social system free of poverty. In keeping with this view, as we have advanced in our struggle for peace, our Governments, aware of the need to take joint measures towards the solution of other priority problems in the region, have adopted additional commitments. These include the creation of a Central American parliament which was installed on 28 October 1991 as a deliberative body for discussing and formulating recommendations on Central American problems; the Security Commission, whose purpose is to define a new model of interregional security; the Central American Commission on Environment and Development; and finally, following the Declaration of Montelimar - Nicaragua, April 1990 - and the Declaration of Antigua -

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Guatemala, June 1990 - action was taken to confront the problem of the reconstruction of Central America as soon as the armed conflicts still affecting certain countries are brought to an end.

In the matter of security we are convinced that, as long as destabilization factors persist in the region, such as the existence of irregular forces and insurrectionist movements, progress in the achievement of the objectives of the Security Commission under the Esquipulas Agreement will be determined by the existing circumstances in each country, and especially by the political negotiation process in El Salvador and Guatemala.

However, we have been encouraged by the results of the Commission's meetings, which were attended recently by observers from Panama, the Organization of American States (OAS) and the United Nations Observer Group in Central America. The Commission approved, among other matters, the creation of machinery to verify inventories of armed forces in the region and a factoring format to establish a reasonable balance in military forces, armaments and installations. At present we are considering a Honduran initiative regarding a general draft treaty on Central American security and have begun the stage of consultations with corresponding national authorities.

In the economic and social area, traditionally the Central American countries have established their own development, stabilization and economic reactivation policies, promoting both bilateral and multilateral cooperation and assistance. Ever since the late 1980s, the execution of the special plan of economic cooperation for Central America, established as a complementary effort in support of peace, has merited special attention and, owing to its very nature, has enjoyed the support and solidarity of the international community. The same may be said of the follow-up activities of the

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International Conference on Central American Refugees, which have taken place under the joint plan of action. This plan contains proposals for the solution of the problem of displaced persons in the Central American region and has been developed with the cooperation of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

We have increased our efforts to make dialogue prevail over violence, to promote reconciliation and to settle the problems of armed confrontation. At the same time there has been a growing concern over economic reconstruction in the region and the development process in general. This has led to a new joint initiative contained in the Declaration of Antigua and the Central American Economic Plan of Action (PAECA). Their aim is to formulate a new integrated development strategy in which equity and social justice are essential components. In line with this policy the Central American Presidents will hold a social summit meeting in Honduras from 12 to 13 of this month.

Efforts to overcome the political and the economic and social crises are still continuing, but given the needs and limitations of the Central American countries we will require international support and solidarity if we are to achieve the desired success.

In this connection, the Foreign Minister of Costa Rica, Niehaus Quesada, stated before the General Assembly on 26 September 1991 that:

"While we Central Americans have assumed the leading role in solving our problems, political and economic support from the international community remains indispensable. It is absurd to claim that the crisis has ended ...". (A/46/PV.11, pp. 47-48)

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He continued,

"... cooperation from the developed world is decisive if we are to achieve genuine peace and a strengthened democracy." (A/46/PV.11, pp. 47-48)

It is timely to point out that Central America is convinced that integration is the best way to promote interaction and economic complementarity in order to achieve the objectives of development. This conviction confirms the need for us to combine our efforts in order to strengthen our negotiating capacity. We can thus play a larger role in international economic relations.

In the peace process in Central America, both in the political and military and in the economic and social areas, we have to mention the participation of our Organization, in which the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, in keeping with relevant resolutions of the Security Council, has done his utmost to achieve a political solution to the regional crisis. The historic significance of the efforts of Mr. Perez de Cuellar deserves our appreciation, which will always be gratefully given by Central Americans.

As part of these efforts, special recognition should be given to the establishment of the United Nations Observer Group in Central America (ONUCA), whose mandate was extended on 6 November by the Security Council; the United Nations Observer Mission to verify the electoral process in Nicaragua (ONUVEN); the International Support and Verification Commission (CIAV), in which the Organization of American States (OAS) also participated; the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL); and the role of intermediary played by the Secretary-General and his personal representative,



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Mr. Alvaro de Soto, in the peace process in El Salvador; and the part played by his personal representative, Mr. Francesc Vendrell, in the peace process in Guatemala.

In the economic and social field, special appreciation should be expressed both to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, as well as to other organs in the system and cooperating countries which have helped to implement the special programmes devoted to Central America. To all of them we express our sincerest appreciation and hope they will continue in their efforts to build a new Central America that will enable us to overcome the causes of the crisis of the 1980s, which we hope will not be repeated in the future.

We Central Americans realize that we have not yet achieved the necessary peace and stability, but we are encouraged by the progress made in the regional peace process, and particularly by the prospects of a solution of the conflicts in El Salvador and Guatemala. We therefore consider that we are in a transitional stage towards the elimination of confrontation, violence, fear, terrorism and war as a means of achieving political ends. We are beginning a new historic period characterized by the development of societies which constitute authentic political and economic democracies based on full respect for freedom and human dignity and on intraregional solidarity and cooperation. On these foundations, the peoples of the region hope that Central America will gradually and integrally become a region of peace, freedom, democracy and development. In this connection, the Foreign Minister of Nicaragua, Mr. Enrique Dreyfus Morales, stated before the plenary Assembly on 25 September 1991 that,

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"At this session of the General Assembly Nicaragua attaches special importance to the declaration of Central America as a region of peace, freedom, democracy and development. In the Puntarenas Declaration approved by the Central American Presidents in Costa Rica on 17 December 1990 (A/45/906, annex), the Presidents expressed their commitment ..." (A/46/PV.9, p. 128)\*

On behalf of the Central American region I reaffirm this aspiration and I hope it has the full support of the international community.

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\* Mr. Flores Bermudes (Honduras), Vice-President, took the Chair.

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I am pleased, on behalf of the sponsors, to introduce draft resolution A/46/L.30. I should like to emphasize that, on this occasion, unlike in previous years we are submitting to the Assembly a draft resolution which is in two parts: one reflecting the situation and the changes that are a result of the peace process, and the other expressing the aspirations and desires of our peoples regarding what our region should be like in the future.

Draft resolution A, entitled "Procedures for the establishment of a firm and lasting peace in Central America", contains traditional aspects of a political nature as in earlier resolutions. In the preambular part, reference is made to the peace process in Central America since the signing of the Esquipulas II agreement; the work of the United Nations Observer Group in Central America (ONUCA), the International Support and Verification Commission (CIAV), the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the United Nations Development Programme in Central America; and to recent events regarding the situation in Nicaragua, Guatemala and El Salvador; and appreciation is expressed for the contribution of the member countries of the Rio Group throughout the regional peace effort. In the operative part, there is a reaffirmation of support for the peace process and for the work of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and encouragement to the parties directly involved to continue their efforts to bring the situations of conflict to an end.

Draft resolution B, entitled "Central America: Region of peace, freedom, democracy and development", refers in its preambular part to fulfilment of the important task of the moral and material reconstruction of Central America in the form which has been agreed by our Presidents and which meets the urgent need to make a reality of the diverse historical values and aspirations which

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have been delayed in the region, the establishment of a framework for the development of our own initiatives and regional programmes for peace which would make an effective contribution to the stability of our countries, to the consolidation of democratic regimes, unrestricted respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and which would contribute to the conclusion, in an atmosphere of harmony and mutual confidence, of the negotiations currently under way on security, verification, and control and limitation of arms and military personnel.

Considering the progress that has been made in the peace process and recognizing that we are at a transitional stage, with the conviction that threats to peace and international security have been overcome, and that we are now in the presence of dynamic peace initiatives, recognizing that we are moving gradually to the threshold of a new historical period in the region, it is stated in the operative part that "the General Assembly reaffirms the decision of the Presidents of the Central American countries to declare Central America a region of peace, freedom, democracy and development". Encouragement is given to the consolidation of Governments representing the will of their people; reference is made to the agreements reached and progress made by the Security Commission of the Central American countries; stress is laid on the importance of international cooperation in the efforts of the States of Central America, and in particular the group of cooperating countries, and of the Special Plan of Economic Cooperation for Central America and its relationship with the Central American Economic Plan of Action approved by the Central American Presidents. Finally, the General Assembly would decide that this item should be included in the provisional agenda of its forty-seventh session under the title "The situation in Central America:

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procedures for the establishment of a firm and lasting peace and progress in fashioning a region of peace, freedom, democracy and development".

In concluding my introduction of the draft resolution, I should like to reiterate our appreciation to the United Nations and the Secretary-General for their effective contributions to peace and development in Central America. We are confident that this draft resolution will enjoy the unanimous support of this Assembly.

Mr. HATANQ (Japan): On behalf of my delegation, I should like first of all to pay a high tribute to all the parties that have contributed to the peace process in Central America. They have been accelerating movement towards a just and peaceful solution of the problems that have plagued the region. While dramatic and profound changes are taking place in East-West relations and in other areas, progress in Central America, while perhaps slower, has nevertheless been steady, and this is heartening. The steps that have been taken are a clear demonstration of the political will of the Central American leaders, the great perseverance of the peoples of the region, and the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and his staff.

In a policy speech before the National Diet of Japan, Prime Minister Miyazawa made reference to the time of great change in which we now find ourselves, noting that although many call it the post-cold-war era, this is a term that describes only what has ended, not what has begun. The main task we face in this plenary session is to try to understand what has begun, and, armed with this understanding, to continue our efforts to make this a better world. I cannot overemphasize the importance of such efforts to the peace process in Central America, which may well provide us with a model that we can

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apply with wider scope where circumstances permit. I have three reasons for being hopeful about this process.

First, it has moved forward, under the auspices of the United Nations, in significant part as a result of the participation of this Organisation. The United Nations Observer Mission to verify the electoral process in Nicaragua (ONUVEN) has played a vital role in effecting a peaceful transfer of power in Nicaragua, and the United Nations generally has played an essential role in creating a situation in which it is simply not possible to reverse the progress that has been made. The efforts under way by the United Nations Secretariat with respect to El Salvador and Guatemala are of value in this respect and deserving of high praise.

Secondly, by and large the United Nations has succeeded in building confidence among the parties concerned, through its peace-keeping and peace-making activities. Since a wider range of issues must be addressed a durable peace is to be obtained, the fullest possible use must be made of the United Nations. So far, the peace-keeping tasks have been performed well, by ONUCA, with the result that it has been possible to maintain at least the level of calm necessary to promote the peace-keeping process. That is all to the good. It must be said, however, that peace-keeping factors should not be used as a pretext for delays in the peace-making process. For that reason my delegation welcomes Security Council resolution 719 (1991), which renewed the mandate of ONUCA conditional on satisfaction of operative paragraph 3. I should like to add that there is more that the United Nations can do, for example, in protecting basic human rights. If it is to contribute to a just and lasting solution of the situation in Central America, we should redouble our efforts in the area of human rights and elsewhere in the context of the

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role of the United Nations in making peace in so far as this is permitted by the Charter of the Organisation. That will help to ensure that there is no turning back from the progress that has been achieved.

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The third but not the least important strength of this process must be careful coordination of bilateral and multilateral assistance. Two points need to be made here. First, the nature of the problem of Central American refugees is changing. For this reason, it is necessary for those Governments concerned, United Nations organs and the international community to follow up the International Conference on Central American Refugees and make efforts to ensure that adequate assistance is delivered in a coordinated manner. Secondly, it is essential to explore future modalities and means of coordination in order to achieve the rehabilitation and reconstruction of those Central American countries which have endured war and civil strife for so long. This would facilitate the ongoing dialogue on ways of achieving peace.

If we here truly wish to see the present peace process succeed, we must work to ensure that the international community provides all possible assistance. Japan, although far from Central America, is a member of the community of nations, and it shares the wishes and concerns of the peoples of that region. It is for this reason that we dispatched personnel to ONUVEN and that we are so pleased that peace has taken root in Nicaragua.

The task before us is to make the progress that has been achieved irreversible and to promote a just and durable solution. If we succeed, we shall see how peace can be achieved through the combined efforts of the countries concerned, the United Nations and all the members of the international community. Japan for its part has carefully followed developments in Central America, and it stands ready to make every possible contribution to resolving the situation within both a multilateral and a bilateral framework.



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Japan's economic and intellectual resources are of relevance, as economic and social difficulties are at the heart of the conflicts in Central America, and my Government has intensified its cooperation in this area, by, for example, recently convening a seminar on trade and industrial policies within the framework of the Partnership for Democracy and Development programme in support of Central America. The seminar, whose purpose was to promote the democratization and economic development of Central America, was attended by representatives of the five Central American countries and Panama. The same interest is evident in the increased technical cooperation Japan is providing those countries. We are also inviting journalists of those countries to Japan to offer an opportunity to see how journalism works in a democratic society, for we believe freedom of the press is of the foremost importance in democracy. My Government believes that democracy and development go together and that economic and social stability is essential if there is to be peace. This is particularly true in Central America.

As I noted earlier, the peace process in Central America has proceeded at a steady pace, and we earnestly wish to see its fruits at the earliest possible date. The recent unilateral announcement by the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN) of a cease-fire is a sign that there is further confidence in El Salvador's future. I urge all parties to the dialogue not to allow the momentum that has been achieved as a result of recent developments to dissipate. At the same time, given the complex causes of the situation, to proclaim that peace is at hand would be premature. From the modalities of the cease-fire to the protection of basic human rights and freedoms, from the many enormous economic difficulties the region faces to

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refugee relief, the countries and peoples of Central America continue to confront a wide range of problems. The peace-keeping process remains of the greatest importance.

If there is an organization that is capable of tackling all these problems simultaneously, if there is a forum in which we can work together to devise an effective and coordinated response, it is the United Nations. Accordingly, I again commend the Secretary-General and his staff for their efforts, and, with your permission, Mr. President, I would encourage the Secretary-General to issue an appeal to the international community for further support, should he see it as being necessary, so that together we may strive to bring peace and prosperity to all the peoples of Central America.

Mr. MONTAÑO (Mexico) (interpretation from Spanish): I have the honour to address the General Assembly on behalf of Colombia, Venezuela and Mexico, the countries members of the Group of Three.

Since its establishment, the Group of Three has paid close attention to events in the Central American region. Our action is motivated solely by the objective of assisting in the consolidation and strengthening of the peace processes and the promotion of development in a context of freedom and democracy.

The peoples of Central America have maintained their steadfast will to accomplish the objectives set forth in the Esquipulas II Agreement of 7 August 1987 for the establishment of a stable and lasting peace. They recognized that through dialogue, negotiation and respect for the legitimate interests of all States it would be possible to bring about peace and national reconciliation. Today Central America is nearer to closing the chapter of violence and antagonism. Now is the time to strengthen the foundations for economic and social development in the region.

(Mr. Montaña, Mexico)

In this context, the countries members of the Group of Three appeal to the international community to support the commitment agreed upon by the Heads of State and Government of Ibero-America in their Guadalajara Declaration. On that occasion they expressed their will to support the processes of negotiation in Central America aimed at establishing a just, stable and lasting peace, and to that end urged avoidance of any action or measure that would pose an obstacle to the rapid solution of the conflicts in that region.

In this spirit, Colombia, Venezuela and Mexico have taken various initiatives - the most recent being on 3 December in Cartagena, Colombia - aimed at achieving economic cooperation with the Central American countries in order to promote the strengthening of development in the region. These cooperation schemes cover such fields as energy, trade, transport and communications.

(Mr. Montaña, Mexico)

The Group of Three, as indicated in the communiqué issued by its Foreign Ministers on 22 November 1990, welcomes any additional support from the international community that respects the mechanisms of political and economic cooperation in Central America, the region's sovereignty and self-determination, and its national institutions, programmes and priorities, and any initiative that is free from conditionality.

We must not fall into the trap of forgetting, once peace and stability are achieved, the regions which have been the victims of conflict in the past. With the same energy and commitment that we devote to demanding disarmament, we should respond to the appeals for the technical and financial assistance required by the Central American Governments, with a view to consolidating the process of peace, freedom, democratization and development of the region.

Sources of tension and instability persist in our Central American region, and they keep the international community on the alert regarding the prospects for peace, stability and security in the area.

Meeting at Cozumel, Mexico, on 22 October 1991, the Presidents of Colombia, Venezuela and Mexico recognized the progress made in the negotiations under way between the Salvadorian Government and the Frente Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), mediated by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and his Representative. Since that date, the negotiating process has continued, and it is now possible to envisage the end of the conflict.

We recognize that, as the Secretary-General states in his report to the General Assembly of 2 December 1991, that isolated groups exist that are still opposed to the negotiating process and to those who support that process.

(Mr. Montaña, Mexico)

Nevertheless, we have no doubt that the parties to the negotiations, and the Salvadorian people as a whole, will not falter in their will to negotiate. And here the continued support of the international community will be required to ensure a smooth transition to a lasting peace.

It is our hope that the conclusion of the conflict will enable us to take firm steps towards achieving the other objectives specified in the Geneva Agreement of 4 April 1990. In our capacity as Friends of the Secretary-General, we shall, together with Spain, maintain our commitment to support the efforts of the United Nations.

Recently, our three Presidents agreed also to encourage talks between the Government of Guatemala and the Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca with a view to establishing a climate of peace and development in that country. We make this appeal again, in the hope that the negotiations will make more decisive progress, and we reiterate our support for that process. We express our full support also for the work being done by the Secretary-General and his Representative.

The direct, courageous and committed involvement of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Javier Perez de Cuellar, and that of his representatives, has been an indispensable factor in making progress towards resolving the conflicts in El Salvador and Guatemala. Our Governments, which have had the privilege of supporting the Secretary-General in this effort, wish to place on record their gratitude for the work being done on behalf of peace and development in the region.

We also recognize that in Central America the United Nations has made some of its noblest and most successful efforts, as is shown by the various peace-keeping operations that have been deployed in the region.

(Mr. Montaña, Mexico)

The General Assembly's reaffirmation of the Puntarenas Declaration, making Central America a region of peace, freedom, democracy and development, will certainly strengthen the will shown by the Central American countries. It will also enable the international community as a whole to support the objectives contained in it.

The countries making up the Group of Three wish to share with their Central American neighbours the goal of promoting general peace, encouraging democracy and reviving development in the region. We are living in the same geographical and historical space. Accordingly, our aim is to support the will of the Central American countries and to respond to the requests made to us to contribute to the dialogue for peace and development. We hope that the community of nations will demonstrate its solidarity with this effort.

Mr. van SCHAIK (Netherlands): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Community and its member States.

During the past 12 months, further progress has been made towards peace, dialogue and reconciliation in Central America, towards the consolidation of democracy and the achievement of a more balanced approach to regional security, and towards regional cooperation for economic and social development. The Central American peace process, which has had the full backing of the Twelve and the close attention of the General Assembly for many years, at last appears to offer prospects for peace and stability, which are so urgently needed for the economic and social reconstruction of the countries of the region.

The recent momentum of the peace process in the framework of the Esquipulas Agreement has been made possible by a renewed commitment on all sides, in particular in the conflicts in El Salvador and Guatemala, to

(Mr. van Schaik, Netherlands)

dialogue and negotiation as the surest and most effective road towards a lasting settlement.

A vital contribution was made by the United Nations and its Secretary-General. As a practical indication of the new opportunities for the resolution of regional conflicts created by the reduction of tensions between East and West, the United Nations was in a position to play an active supporting role in the peace effort. By bringing a variety of innovative approaches and institutional arrangements to bear on the process, the Secretary-General played a crucial role, guiding the process to its present stage.

The Twelve warmly welcome the efforts made and the results achieved. We have consistently espoused the principle that solutions for the Central American conflicts must come from within the region and that responsibility for the negotiating process rests primarily with the parties involved. The present course of the peace process, and the appropriate role played by the United Nations and its Secretary-General in that context, bear out the continued validity of this approach.

Major efforts were made to bring to an end the armed confrontation in El Salvador, which during more than a decade of intermittent violence had caused over 70,000 deaths, untold human suffering and extraordinary material losses.

(Mr. van Schaik, Netherlands)

The unflinching commitment of both sides to the achievement of a negotiated solution nevertheless enabled the negotiators, with the invaluable assistance of the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General and the consistent support of the Group of Four Friends of the Secretary-General - Colombia, Mexico, Spain and Venezuela - to make substantial progress towards reconciliation. Two important milestones marked the negotiation process in 1991: first, the Agreement reached last April in Mexico on a limited package of constitutional reforms and reforms in the judicial and military structures; and, secondly, the so-called New York Agreement of 25 September covering a range of security and economic issues bearing upon the reintegration of former members of the FMLN into civilian life. A new and encouraging development in 1991 was, moreover, the involvement of political parties and major civic institutions and the armed forces in a broad national debate on the reform measures under consideration.

The Twelve warmly welcome the announcement made by the FMLN on 14 November that it would cease all offensive operations and are encouraged by the positive response of President Cristiani. We are, however, concerned about subsequent reports of continuing acts of violence by both sides and we reiterate our conviction that restraint and good will are necessary if an agreement on a permanent cease-fire is to be achieved. In this connection, the Twelve wish to recall the Security Council's appeal to both parties in its resolution 714 (1991) of 30 September 1991 to pursue the process of negotiations urgently and with flexibility, in order to reach the earliest possible agreement on the realization of the objectives set out in Geneva and Caracas and to bring a definite end to the armed conflict as soon as possible.



(Mr. van Schaik, Netherlands)

We stand ready to provide appropriate assistance - if requested and within our means - to any verification and transitional arrangements which may be contemplated by the Security Council in conjunction with the implementation of a final settlement.

The far-reaching agreement on human rights concluded in July 1990 between the Government and the FMLN testifies to the commitment of both sides to work towards a structural improvement. In the light of this agreement the Security Council established in its resolution 693 (1991) of 20 May 1991 a verification mission on human rights as the initial component of a larger mission, the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL), which is to carry out the operational tasks incumbent on the United Nations in regard to the peace process in El Salvador. The comprehensive terms of reference of ONUSAL provide for the most extensive human rights mission yet mandated by the United Nations in support of the observance of human rights in any individual Member State. While the human rights situation in El Salvador continues to give cause for concern, the Organization's Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in El Salvador, Pastor Ridruejo, signalled some tangible progress in his most recent report. The second report of the Secretary-General on ONUSAL, dated 15 November 1991, points in a similar direction. As both sides in the conflict have extended the assurances of their full cooperation with ONUSAL, the Twelve hope that a lasting improvement in the human rights situation in El Salvador will finally be achieved.

The process of national reconciliation in Guatemala entered a new phase when last April in Mexico City the Government of Guatemala and representatives of the National Revolutionary Council reached consensus on procedural agreement in the search for peace through political means and on a general programme for negotiations.

(Mr. van Schaik, Netherlands)

The Twelve reaffirm their full support for the Mexico City agreements. The negotiations commenced in June, covering inter alia democratization, human rights, the establishment of a definitive cease-fire and the incorporation of the National Revolutionary Council into Guatemalan political life not only create new prospects for a settlement of the armed confrontation as such but, if successful, will help the Government of Guatemala with the support of all sectors of society to consolidate and strengthen the democratic institutions and ensure the protection of basic human rights and freedoms throughout Guatemalan society. We urge both sides, with the important contribution of the National Reconciliation Committee, the Conciliator, and the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General, to proceed rapidly towards the earliest possible agreement on all outstanding items on their programme for negotiations.

The Twelve warmly welcomed the statement of the President of the Republic of Guatemala on 5 September 1991, in which the Government of Guatemala recognized the independence of the State of Belize and established full diplomatic relations between the two countries. We believe that this constitutes a major step forward towards the resolution of a bilateral problem and should contribute to the strengthening of regional stability. The Twelve hope that the Governments of Belize and Guatemala will continue to work for a full and final settlement of this dispute.

In Nicaragua, the demobilization of the resistance forces has been completed in a peaceful and satisfactory manner, with the indispensable assistance of the United Nations Observer Group in Central America (ONUCA) and in accordance with the agreements reached between the Nicaraguan Government and the resistance in the framework of the Esquipulas process. Invaluable

(Mr. van Schaik, Netherlands)

assistance in the demobilisation and reintegration of the resistance into the political and economic structure of Nicaragua was provided by the International Commission for Support and Verification set up jointly by the United Nations and the Organization of American States (OAS) for these purposes.

The Twelve urge that all political and social forces in Nicaragua remain committed to the spirit of national reconciliation evinced in the concertation agreements of October 1990 on fostering democracy and the restoration of a viable economy. The Community and its member States confirm their readiness to support economic and social development in Nicaragua.

Over the past months, constructive steps have been taken in the promotion of regional security in Central America. ONUCA continued its monitoring operations, albeit on a somewhat reduced scale, along the frontiers of the Central American countries. While further progress in the regional peace process should gradually reduce the need for deployment of ONUCA observers, the Twelve concur with the observation of the Secretary-General in his report to the Security Council of 28 October 1991 that the presence of ONUCA still constitutes a stabilizing factor in the region. In this light, we welcome the adoption of Security Council resolution 719 (1991) of 6 November 1991 which, inter alia, extended the mandate of ONUCA until 30 April 1992 and also requested the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council within three months on any developments in the region which indicate that ONUCA's present size or its future should be reconsidered.

(Mr. van Schaik, Netherlands)

The Twelve also welcome the objectives and the work of the Central American Security Commission. The agreement on confidence-building measures and the decision to draw up inventories of military personnel and matériel will help to promote a balance of forces and to increase confidence and enhance security in the region. The Twelve reiterate their support for the United Nations and the Organization of American States as these bodies cooperate with the Central American Governments towards the achievement of this balance at the lowest possible level of armaments and forces.

The Twelve agree that special efforts must be made to promote the full and rapid integration of all refugees and displaced persons into their respective communities. To that end the Twelve reaffirm their willingness to support the implementation of the Concerted Plan of Action for Central American Refugees, Returnees and Displaced Persons. They recognize the importance of the Health Priority Plan for Central America and Panama and will cooperate with Central America in furthering the implementation of the second phase of this Plan, on which agreement was reached in Madrid in May 1991. They also intend to finance an important programme in the region - a programme aimed at improving the chances of survival of both mother and child.

As the threat of civil strife recedes and Central America enters a new phase of national reconciliation and regional stability, the international community should not be indifferent to the formidable challenges of economic and social reconstruction.

At the national level in Central America, hard choices will be faced as economic-adjustment and stabilization policies are adopted. The Community reaffirms its interest in contributing, within the framework of the

(Mr. van Schaik, Netherlands)

instruments at its disposal, to the implementation of programmes aimed at alleviating the social effects of the adjustments with which the Central American countries are coping.

While solutions to the particular problems resulting from the servicing of the region's external debt must be found, access to new investment capital remains essential to the attainment of economic growth. In this connection the Twelve note that assistance given to the region by the Community and its member States has been increased considerably in recent years.

At the regional level, the improved political climate is gradually opening up realistic opportunities for economic and financial cooperation. The Community and its member States support the commitment of the Central American Governments to the creation of an economic community in the Central American isthmus. The Twelve welcome the implementation of numerous projects of regional cooperation and integration, which benefit from financial and technical assistance provided by the Community. The Community also fully supports the goals and objectives of the Special Plan for Economic Cooperation for Central America, which it considers to be of particular importance for economic and social development in the region.

The Twelve warmly support the objectives set out in the Declaration entitled "Towards a New International Ecological Order", which was issued in December 1990 by the President of Costa Rica. We are prepared to cooperate with the Central American countries in their efforts to combat abuse of the environment and to restore and maintain the natural ecological balance.

(Mr. van Schaik, Netherlands)

The Twelve regard the fight against the international scourge of illicit drugs as a high priority and reaffirm their willingness to support cooperation projects aimed at the alleviation of drug problems in Central America.

The wide range of initiatives taken during the past year to secure increased cooperation between the countries of Central America and other countries and regions augurs well for the region's economic and social reconstruction. The joint action of the Group of Three, the agreements of Tuxtla Gutierrez and the newly established links between the Central American countries and the Rio Group of democratic countries in Latin America will foster new bonds with the region's Latin American neighbours.

The Community and its member States are ready to contribute to measures aimed at fostering dialogue and assistance and at securing economic and social development in the Central American democracies. In this respect the Twelve reiterate their commitment to the San José process as the main vehicle of cooperation with the Central American countries. Furthermore, the Twelve are willing to cooperate with the newly established Partnership for Democracy and Development in Central America.

The Community and its member States fully acknowledge the importance to them of increased economic cooperation with the countries of Central America. They are convinced that the completion of the European single market in 1992 and the increasing efforts of the Central American countries towards regional economic cooperation and integration will help both regions to achieve the expansion and diversification of economic relations to which they both aspire.

(Mr. van Schaik, Netherlands)

The ties between the Twelve and the countries in Central America remain strong. They are deeply rooted in history and culture and are based on a shared desire for democracy and political pluralism, on the promotion of economic development and social justice, and on respect for human rights.

Through political and economic dialogue with the Central American countries since 1984, the European Community and its member States have sought to promote and strengthen the negotiating process throughout the region. At a time when the need for renewed commitment and sustained assistance is more evident than ever, the Community and its member States reaffirm their intention to further intensify and deepen this dialogue with a view to consolidating the progress that has been made and bringing the peace process to completion.

Mr. SIDOROV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The positive trends in international relations - trends based on universal recognition of the principles of democracy and human rights and on a balance of global, regional and national interests - have affected all regions of the world, without exception. Central America too has been involved in these processes; until recently, it was regarded as a hotbed of fierce and complex conflicts.

For many years the international community has followed with alarm the protracted armed confrontation in Central America, which has claimed numerous victims, caused great destruction, brought disaster to the area's peoples and had a destabilizing effect on regional and international security. Truly colossal efforts were required to establish a process for settlement. That

(Mr. Sidorov, USSR)

process is the result of the mature and responsible approach adopted by the States of Central America themselves, with active support from States outside the region and from the entire international community. Credit is unquestionably due the United Nations, whose peacemaking potential is being effectively applied in Central America. The Organization of American States (OAS) is also making an important contribution to the achievement of a peaceful settlement in the region.



(Mr. Siderov, USSR)

A very positive assessment should be given to the mediation efforts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, and his Special Representative, Mr. de Soto, in achieving agreement between the parties to the conflict and in creating conditions conducive to peace in the region. We also note with satisfaction the positive role played in the peace process by the Friends of the Secretary-General - Venezuela, Colombia, Mexico and Spain. Another stabilizing factor is the activity of the United Nations Observer Group for Central America and of the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador.

It is also important to mention the significance of Soviet-United States interaction. The objective realities are such that without fundamental change in the relationships between our two countries there could not have been the profound qualitative changes that enable us to speak of the beginning of a new and peaceful era in world history. The positive developments in the situation in Central America would hardly have been possible outside that context. Soviet-United States interaction in Central America and adjacent regions promotes the strengthening of stability in Latin America. Between the USSR and the United States there is a shared understanding of the need for additional joint steps to promote the whole range of the Esquipulas agreements, including democratization, a cease-fire and the settlement of existing conflicts, national reconciliation, economic development and regional disarmament.

Thanks to the efforts made during this year by the opposing Salvadorian parties with a view to the cessation of armed confrontation, it has been possible to adopt a number of important decisions. These are now providing realistic prospects for the conclusion in the very near future of agreements designed to put a halt to the protracted conflict El Salvador.

(Mr. SIDOROV, USSR)

The Soviet Union welcomes the agreements achieved in September of this year in New York between the representatives of the Government of El Salvador and the leadership of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), which laid the foundation for the inclusion of the FMLN fighters, without discrimination, in the internal political life of that Central American State. Those agreements extricated the negotiation process from an impasse and opened the way for the Government and the rebels to make the efforts necessary for achieving a speedy agreement on issues relating to a cease-fire and for overcoming differences on other unresolved aspects of a peaceful settlement.

Also of great significance are the steps taken recently by both sides to halt offensive military operations. Those steps promote the establishment of favourable conditions for the success of the regularly scheduled meeting between representatives of the Government and the FMLN now taking place in Mexico.

As noted in the joint Soviet-United States statement of 2 December 1991 on El Salvador, there is a need for both sides to abide by their commitments to maintain the constructive approach they have shown, to make all necessary efforts towards a speedy agreement on those questions that remain unresolved, to achieve agreement on a cease-fire under international supervision and to begin implementing measures aimed at national reconciliation. In its efforts to achieve those objectives, the people of El Salvador can continue, as in the past, to count on the full support and backing of the Soviet Union.

There are encouraging prospects for a political settlement in Guatemala. We are following closely the development of the process of national

(Mr. Sidorov, USSR)

reconciliation in that country, and we welcome the determination shown by both parties involved in the conflict to bring their positions closer together and to seek mutually acceptable solutions. The Soviet Union welcomes the ongoing negotiations between the Government and the rebels in Guatemala, and it favours increased assistance from the international community for their successful development.

In the Soviet delegation's view, the objectives of a political solution to the situation in Central America are fully consistent with the draft resolution in document A/46/L.30, which reflects support for the peaceful initiatives taken by the States of the region and for the efforts of the Secretary-General. We attach special importance to the decision of the Presidents of the Central American States to transform Central America into a region of peace, freedom, democracy and development, and we feel that the endorsement of that goal by the authority of the General Assembly will give regional efforts additional momentum.

We believe that the draft resolution adequately takes into account the positive trends in Central America. Its adoption by consensus will facilitate the final settlement of existing problems by peaceful means at the negotiating table.

Mr. WATSON (United States of America): My Government fully supports the draft resolution before the Assembly regarding the situation in Central America, which we are pleased to co-sponsor, and we reiterate our strong support for the Esquipulas II agreements as the framework for an integrated and comprehensive peace process designed to bring democracy, security and development to all of Central America.

(Mr. Watson, United States)

My Government commends the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for the important contribution they have made to the peace process, and especially their contribution to the effort that led to the signing on 25 September 1991 of the New York Agreements between the Government of El Salvador and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN). Those agreements represented a breakthrough in the negotiating process that we all hope will end the conflict in El Salvador. The Secretary-General's personal involvement was an essential element of the successful outcome of the New York round, and we believe that the Secretary-General has an indispensable role in ensuring that the current negotiations reach a successful conclusion quickly.

I also wish to express my Government's appreciation to the Governments of Colombia, Mexico, Spain and Venezuela, the group of Friends of the Secretary-General, whose interest and engagement was a key factor in the progress that has been achieved.

My Government also commends the Government of El Salvador and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front for the flexibility and seriousness they demonstrated during the negotiating rounds in New York in September and Mexico in October. We especially congratulate President Cristiani for the leadership and vision he brings to the process. His statesmanlike approach, his intelligence and his authority as the duly elected representative of the Salvadorian people are essential to the success of the process.

The peace process in El Salvador, though advanced, is not yet complete. Representatives of both parties to the conflict are at this very moment meeting in Mexico. We urge the parties to continue to negotiate in the same

(Mr. Watson, United States)

spirit that produced the New York breakthrough. Both parties must negotiate urgently and with flexibility. It is important that an internationally supervised cease-fire be reached at the earliest opportunity, so that needless deaths may be avoided. We hope that such a cease-fire and an overall settlement can be agreed upon before the end of this year.

In the meantime, tragically, the violence continues in El Salvador. We are particularly concerned at the armed confrontation between the military and the FMLN in spite of a proclaimed truce. Both parties should exercise restraint in order to avoid any new escalation of violence, which can only harm the negotiating process. We strongly denounce the FMLN's widespread land seizures and attacks against coffee farms. Such tactics do nothing to bring the people of El Salvador closer to peace, nor do they serve to integrate FMLN combatants into civilian life. It is upon such reintegration into civil society that the Salvadorian guerrillas should now focus.

(Mr. Watson, United States)

In this regard, we note that the United States takes seriously the security and economic concerns of former combatants after a peace settlement. We would support strong measures to protect the security of all Salvadorian citizens and guarantee safe and open access to the political process for all sectors and individuals, regardless of their political views or ideology. The United States also believes that a settlement of the conflict in El Salvador would also permit the channelling of resources now committed to military purposes to economic purposes to assist in national reconciliation and reconstruction, including the demobilization of ex-combatants and their reintegration into civilian life.

My Government is prepared to support fully compliance with any agreements reached between the parties prior to a cease-fire, either in its capacity as a member of the Security Council or in any other capacity at the request of the Secretary-General.

However, only the people of El Salvador can negotiate an end to the conflict. Only the Government of El Salvador and the FMLN can achieve trust and national reconciliation through direct negotiations. The United States recognizes and supports the democratically elected Government of President Alfredo Cristiani as the legitimate Government of El Salvador, and we are confident that his Government will continue to take a constructive and flexible approach to the negotiating process now under way.

While the current truce has diminished the level of violence, it should be the goal of all parties to put a definitive end to the fighting as soon as

(Mr. Watson, United States)

possible by means of an internationally supervised cease-fire. The time when violence has been an acceptable means of political expression in Salvador must be brought to an end.

My Government supports the Central American peace process in all its aspects and supports regional democratization, disarmament and development. A negotiated solution to the conflict in El Salvador can greatly strengthen the regional process, including regional disarmament.

The United States also supports the process of national reconciliation under way in Guatemala, and we urge the parties involved in that dialogue to redouble their efforts to reach a peaceful settlement to the conflict in that country.

Turning to the situation in Nicaragua, we support the democratically elected Government of President Chamorro and its policy of national reconciliation, and we urge all parties in that country to cooperate with Mrs. Chamorro to achieve fully the goal of national reconciliation.

We note the call in the draft resolution before us for technical, economic and financial support for Central America. The United States has provided and will continue to provide such assistance.

In this regard, we note the role of the Partnership for Democracy and Development in Central America, which responds to a historic moment of opportunity as the Governments and peoples of the region seek to consolidate the promise of peace, continue the deepening of democracy, and promote more vigorous and more equitable economic development. The Partnership is a multilateral forum that, without duplicating or substituting for other forums

(Mr. Watson, United States)

or initiatives, focuses constructive attention on Central American issues and stimulates support for democracy and development in the region. It brings together countries of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD); the Central American republics, including Panama; the Latin American Group of Three; and various international organizations.

Over the past year there has been steady progress in moving this Partnership from concept to reality. The Coordinating Committee, which was established at San Jose, created voluntary experts groups in the two broad areas of interest - support for economic development and support for democratic development. These groups have completed their work and have reported back to the Coordinating Committee and the Central American Governments. We now look forward to the next plenary meeting, which the Government of Canada will host in Ottawa in January 1992. The Ottawa conference, we anticipate, will draw on the recommendations of the Central American Governments and agree on a work plan of priority areas of attention that will guide the work of the Partnership over the next year.

My Government remains willing to continue its full support for the Secretary-General and the United Nations in the difficult tasks that lie ahead to ensure that Central America fulfils its promise as a region of peace, democracy and development.\*

Mr. YAÑES-BARNUEVO (Spain) (interpretation from Spanish): As is only natural, we fully subscribe to the statement made by the representative of the Netherlands on behalf of the twelve member States of the European Community, to which my country belongs. I should like to add a few brief

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\* Mr. Ayalo Lasso (Ecuador) Vice-President, took the Chair.



(Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo, Spain)

comments, primarily relating to draft resolution A/46/L.30, which Spain has the honour to sponsor along with the Central American countries and other countries from Europe and America.

First of all, we should like to stress the innovative nature of this draft resolution, which, unlike resolutions adopted on this subject at previous sessions of the General Assembly, is subdivided into two distinct but complementary parts.

The first part of the draft resolution, entitled "Procedures for the establishment of a firm and lasting peace in Central America", refers to the efforts by the Central American countries, their Governments and their peoples, with the valuable support of the Secretary-General and the backing of other interested countries, to achieve a stable and lasting peace in the region.

My country welcomes the positive developments that have taken place in the peace processes in Central America over the past 12 months, but we do not underestimate or disregard the remaining obstacles and difficulties. Whenever we are requested to do so, we shall extend our cooperation to the Secretary-General, particularly in regard to the negotiations under way to put an end to the armed conflict in El Salvador.

In its second part, entitled "Central America: Region of peace, freedom, democracy and development", the draft resolution sets the goal as the establishment of a global frame of reference that would enable the international community to focus its support on Central America's efforts to ensure that freedom, democracy and development prevail in the region.

(Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo, Spain)

We consider it important to stress the constructive approach of this text, guided as it is by the firm desire of Central Americans themselves to turn their backs on the past and face the future with hope and optimism. The time has come for Central America, by means of dialogue and negotiation, to transcend, once and for all, the climate of confrontation and the adverse effects of conflicts from which various countries in the region have suffered. Central America's future has to come about through reconciliation and must be based on peace, democracy, respect for human rights, and economic and social progress.

Fortunately, much has been accomplished already and Central America has moved a considerable way towards eliminating threats to international peace and security. It is appropriate, therefore, that the positive and extremely hopeful turn of events in the region should be reflected in this draft resolution, and that the General Assembly should tangibly show its interest in the future of Central America by supporting the laudable efforts of the Central American countries to forge a better future for themselves. Peace must indeed be achieved, but it must be real and lasting - and this requires economic development and participation by all citizens in political life and social well-being.

My country, with its many unbreakable ties to Central America, will stand by these efforts and demonstrate its commitment to contributing, as far as we can, to efforts to ensure that the region achieves the goals it has set itself. We call upon the international community to join in these efforts.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to inform members that in order to allow sufficient time to the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions and the Fifth Committee for consideration of the programme-budget implications of draft resolution A/46/L.30 and Corr.1, action on that draft resolution is postponed to a later date, to be announced.

PROGRAMME OF WORK

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to inform members that on Monday, 9 December, in the afternoon, in addition to considering the reports of the Sixth Committee, the Assembly will continue its debate on agenda items 109, "Current financial crisis of the United Nations", and 110, "Financial emergency of the United Nations".

AGENDA ITEM 34

COOPERATION BETWEEN THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE LEAGUE OF ARAB STATES:

- (a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/46/438)
- (b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/46/L.29)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I call on the representative of Lebanon, who will introduce draft resolution A/46/L.29.

MR. MAKKAWI (Lebanon) (interpretation from Arabic): It gives me great pleasure to speak today on agenda item 34, "Cooperation between the United Nations and the League of Arab States", on behalf of the group of Arab States, which it is my honour to chair this month, and on behalf of my delegation and the other Arab-Group sponsors of draft resolution A/46/L.29 and similar draft resolutions at previous sessions.

I wish to review the elements of the draft resolution, a text which is of great interest to the secretariat of the League of Arab States and to the United Nations as its goal is to consolidate and develop cooperation between

(Mr. Makkawi, Lebanon)

the Arab League and the United Nations in line with the purposes and principles of Chapter VIII of the Charter. The draft resolution is intended in letter and in spirit effectively to strengthen the prospects for and means and mechanisms of coordination in all fields of cooperation, especially those relating to development, economic, social, political and administrative issues, on the basis of resolutions of international organisations and the provisions of resolutions adopted at Arab summit conferences and at meetings of the Arab Foreign Ministers' Council.

In its preambular and operative paragraphs the sponsors of the draft resolution seek to strengthen the existing cooperation between the two organisations on the basis of respect for the fundamental responsibilities of the United Nations and its Member States with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security, protection and defence of and respect for human rights, the elimination of racism, racial discrimination and apartheid, the achievement of disarmament and the eradication of colonialism in order to secure the right of peoples to self-determination. In all this, the sponsors proceeded from the great importance the Arab States attach to fulfilling their obligations and commitments undertaken when they joined the United Nations, by the terms of the Charter and the rules of international law and international legality.

This Arab approach, which aims at strengthening the foundations of international legality, détente and international cooperation in the context of a new world whose horizons, prospects and challenges are only now emerging, is reflected in our respect for and adherence to all United Nations resolutions without any selectivity and in our constant determination to implement the provisions of those resolutions in shouldering the collective

(Mr. Makkawi, Lebanon)

responsibility for the maintenance of collective security and world détente, in an integral manner without double standards or discrimination.

For example, operative paragraphs 4, 5 and 6 highlight the endeavours of the Arab States to promote the peace process and reconstruction efforts in Lebanon and to achieve a just, comprehensive and durable solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict and to the core of that conflict, the question of Palestine, and thereby to put an end to the occupation and remove all its effects with a view to guaranteeing the right of peoples to self-determination.

Operative paragraph 10 calls for a general meeting between the United Nations system and the League of Arab States to take place once every two years and for inter-agency sectoral meetings to be organized annually on areas of priority and wide importance in the development of the Arab States. Operative paragraph 11 takes note of the intention of the League of Arab States to hold a high-level Arab regional meeting for children in 1992 and requests the organizations and agencies of the United Nations system to cooperate with the League of Arab States in the furtherance of that lofty objective, in the interest of future generations.

In both letter and spirit, the draft resolution outlines all aspects of cooperation, consultation and coordination between the two organizations with a view to achieving the lofty goal of the maintenance of international peace and security, after which all the world's peoples aspire in their yearning for a new world order of equality, right and justice in which international legality and cooperation can prevail and guarantee the right of peoples to freedom and independence in societies that may live in equality and assist each other on the regional, interregional and international levels.

(Mr. Makkawi, Lebanon)

While I urge members to vote in favour of draft resolution A/46/L.29, I wish to announce that Somalia has joined its Arab sisters in sponsoring the draft resolution.

(Mr. Makkawi, Lebanon)

I would also like to draw your attention to the need for including the following words after the word "of" in the text of preambular paragraph 11: "the Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of the Arab League on 5 December 1991".

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of Lebanon.

In accordance with General Assembly resolution 477 (V) of 1 November 1950, I now call on the Observer of the League of Arab States.

Mr. ABDEL AZIZ (League of Arab States) (interpretation from Arabic): Mr. President, I am honoured to express to you and to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and to the entire Arab nation on behalf of the League of Arab States our heartfelt congratulations on your election as President of the General Assembly. This is a confirmation of your stature in the international community and the confidence vested in your political expertise and acumen and in the manner in which you will conduct the work of this session, especially in light of the successive events which preceded this session and current developments throughout the world in various fields. All this makes this session especially importa ..

We are certain that you will do whatever is necessary to ensure the success of this session and the achievement of its objectives through your tireless efforts, your creation of an exemplary climate that encourages a dialogue, defines responsibilities, upholds peaceful principles, contributes to the establishment of the international community and transforms the destructive threats to the international community into a life of development, welfare and prosperity.

(Mr. Abdel Assis, League  
of Arab States)

We would like to extend our appreciation and thanks to Mr. Guido de Marco for the efforts he made in guiding the work of the Assembly's last session.

The League of Arab States takes this opportunity to reiterate its appreciation alongside that of the Heads of States and representatives of the States of the world for Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar's efforts in implementing the resolutions of the United Nations, ensuring respect for the principles and values enshrined in this Organization's Charter and in discharging his mandate in the best possible way, particularly with regard to cooperation between the United Nations and the League of Arab States and other specialized agencies as well as for his efforts in the interests of peace.

I also seize this opportunity to reiterate what was stated by the Assistant Secretary-General of the Arab League, Mr. Muhammad Al-Farra, in his statement of 25 November 1991, and, on behalf of Mr. Abdel-Meguid, the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States, I would like to extend congratulations to the whole of the African continent, to the Arab Republic of Egypt and to the Arab world in particular on the election of Mr. Boutros Boutros Ghali as Secretary-General of the United Nations. This unanimous election was an expression of the international community's confidence in Mr. Ghali's competence and his ability to guide the work of this international Organization in an ideal manner in keeping with its objectives and the principles of its Charter.

The League of Arab States addresses you today because of its keen desire to continue its efforts to achieve cooperation in all its forms, to realize the objectives and purposes of the United Nations, to enhance ties of regional cooperation with the United Nations and its specialized agencies and



(Mr. Abdel Aziz, League  
of Arab States)

to develop the current ties because we believe in the absolute necessity of promoting cooperation, a necessity which has become more evident than ever before, if we are to build an international community where peace and security may prevail. This is the goal of the international community as a whole.

The contributions of the Arab League are becoming more pronounced from one day to the next in the context of the League's cooperation with the United Nations and its various specialized agencies in implementing the Organization's resolutions and in dealing with the unfolding situations in the Arab region and the world as a whole. These contributions continue to highlight the League's effective performance and to underscore the soundness of its positions which aim at enhancing and implementing the rules and objectives of the two organizations and their subsidiary bodies.

The League of Arab States has worked and continues to strive by every possible means through its various agencies for peace in the Middle East and the creation of a climate in the region that would have no adverse impact on the international climate. This is the duty of the leaders of the world because the human individual looks forward to progress so that progress may lead to prosperity and welfare. This has been and continues to be an objective of the League of Arab States which it has reiterated on many occasions. For example, the Arab Summits of Fez, in Morocco, in 1982, of Amman in 1987 and of Algiers in 1988 have voiced the Arab commitment to the principles of the United Nations as well as to the guidelines laid down by the Organization with a view to achieving a just, lasting and comprehensive solution to the Palestinian question and the Middle East conflict in keeping with the Charter of the United Nations and the provisions of the relevant

(Mr. Abdel Aziz, League  
of Arab States)

resolutions and to create a greater international awareness of the danger of ignoring the principles and resolutions of the United Nations on the maintenance of international peace and security.

The efforts of the League of Arab States to intensify full and comprehensive cooperation with the United Nations in all fields make us keenly desirous of continuing our consultations and dialogue to find every possible means of ensuring the implementation of all resolutions adopted by the Organization with regard to general and complete disarmament, the peaceful settlement of conflicts, the elimination of racial discrimination and all other forms of discrimination, decolonization, enhancing the right to self-determination and ensuring the fundamental rights of all peoples, as well as the resolutions relating to the environment, development and humanitarian assistance.

The efforts of the League of Arab States and its tripartite committee to promote the peace process and reconstruct efforts in Lebanon have highlighted the Arab League's desire to ensure coordination cooperation with the United Nations system in implementing the resolutions of the United Nations.

(Mr. Abdel Aziz, League  
of Arab States)

The League of Arab States considers the principle of cooperation to be of vital importance and we think that it should prevail in the Arab world and in the Middle East region. This is consonant with the international view and hope that cooperation should be the hallmark of the actions of the Members of the United Nations now that concrete changes have taken place in international relations that augur well for social, political and economic development.

It was with the aim of achieving this goal that the joint economic Arab strategy was adopted at the 1980 Summit in Amman. The League, all its agencies and all Arab organizations affiliated with it undertook the responsibility of implementing that strategy through mutual cooperation and cooperation with the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

The report of the Secretary-General, contained in document A/46/438, referred to the various phases of cooperation in the political, economic, social, administrative and other spheres.

We must express the appreciation of the League of Arab States and of its specialized agencies for the technical assistance given by the specialized agencies of the United Nations and we further express our keen desire to make use of Arab expertise in the implementation of projects throughout the Arab world. We urge the specialized agencies to coordinate their work with their Arab counterparts with a view to complete the implementation of development projects in the Arab world with particular attention to the projects and recommendations of the Tunisia meeting of 1983 and the Geneva meeting of 1988.

In conclusion, I should like to emphasize that we attach special importance to the implementation of the recommendations of the World Summit for Children and we urge Member States to include those recommendations in

(Mr. Abdel Aziz, League  
of Arab States)

their national development plans and legislation relating to children. The Arab document relating to children was adopted at the meeting held in Tunisia on 23 and 24 June 1990. This report contains the hopes and joint commitment of the Arab countries to improve the lot of children and women in the 1990s. The representatives of the countries of the League of Arab States are of the opinion that the desired goals should be achieved by the year 2000.

The League of Arab States wishes to express its appreciation to the United Nations Department for Special Political Questions, Regional Cooperation, Decolonization and Trusteeship and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) for their efforts and the measures adopted by them to ensure the success of the sectorial meeting of coordinators held in Geneva on 25 and 26 November 1991 regarding the provision of care and the protection of children in the Arab world. The United Nations Department will provide a valuable report on that meeting as an official document of the General Assembly.

In this regard, I should like to note that the General Assembly, by adopting the draft resolution contained in document A/46/L.29, will be notifying its Members of the intention of the League of Arab States to convene a high-level Arab regional meeting on children and child care in 1992 in cooperation with UNICEF whose efforts and fruitful cooperation in the interest of children and families we appreciate. We call upon all organizations and bodies of the United Nations to cooperate with us and to work together to promote our national plans and policies and the multilateral policies in the interest of future generations in the Arab world.

**THE PRESIDENT** (interpretation from Spanish): The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/46/L.29. I should like to inform members that the Secretary-General does not foresee programme budget implications in the implementation of this draft resolution.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belarus, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Comoros, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Estonia, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Romania, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukraine, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: Israel, United States of America

Draft resolution A/46/L.29 was adopted by 140 votes to 2 (resolution 46/24).\*

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\* Subsequently the delegations of Chile, Guinea-Bissau, Latvia, Mozambique and Samoa advised the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): Before calling on the first speaker in explanation of vote after the vote, may I remind delegations that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. PADILLA (United States of America): I regret that, as it did in the past several years, the United States had to vote against this resolution. The United States does seek to support the work of the Arab League and does support increased cooperation between the United Nations and the League of Arab States. The Arab League played a positive role in the Gulf crisis, and my Government cooperated with members of the League to that end. The Arab League's Tripartite High Committee was instrumental in helping settle the conflict in Lebanon, and my Government cooperated with members of the League to that end as well.

However, as we stated in each of the preceding years, we cannot support a resolution which includes language and references inconsistent with fundamental policies of the United States Government and which we have consistently opposed.

This resolution asks the Secretary-General, in paragraph 5, to help implement United Nations resolutions that the United States has opposed. In preambular paragraph 9 the resolution includes reference, not to United Nations-Arab cooperation, but to the statement of the 1980 Arab Summit which contains language and conclusions which are unacceptable not only to the United States but to many other members of the Assembly as well. We regret that the sponsors of the resolution have chosen to include these references. We would have preferred to join in consensus on this resolution with other members of the Assembly.

Mr. FIFE (Norway): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the five Nordic countries: Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Sweden and Norway.

The Nordic countries voted in favour of the draft resolution just adopted by the General Assembly on the understanding that the elements with political implications, in particular those in operative paragraph 5, are not relevant to the issue and obviously cannot prejudice the position of the Nordic countries on the substantive matters referred to therein.

Ms. PIATTELLI (Canada): Canada supports cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations like the League of Arab States and consequently voted in favour of this draft resolution.

The Secretary-General's report (A/46/438) points to a number of areas where constructive cooperation has occurred. We would want to see this beneficial cooperation continue.

For the record, we would wish to indicate that some of the General Assembly resolutions referred to in operative paragraph 5 were not supported by Canada.

Finally, cooperation between the League of Arab States and the United Nations towards a solution to the Middle East conflict must take into account the more positive current climate created by the peace conference.

Mr. GUBB (New Zealand): My delegation supports the promotion of cooperation between this Organization and the League of Arab States. Accordingly, we voted in favour of the draft resolution that has just been adopted. We continue, however, to have reservations about some elements in the draft resolution, in particular operative paragraph 5. I wish to place on record that our vote does not signify any change in our position on matters that are not relevant to the resolution.

(Mr. Gubb, New Zealand)

Regarding operative paragraph 12, I wish to state my delegation's view that there should be continued adherence to the Organization's existing criteria concerning the employment of staff.

Mr. JACOB (Israel): My delegation voted against the draft resolution just adopted for reasons spelled out repeatedly in our previous statements on this issue. As those reasons have already been put on the record, we shall not repeat them here. Given the endeavours to promote peace between Israel and its neighbours, all of which are members of the League of Arab States, we feel that restraint at this juncture is more appropriate.

We should like, however, to refer to operative paragraph 5, which calls for the implementation of

"United Nations resolutions relating to the question of Palestine and the situation in the Middle East". (A/46/L.29, para. 5)

Israel has consistently voted against these resolutions because they have never constituted any genuine basis for a negotiated and peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Israel has always advocated that the only way to promote peace in the region is through direct negotiations between ourselves and our neighbours, without preconditions - and, indeed, the current peace process is based on these precise principles.

We should like to call upon members of the Arab League to help promote the peace process which began in Madrid just a few weeks ago. Israel, for its part, is committed to doing its utmost to bring this process to a fruitful conclusion.

Ms. BIRD (Australia): Australia has been a consistently strong supporter of instruments of regional cooperation and of cooperation between such bodies in the United Nations. It is for this reason that Australia voted in favour of the draft resolution just adopted.



(Mr. Bird, Australia)

We do, however, have difficulties with operative paragraph 5, which refers to United Nations resolutions some of which Australia has not supported.

Concerning operative paragraph 12, while understanding the sentiment expressed, we consider that the United Nations should continue to be mindful of the need for merit, efficiency and economy in employment of staff. This principle applies to all resolutions where considerations of this kind are raised.

Mr. BAS BACKER (Netherlands): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 12 member States of the European Community.

While we voted in favour of the draft resolution on cooperation between the United Nations and the League of Arab States just adopted, we wish to make a few general comments.

The Twelve are well aware of the benefits of cooperation between the United Nations and the organizations holding observer status and are happy to join in expressions of support and encouragement for the further development of such cooperation within the framework of the United Nations Charter. However, the Twelve would prefer that resolutions of this kind dealt with the question of cooperation in terms which avoid introducing contentious elements.

In particular with regard to operative paragraph 5 of draft resolution A/46/L.29, the Twelve wish to draw attention to the need to avoid prejudicing the role of the Secretary-General and to the fact that the Twelve have not supported all the resolutions referred to in that paragraph.

With regard to operative paragraph 12, we should like to state again that its contents should not serve as a precedent in the future. The United Nations should be free to make use in its various projects of the best and most economical expertise available to it.

(Mr. Ben Backer, Netherlands)

Last year the Twelve stated that they could agree to the increase in frequency of meetings between the United Nations and the League of Arab States from every three to every two years, on the understanding that the Secretariat could meet any cost from within existing resources. This remains our view.

Mr. SUMI (Japan): The delegation of Japan is well aware of the extremely valuable benefits to be derived from cooperation between the United Nations and the various organizations with observer status. Japan thus welcomes and firmly supports the cooperation of the United Nations with the League of Arab States. Consequently, Japan voted in favour of draft resolution A/46/L.29. Having done so, Japan would like to place on record, however, its position concerning operative paragraph 5 of the resolution, which includes reference to some United Nations resolutions which Japan did not support.

Japan also wishes to draw attention to the need for efforts to limit the costs of such cooperation between the United Nations and the various organizations with observer status, in view of the current financial constraints.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Assembly has thus concluded its consideration of agenda item 34.

#### AGENDA ITEM 40

#### QUESTION OF PEACE, STABILITY AND COOPERATION IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Assembly decided on 20 September 1991 to include an item entitled, "Question of peace, stability and cooperation in South-East Asia" in the agenda of the forty-sixth session.

(The President)

The General Assembly takes note of recent positive developments in South-East Asia and is encouraged by important statements of heads of delegation in the general debate concerning peace, stability, friendship and cooperation in South-East Asia, and consequently calls on the countries concerned, the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the international community to continue their untiring efforts to ensure peace and prosperity in the region.

Since there is no request for discussion of this item, may I take it that the Assembly wishes to conclude its consideration of agenda item 40?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): We have thus concluded our consideration of agenda item 40.

## AGENDA ITEMS 37 AND 102 (CONTINUED)

## POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

- (a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID (A/46/22)
- (b) REPORT OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL GROUP TO MONITOR THE SUPPLY AND SHIPPING OF OIL AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS TO SOUTH AFRICA (A/46/44)
- (c) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/46/499, A/46/507, A/46/648)
- (d) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/46/643)
- (e) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/46/L.31)

## UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

- (a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/46/561)
- (b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/46/L.25)

Mr. STAVRINOS (Cyprus): In a world in which a dramatic change is taking place from confrontation to the peaceful and negotiated settlement of disputes and from despotic regimes to a worldwide flourishing democratization process, the persistence of apartheid policies in South Africa constitutes a deplorable anachronism, for the immediate and final eradication of which today's world of human rights is crying out.

The present session of the General Assembly, which is marked by a series of welcome positive changes on the international scene, bears a special responsibility as regards the initiation of practical steps to dismantle apartheid.

A number of positive changes in South Africa have given us hope that a really constructive dialogue between the oppressed majority and the minority South African regime is near at hand.

Whilst welcoming several significant reforms which the South African regime has carried out recently, we continue to be concerned at the fact that

(Mr. Stavrinou, Cyprus)

a large proportion of the pillars of apartheid remain, thereby impeding progress.

A most notable development has been the repeal of major apartheid legal structures. However, a serious problem that has been tormenting the country in the past year has been the spiralling cycle of violence, which, if not controlled, can only hinder and jeopardize political dialogue.

In his report entitled "Second progress report on the implementation of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa", the Secretary-General stated that:

"While the most basic laws of apartheid, as promised, were removed by last June, many of the concomitant attitudes and practices, as indeed the consequences of those laws, do persist. Delays in the implementation of the necessary measures envisaged by the Declaration to create a climate for negotiations, particularly with regard to political prisoners and exiles, the perceived ineffectual response to violence and disclosures of secret funding of organizations led to tensions and a crisis of confidence in the government structures." (A/45/1052, para. 8)

He went on to state:

"While the [South African] Government has introduced a number of positive measures, the problems facing the majority of South Africans are so vast that they require a comprehensive national programme of redress."

(ibid., para. 10)

Hundreds of political prisoners remain in gaol. Broad powers are still in the hands of internal security forces. Apartheid legislation has been replaced by legislation permitting white communities to maintain the status quo. The majority of South Africa's black population continue to live in such

(Mr. Stavrinou, Cyprus)

subject poverty that they cannot avail themselves of the opportunities afforded by the repeal of the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts.

Another obstacle to the genuine elimination of apartheid is the fact that, although the state of emergency is no longer in force, the South African Minister of Law and Order is still authorized to declare "unrest areas", with virtually the same results regarding unbridled powers given to the police as those exercised during the state of emergency.

The Republic of Cyprus continues to follow developments in South Africa closely and welcomes the agreement to convene a convention of political parties to discuss South Africa's future. In this regard we note the preparatory meeting that was concluded last week with the participation of a significant number of political organizations and which it is hoped will pave the way for a formal convention to negotiate the future of South Africa. Such a convention is expected to lay the foundation for negotiations on a new constitution extending full political rights to the country's repressed majority. It is our hope that other political parties will soon agree to attend the convention also, proving thereby the general commitment of all political forces in the country to work for a peaceful and rapid transition of South Africa to a united, non-racial and democratic society.

Notwithstanding the primary responsibility of the South African Government to proceed to the talks in good faith, all parties concerned should play their part in negotiating an early termination of the inhuman, repressive and unjust system of apartheid. The responsibility of the international community with regard to that goal is of equal importance and its stance on the matter will undoubtedly be significant if the parties are to proceed

(Mr. Stavrinou, Cyprus)

expeditiously. In his statement to the General Assembly on 2 December 1991 on this issue, Ambassador Cambari of Nigeria said:

"The international community cannot be neutral during the ongoing political process. ... The ongoing negotiations in South Africa involve, as in most negotiations, two sides. On one side are those who uphold universal United Nations principles and are committed to the evolution of a South Africa which will guarantee all its peoples the same fundamental freedoms and human rights, irrespective of their race, colour, sex or creed; on the other ... are the South African authorities whose origin lies in the discredited political system founded and sustained on repression and racial discrimination. The two parties to the negotiation are ... neither equal nor morally equivalent and must not be judged as such." (A/46/PV.58, p. 8)

Furthermore, to quote again from the Secretary-General's aforementioned report:

"The United Nations system, in addition to its contribution in connection with the return of exiles, is preparing a concerted response to requests for assistance, particularly from disadvantaged sectors of the society. Furthermore, the Secretary-General stands ready, when requested by the South Africans themselves and the international community, to help in the promotion of the process and in the provision of assistance during the transitional period and beyond." (A/45/1052, para. 15)

Until the system of apartheid has been dismantled, it is vital that the United Nations should continue to play an active role in South Africa by insisting that sanctions on matters relating to oil and the mandatory arms

(Mr. Stavrinou, Cyprus)

embargo be upheld until a new democratic government is in place and the other restrictive measures are adjusted according to positive developments in the country, such as agreement on transitional arrangements.

We, the members of today's international community, must continue to exert moral pressure and take the necessary political decision so that the forthcoming convention will mark the beginning of the end for the abhorrent policies of apartheid and forge the rules and principles for a speedy and peaceful transformation of the country to a really democratic State.

In this respect we would like to express our deep appreciation to the Special Committee against Apartheid, under the capable leadership of Ambassador Ibrahim Gambari of Nigeria, for the positive work done on the matter and to commend the excellent work done by the Centre against Apartheid, headed by the Assistant Secretary-General, Mr. Sotirios Mousouris.

In conclusion, allow me to quote from the address of the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. George Vassiliou, before this body on 27 September 1991:

"The Republic of Cyprus welcomes the recent developments in South Africa as definite steps in the right direction but maintains its belief that only when South Africa is fully transformed into a non-racial, democratic and unified country, where basic human rights and freedoms are enjoyed by all, can South Africa truly enjoy peace." (A/46/PV.12, p. 13)



Mr. JAYA (Brunei Darussalam): The positive measures taken by the South African authorities since 1990 are to be commended. The abolition of the Separate Amenities Act and the lifting of the state of emergency were important steps forward. In June 1991 the South African authorities also abolished the Lands Acts of 1913 and 1936, which had restricted 87 per cent of the population into 13 per cent of the country. The abolition of the Group Areas Act, which had segregated residential areas along racial lines since 1950, and the Population Registration Act, which had classified all South Africans by race, are important advances towards a non-racial South Africa.

However, the removal of the policy of apartheid goes beyond the mere repeal of discriminatory legislation. It covers every need of society, from education to jobs and recreation. For example, the Note by the Secretary-General containing the preliminary report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on Southern Africa for the Commission on Human Rights indicates that the basic rights to freedom of the black South African continue to be violated. Black persons continue to be removed systematically by force from their ancestral lands. Furthermore, my delegation notes the following summary on education made by the Working Group:

"Despite the effort being made to extend and increase financial assistance to black schools, the system of education still remains segregated, and schools are only being opened to non-whites if the vast majority of parents in each school agree."

The quest for fundamental human freedom demands commitment and sacrifice. It has to be achieved and conducted with a spirit of compromise and understanding. Brunei Darussalam is concerned about the continued, indeed increasing, violence between the rival anti-apartheid groups. It is in the interest of the black majority in South Africa that solidarity be maintained

(Mr. Jaya Brunei Darussalam)

if the dream of a just and non-racial State is to be realized. The conflict benefits only those who wish to see the perpetuation of apartheid. It is Brunei Daru-salam's fervent hope that the conflicting parties will resolve their differences and stand united in order to ensure rapid progress towards a new era in South Africa. To this end, my delegation welcomes the signing of an agreement between the ruling National Party, the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party, in Johannesburg on 14 September.

We believe that the total elimination of apartheid will require the concerted efforts of not just the whites but also the black majority of South Africa. Apartheid was created as a complex system to institutionalize racial discrimination. Its abrogation will need a systematic appraisal of the political, economic and social fabric even after the new constitution has been formulated.

None the less, proposals by the white-controlled Government must not continue to facilitate the existence of minority privilege or dampen the genuine aspiration of the majority blacks to meet their basic everyday needs for employment, food, shelter, education and health.

Brunei Darussalam remains steadfast in its opposition to the policies and practices of the racist South African authorities and continues to extend its cooperation to other countries and organizations in a unified effort to eradicate the prolonged and institutionalized racial discrimination of apartheid.

My delegation pays a particular tribute to the Special Committee against Apartheid for its unrelenting efforts to mobilize public opinion with a view to bringing about an end to apartheid. We also welcome the efforts of the Secretary-General to ensure that justice prevails in South Africa.

Mr. MUMBENGE (Zimbabwe): Zimbabwe welcomes the changes under way in South Africa today. Credit goes to the people of South Africa themselves for their determination and to the international community for all the support given to create the new situation in South Africa. Internal pressures, as well as the unanimous adoption of the 1989 Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, compelled the South African regime to yield to the demands of the international community and the anti-apartheid forces. Today, we can all see the result of that pressure. The repeal of the principal apartheid laws that has been effected so far and the setting in motion of the negotiation process are undoubtedly a direct response to that pressure.

We welcome the report of the Secretary-General before us and we commend the effort of the Secretary-General and his staff in compiling such a comprehensive report. While we acknowledge the new climate in South Africa and all the steps taken so far, a careful analysis of the report and that of the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid, for which we commend both the Special Committee and the Centre, reveal that a lot still has to be done. Clearly not all requirements of the 1989 Declaration have been met, and this continues to be a cause for concern.

We acknowledge that much has happened in South Africa since September, when the Secretary-General's report was issued. We have in mind the 14 September peace accord, the Patriotic/United Front Conference in October, and the recently ended meeting of the Preparatory Committee which was a prelude to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa scheduled for 20 and 21 December 1991. These developments are indeed steps towards the realization of a free, united and democratic South Africa. It is our sincere

(Mr. Mumbengezi, Zimbabwe)

hope that the liberation movements will do all they can to close ranks as they approach this important Convention. In unity lies the key to success.

Over the years, the international community has imposed various types of pressure against the white minority regime in South Africa with the sole objective of persuading it to abolish the system of apartheid which has universally been identified as a crime against humanity. There is therefore, a very serious danger of the international community's losing sight of this objective in the face of premature euphoria. The regime has promised to undertake negotiations for the creation of a Democratic South Africa. Indeed, promises are not enough. Our actions must be based on the results actually achieved.

(Mr. Mumbengegwi, Zimbabwe)

The 1989 consensus Declaration was very clear that existing pressures should continue till "profound and irreversible" (resolution S-16/1, para. 9 (d)) changes had occurred. Clearly, as long as the white minority regime can still legally reverse or veto the process of change towards a non-racial democratic South Africa the situation in that country cannot be termed "irreversible".

However, since the adoption of the consensus Declaration in 1989 it has become clear that irreversibility cannot be seen as a static event, but must be seen as a dynamic process. It was with this in mind that the Commonwealth Heads of Government, meeting in Harare, Zimbabwe, from 16-22 October 1991, issued a communiqué linking the lifting of sanctions to specific, concrete, political developments inside South Africa. The Commonwealth Heads of Government regarded the progress made so far in overcoming obstacles to negotiations and the need to give external support and encouragement to democratic anti-apartheid forces in South Africa as warranting the immediate lifting of what they termed "people-to-people" sanctions, which had hitherto restricted the free interaction of the people of South Africa with the peoples of the rest of the world. They also declared that economic and financial sanctions should remain in place till agreement had been reached on appropriate transitional mechanisms and on the text of a new constitution respectively. The arms embargo, they said, should remain in force till a democratic and fully accountable South African Government was firmly established.

It is therefore quite clear that the Commonwealth Heads of Government did not call for a wholesale lifting of sanctions against the white minority regime in South Africa. What they did call for was maintenance of pressure by

(Mr. Mumbengegwi, Zimbabwe)

the international community till clearly stated objectives had been achieved on the road towards a non-racial, democratic South Africa.

It is clear that the international community should continue to pursue a two-pronged approach: first, to maintain pressure on the regime so as to ensure that it engages in serious negotiations for the eradication of apartheid; and, secondly, to assist the liberation movements and other democratic forces inside South Africa until negotiations for a new democratic constitution are concluded and a new democratic Government is fully installed. Any premature lifting of sanctions and easing of pressure would be detrimental to the delicate and fragile process of change currently under way in South Africa. The international consensus so painstakingly forged on this issue in 1989 needs to be maintained.

It is true that the South African authorities have repealed the key apartheid legislation. But it is equally true that apartheid in South Africa has not been eradicated. We cannot help but begin to doubt the often stated contention that the repealed statutes were the pillars of apartheid. It is well known that once the pillars of any structure are removed the structure must collapse. This has not happened with apartheid. There is therefore the nagging suspicion that what had seemed to be the legal underpinnings of apartheid were in fact the scaffolding required to set up the whole edifice of apartheid. Once the structure was fully in place the scaffolding became superfluous and could therefore be removed without affecting the structure.

It is clear that the edifice of apartheid has to be dismantled, as it were, brick by brick. We do not believe that the architects of apartheid can dismantle the apartheid structure. This can be done only by a Government fully accountable to the people of South Africa as a whole. This means that

(Mr. Mumbengegwi, Zimbabwe)

for apartheid to be eradicated power must be transferred from the white minority to all the people of South Africa. We do not believe this process is going to be easy. It is therefore of critical importance that the international community play its important role in assisting the democratic forces in South Africa so as to ensure a speedy transition.

In the final analysis, it is for the people - indeed, all the people - of South Africa to seize the moment and take full charge of their own destiny. There is no doubt that they will measure up to the tasks and responsibilities that weigh so heavily upon their shoulders.

Mr. ERDŐS (Hungary): For over four decades the United Nations has spoken loud and clear on apartheid. Hungary, motivated by its strong commitment to the endeavours of the international community against this most abhorrent form of racial discrimination, joined the consensus on rejecting and condemning apartheid in South Africa, a form of institutionalized State racism.

Over the last two years we have witnessed many significant developments towards the dismantling of apartheid. Guided by its unchanged firm opposition to all forms of discrimination based on race or ethnic or national origin, Hungary has been encouraging all parties in South Africa to join in efforts to bring about an end to apartheid and to work for a peaceful transition to a new South Africa.

Today, only a few days after the successful conclusion of the preparatory meeting for the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, the international community, and the General Assembly, can assess with pride what has been done for the abolition of apartheid. However, we are all well aware that a long and difficult road still lies ahead. We therefore congratulate all the parties that made the decision to attend the Convention for a Democratic South

(Mr. Erdős, Hungary)

Africa, a forum that will open the way to formal negotiations on a new constitution. While offering our best wishes to the participants in those discussions, we share their well-founded optimism about walking the last mile.

Not so long ago there was little indication that such substantial changes could occur so quickly. Against the backdrop of the momentous changes taking place in our world, the commitment by the Government of South Africa to abolish the apartheid system and the decision by the African National Congress (ANC) to suspend the armed struggle, the talks initiated between the Government and the ANC, the release of Mr. Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, the unbanning of political parties and movements and the lifting of the state of emergency have brought the country to the threshold of a new era. This year, acting on the basis of legislation introduced by the Government, the South African Parliament repealed the remaining major legal structures of apartheid: the Land Acts, the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act. The process of the elimination of apartheid seems to have reached the point of irreversibility.



(Mr. Erdős, Hungary)

But a good deal yet remains to be done before each and every South African can live not only de jure but de facto by the principles set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We join with the rest of the international community in insisting on the release of any remaining political prisoners. The persistence of violence is a highly disturbing feature of developments in South Africa, and it poses a threat to the negotiating process and to the vital interests of all the people of that country. Hungary welcomed the signing of the National Peace Accord and expressed the hope that the Accord will finally help to end the tragic bloodshed in South Africa. We also note with great satisfaction the agreement reached between the Government of South Africa and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees on the return of refugees and political exiles to South Africa.

My Government believes in the necessity of a supportive international environment both for the peaceful legislative abolition of apartheid and for the elimination of its grave consequences for society. As the Secretary-General of the United Nations stated in his second progress report,

"While the most basic laws of apartheid, as promised, were removed by last June, many of the concomitant attitudes and practices, as indeed the consequences of those laws, do persist". (A/45/1052, chap. II, para. 8)

The cooperation that already exists between the South African Government and United Nations specialized agencies and bodies will undoubtedly contribute to the elimination or mitigation of the consequences of the apartheid system. The international community, the United Nations and its agencies should fully and constructively commit themselves to the gradual process of reconciliation and social rehabilitation. A number of States, including some African countries, have already considerably improved their relations with South

(Mr. Erdős, Hungary)

Africa, convinced as we were that, through these links, in particular through people-to-people relations, they may contribute more effectively to the process of building a new South Africa. The return of South Africa to the International Olympic Committee and its participation in the 1992 Olympic Games are examples of these important developments. The accession of the Republic of South Africa to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the subsequent conclusion and ratification of a related safeguards agreement are equally significant assets for regional peace and stability.

In our view, firmness in principles and encouragement and support in their realization must be applied if we are to achieve our common goal, the emergence of a South Africa definitively rid of the vestiges of a profoundly unjust system. At this juncture, the General Assembly should reflect the positive developments that have occurred in that country and should encourage all South Africans to be confident in their future and determined to build a new and healthy society, based on freedom and dignity and equal rights for all. Hungary wishes, within its modest means, to encourage all steps aiming at the complete and non-violent dismantling of apartheid and the creation of a democratic, united and non-racial South Africa.

Mr. MOTOMURA (Japan): In the two years since it adopted the Declaration against Apartheid, this world body has continued to play a crucial role in efforts towards the abolition, once and for all, of that system of racial discrimination. Indeed, the Government and the people of Japan pay high tribute to the United Nations, recognizing that the profound changes now evident in South Africa are in no small measure a result of its leadership role.

(Mr. Motomura, Japan)

Japan also values highly the efforts of the President of the African National Congress (ANC), Mr. Mandela, President De Klerk, and other concerned parties towards overcoming racism, racial discrimination and hostility in South Africa.

As Mr. Mandela mentioned in his statement yesterday, the South African Government, the ANC, the Inkatha Freedom Party and other major political groups recently decided to hold a Convention for a Democratic South Africa later this month to discuss a new constitution. The Government of Japan welcomes this decision as an important step forward in the reform process in South Africa and earnestly hopes that all parties concerned will work in good faith to make steady progress in the constitutional negotiations so that a democratic and free South Africa can be realized as soon as possible.

The changes in the situation in South Africa have paved the way for future broad regional cooperation, and there are now encouraging prospects for peace and prosperity throughout southern Africa. It is incumbent upon the international community to support positive changes taking place in South Africa and to encourage the reform process leading to the establishment of a non-racial, democratic, free South Africa.

Improving the welfare of all the people of South Africa continues to be a matter of the highest priority. But the social and economic problems of that country can be resolved only if its economic growth is revitalized. Towards this end, Japan believes it is imperative that a consensus be reached among all parties inside South Africa on the formulation of appropriate economic policies to promote international assistance and investment.

As we witness the generally encouraging developments that continue to be made in South Africa as a whole, it is all the more regrettable that sporadic

(Mr. Motomura, Japan)

violence continues to erupt in various parts of the country. These incidents must not be permitted to jeopardise the progress made so far, and I call upon all parties to work together to promote the reform process in a peaceful and orderly manner. At the same time, I urge that efforts be made by all sides to realise the early repatriation of South African refugees and exiles. To support these efforts, Japan has contributed \$3.2 million to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees programme to repatriate South African refugees and exiles.

In anticipation of the day when South Africa is finally free of the yoke of apartheid and members of the black population assume the responsibility for the political and economic management of their country, Japan has been supporting the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa as well as the activities of other United Nations and non-governmental organisations. In addition, this year my country invited black South Africans to Japan to participate in technical training programmes of the Japan International Cooperation Agency.

The situation in the Republic of South Africa has important implications for the peace and prosperity of the entire region and beyond. Japan thus calls upon all parties to reaffirm their commitment to the process of peaceful reform and to redouble their efforts to establish a new, non-racial and democratic order in the very near future.

Mr. LUNGU (Zambia): I wish at the outset to express my delegation's deep appreciation to my brother and colleague, Ambassador Ibrahim Gambari, the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, for his dynamic and dedicated leadership of that important Committee. We are indeed thankful to the Special Committee for its annual report to the General Assembly on the situation in South Africa. This report places a wealth of valuable information at the disposal of the international community at large.

Similarly, I wish to pay a special tribute to Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, our Secretary-General, for his second progress report regarding the implementation of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa. The report has helped my delegation to gauge the level of progress achieved thus far towards the realization of the aspirations of the oppressed people of South Africa.

It is important that the General Assembly is meeting at this propitious period in the history of South Africa to review the ongoing developments towards change in that unhappy country.

For a long time now, the people of South Africa have repeatedly stated that apartheid was the source of tension and conflict in that country. Indeed, apartheid has its roots in racism and racial discrimination, the essential elements for racial hatred and violence. The violence perpetrated by the successive apartheid regimes has over the years wreaked havoc upon the black majority, including defenceless women and children, with the result that thousands of them have fled into neighbouring countries for sanctuary. Thus, apartheid has not only caused serious problems in South Africa, but has been the source of regional instability in southern Africa.

(Mr. Lungu, Zambia)

Since the adoption by the Assembly, on 14 December 1989, of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, a number of developments have taken place in South Africa. These developments are reflected in the progress reports of the Secretary-General. They include the release of political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, the unbanning of political parties, the repeal of the main legal pillars of apartheid, and the amendment of some sections of the Internal Security Act. However, despite these measures, as has already been stated in the Assembly by the illustrious leader of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), Mr. Nelson Mandela, and the President of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), Mr. Clarence Makwetu, a lot more remains to be done in order to bring about an atmosphere conducive to free political activity leading to the adoption of a new constitution negotiated by the genuine representatives of the people of South Africa.

The international community has an inescapable responsibility to ensure the eradication of the evil system of apartheid. The pressure it has applied in the past against South Africa has been instrumental in bringing the regime to the negotiating table. Thus, my delegation believes that in order to speed up the process of change, the international community should continue to exert pressure on the regime until the attainment of profound and irreversible change in that country. In view of the decision taken at the recent Commonwealth summit meeting in Harare, my delegation supports the phased application of international pressure concomitant with positive developments in the country. As stated in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid, the random lifting of sanctions is premature and counterproductive

(Mr. Lungu, Zambia)

because it deprives the international community of its leverage and its ability to promote the process of change.

One other form of pressure against South Africa has been the oil embargo adopted by the General Assembly in 1986. In this regard, I wish to commend the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa, under the able leadership of Ambassador Anthony Nyakyi of the United Republic of Tanzania, for their determined efforts in monitoring violations of that embargo and exposing the culprits. Although the embargo is voluntary, the existence of this Intergovernmental Group has to a large extent helped to reduce the number of violations, as many would-be violators have, out of fear of exposure, curtailed their illegal activities.

My delegation participated in the hearings on the status of the oil embargo under the auspices of the Intergovernmental Group in August this year. The consensus reached at the hearings was that the oil embargo should remain in force until there was profound and irreversible change in South Africa.

In response to the request by the Intergovernmental Group to Governments to consider the acceptance of its model law for the effective enforcement of the oil embargo against South Africa, my country has already replied positively.

With regard to the mandatory arms embargo imposed by the Security Council in 1977, I wish to reiterate my Government's position by appealing to the Security Council to ensure its full implementation and effective monitoring.

It is undeniable that political developments in South Africa are, in fact, taking place. In this regard, we wish to express our support for the

(Mr. Lungu, Zambia)

ongoing efforts towards the convening, on 20 December 1991, of the Conference for a Democratic South Africa, as evidenced by the recent preparatory meeting. We wish to encourage the people of South Africa as a whole to support these laudable efforts. In this regard, we appeal to the representatives of all anti-apartheid forces to participate fully and effectively in the Conference. Peace cannot be achieved without negotiations. Every opportunity that offers a modicum of hope for negotiations towards the realization of the objectives set forth in the Declaration on apartheid should be seized. The winds of change have started to blow in the direction of South Africa. However, their momentum is still weak and thus inadequate to influence rapid change. What is needed to accelerate this momentum is unity of purpose on the part of all the anti-apartheid organizations in their struggle for the eradication of apartheid.

Peace and development are indivisible. Economic prosperity can be achieved only under conditions guaranteed by the peaceful coexistence of all. It is therefore important for the white right-wing elements now engaged in unprovoked acts of violence to realize that it is in their own long-term interest to join the call for national unity. They must join the majority at the conference table in order that their own interests may be taken into account.

The question regarding the return of all political exiles is yet to be fully settled. My delegation believes that the South African regime must fulfil in good faith its obligations under the provisions of the Declaration on apartheid in close cooperation with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. We hope that the returning exiles will not be



(Mr. Lungu, Zambia)

subjected to harassment inside South Africa. They need every assistance in order to be able to resettle in that hostile environment. To this end, as a follow-up to the repeal of the Land Acts, it is imperative that the redistribution of land be carried out urgently so that the millions of black South Africans who were forcibly dispossessed of their ancestral land by the apartheid authorities may be able to regain what is theirs by right of birth. We feel that this is the least the regime can do to redress the serious problem of landlessness which, if not justly addressed, will remain a source of future conflicts.

I wish to state categorically that the present situation in South Africa does not constitute an end to apartheid. Apartheid in South Africa is still in place. The inequities that continue to exist between the blacks and whites are as alarming as they are deplorable and attest to the indignities that continue to be inflicted upon the black majority.

(Mr. Lungu, Zambia)

The process of change in South Africa has reached a critical stage. Depending on how the key players conduct themselves, it could either achieve the objectives set out in the Declaration or be seriously derailed. The latter situation would, without doubt, plunge South Africa and the region as a whole into bloody conflict. It is therefore incumbent upon the United Nations to support this rare opportunity for change in South Africa. Let us all monitor the situation closely to ensure that the aspirations of the people of South Africa are realized sooner rather than later.

Mr. DAMANIK (Indonesia): The report of the Special Committee against Apartheid provides the international community with a firm basis for a review of the situation in South Africa, and the second progress report of the Secretary-General contains a factual analysis of apartheid policies. Together, these documents provide a first-hand assessment of the latest developments and current conditions in the country.

While we welcome the steps the South African Government has taken to dismantle some discriminatory legislation, it is undeniable that apartheid continues to fester and to menace the lives of the majority of the people of South Africa. It is self-evident that the mere repeal of a few laws will not alleviate the profound socio-economic injustices resulting from decades of segregation. Consequently, the inequalities cannot but make an adverse impact upon the current negotiation process between the racist regime and the opposition leaders. At this juncture we should call upon the Pretoria Government to draw up a comprehensive plan of economic restitution to address the injustices inflicted under the apartheid system.

(Mr. Damanik, Indonesia)

My delegation is deeply disturbed at the sequence of tragic events in various townships. Regrettably the spiralling violence has added yet another dimension to the agony that the people are suffering as a result of the complicity of the security forces in the efforts to destabilize the country. In this regard, the South African Government must be held accountable for the internecine warfare that has already claimed thousands of innocent lives. It is therefore imperative that the regime recognize the gravity of the situation and take resolute and effective action before it is too late.

We sincerely hope that the National Peace Accord, which was signed by the South African Government, the African National Congress (ANC) and the Inkatha Freedom Party on 14 September 1991, will provide some measure of relief from the spate of violence, as well as a mechanism for enforcement of the provisions of the codes of conduct of political organisations and of the security forces.

Like other members, we welcomed the joint communiqués, the Grote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes. These, like other measures, were intended to accelerate the release of political prisoners and to guarantee the safe return of all political exiles. But, according to the Commission on Human Rights, many people still languish in Pretoria jails without any recourse to legal remedies. We call upon the minority Government to release these people speedily and unconditionally. The Commission has also provided information concerning people detained between June 1990 and June 1991 under the Internal Security Act. The ANC, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) have reported that political trials involving hundreds of individuals are still taking place.

(Mr. Damanik, Indonesia)

Thus it is self-evident that there has not been substantial and irreversible progress. When the international community adopted the historic United Nations Declaration two years ago - on 14 December 1989 - five conditions were laid down for the creation of an atmosphere conducive to the commencement of dialogue between all the parties. My delegation is also aware of the meetings between the interested parties concerning negotiations for the purpose of establishing an interim government and a constituent assembly. Meanwhile, certain measures have been implemented, but we know full well that unless and until apartheid is forever relegated to the history books racial hatred and bigotry will pose a constant threat to peace and security in the region.

In this context, Indonesia, which has been an active member of the Special Committee against Apartheid and of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa since the inception of those bodies, has tried to contribute to the intensification of the international campaign to eradicate the scourge of apartheid. In this connection we deem it essential that mandatory and comprehensive sanctions be maintained. Regrettably, some States have chosen to lift sanctions prematurely - citing certain measures undertaken by the Pretoria Government as grounds for doing so. It is significant that the reports of both the Special Committee and the Secretary-General express the view that, while there are indications of some improvement in the political climate in South Africa, there can be no accommodation of apartheid in any of its manifestations. Only through the utmost vigilance and determination will the international community be able to meet the challenge of eradicating

(Mr. Damanik, Indonesia)

this scourge. Only in that way will it be able to accelerate the process of fundamental change and the establishment of a democratic and non-racial Government based on universal suffrage.

Mr. VAN DUNEM MBINDA (Angola) (spoke in Portuguese; English text furnished by the delegation): It is with great pleasure that we participate in yet another General Assembly debate on apartheid. Yesterday we had the privilege of hearing in the Assembly the firm and decisive voice of Nelson Mandela, President of the African National Congress - a man who, despite the vicissitudes of his life, has always personified the struggle of his people and the evolution of the situation in his country.

We hope that the national convention which is to take place within the next few days will be highly successful and will make democracy in South Africa a reality.

(Mr. Van Dupem Mbinda, Angola)

As the Assembly knows, Angola is one of the front-line States that has most suffered the terrible consequences of the obnoxious apartheid regime, whose repressive machine was experienced in our country in its vain attempt to stop the irreversible process that has been developing in that part of that continent. We call to mind today the events at Cassinga and Kuito Cuanavale and of many other crimes that left 60,000 people disabled and an undetermined extent of damage to the social and economic infrastructures, at a cost of billions of dollars. The resistance of the Angolan people - which during the most difficult times was able to count on international solidarity and in particular on the people of Cuba - frustrated all the intentions of the Pretoria regime, which was trying to widen its influence in the region and to neutralize the struggles of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa.

As always, Angola will continue to lend its support until the Pretoria regime is completely eliminated and replaced by a democratic one in which all South Africans are equal. The violence must end. Hatred and resentment must be things of the past. Last September, the National Peace Accord brought solid hopes for peace and reconciliation. The regime will have to make a serious effort to adopt attitudes that do not compromise the entire process during the transitional period towards a new constitutional order. It will need to demonstrate good faith in all its positions so as not to jeopardize the economic and political future of South Africa. South Africa must move towards a new constitutional order.

Once again, Angola reaffirms its support of the South African people in its legitimate struggle to end apartheid and to establish a just society in which all are united as one people on the same non-racial and democratic

(Mr. Van Dunem Mbinda, Angola)

platform, and in which all - without distinction of race, colour, sex or religious belief - enjoy the same human rights and fundamental freedoms.

With respect to the future of southern Africa, a few days ago the President of the People's Republic of Angola, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, defended the idea of creating a broad forum of conciliation in which the interests of all peoples in the region would be reconciled. According to the Angolan President, this forum would safeguard coexistence, peace, regional stability and the peaceful transition of each State to democracy.

Angola will increase its level of participation in the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference, of which it is a founding member, and in the Zone of Preferential Exchange. This participation will allow an ever-closer linkage between internal development programmes and projects for the economic integration of southern Africa.

I should like to recall that an agreement was signed about three years ago as a result of meetings held between Angola, Cuba and South Africa as parties and the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as observers. That document is now part of the historical records of the international community. The agreement, accepted by all parties as a result of their joint efforts, was of vital importance for the peace and security of South Africa, guaranteeing as it did the independence of Namibia based on Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

Angola thus contributed to ending the whole cycle of violence, in which we were victims of constant aggression, and at the same time succeeded in ending the colonization of Namibia. We thus made our friendly contribution to a new era of peace, security and stability in south-western Africa. As we said then, the use of force, whether offensive or defensive, to solve

(Mr. Van Dunem Mbinda, Angola)

political problems must give way to constructive dialogue. All parties involved had the right to participate in that historical moment, which marked the beginning of a new era in southern Africa, our continent.

We believe that the sanctions against South Africa must be maintained despite the changes that have taken place. As the President of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, said yesterday, the lifting of sanctions should be phased in proportion to the progress of the internal political process, since sanctions have proved to be efficient in bringing about democratic reforms.

We take this opportunity to extend special recognition to Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, Secretary-General of our international Organization, for his personal commitment to resolving the problems of southern Africa. His name will forever be linked to the history of the peoples of our region because of his unwavering faith and determination, which contributed to bringing about the New York Agreements and to establishing new hope for lasting peace in the southern part of our continent. We extend him our most sincere wishes for his well-being and happiness.

To Mr. Boutros Boutros Ghali, a worthy son of Africa, we reiterate our most sincere satisfaction at seeing him take up this most difficult but worthy task.

Mr. BASALAMAH (Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): The world is today witnessing positive developments as a natural consequence of the development of new international relations, especially after the end of the cold war and the resultant emergence of the new world order.

The momentous events that took place have created a political climate that has been conducive to the settlement of many chronic regional conflicts.



(Mr. Basalemah, Yemen)

Some of those conflicts have been resolved, with the result that rights have been restored after many years of arduous and bitter struggle. We are pleased that these developments have begun to take effect in southern Africa and have led to positive results, such as the independence of Namibia and the legitimate accession to power by the Namibian people through its legitimate representatives.

The delegation of the Republic of Yemen, which considers the independence of Namibia to be a great victory for those who stood by the Namibian people, and a victory for the whole world, hopes that the people of South Africa will regain its legitimate rights and attain its national independence, so that the South African majority may accede to power.

(Mr. Basalamah, Yemen)

In this respect, the international community can discern positive signs that indicate movement towards a peaceful settlement of the problem. These include the relaxation of certain racist laws and practices and their replacement by measures that have as their aim the participation of all the population of the country without distinction on the basis of colour, race or language, and with no restriction being imposed on the black majority.

The problem will remain, however, so long as the racial discrimination which is being practised so harshly against the people of South Africa continues to be the official policy of the white minority racist regime that daily enforces and practises that policy as it has done over the years with no respect for human rights and regardless of the fact that it flies in the face of the most basic norms and principles of international law.

There is no doubt that international solidarity has borne fruit. We can witness today its results in the form of direct negotiations between the concerned parties in the hope of reaching an agreement that may lead to constitutional amendments which would guarantee for people the right of being masters of their own fate in their own land.

Our delegation looks forward to the day when all the people of South Africa will enjoy their legitimate rights side by side, managing the affairs of their country in every political, economic and social sphere. We hope to see them taking their seat among us so that they can contribute with us to the achievement of economic prosperity and stability for the world at large. I do not think it needs stressing how the international community has declared year after year that racism is the most heinous crime against humanity and called for the complete eradication of apartheid.

(Mr. Basalamb, Yemen)

The international community has adopted many measures, foremost among which has been the military and economic embargo imposed on that regime with the aim of forcing it to respect the international will. In order for this objective to be realized, we believe that the international community is duty bound to persist in its stance of solidarity with and to continue to give assistance to the people of South Africa with the same enthusiasm that it has shown from the outset, so that the people of South Africa may achieve its objectives. Any compromise or bargaining with the racist regime or relaxing of the measures aimed at the complete elimination of apartheid would be an unwarranted retreat that may lead to negative results which could undermine the achievements of the past few years.

My delegation considers that the triumph of human rights in South Africa is a great gain for mankind as a whole, and a final end to the policy of apartheid in South Africa.

Needless to say, there is an organic link between the Israeli regime and the racist white minority regime in South Africa. There are many similarities between the two regimes which pursue a common policy of oppression, terrorism and repression. Israel is setting records in torture and killing with no respect for the resolutions calling upon it to respect international law and implement the resolutions adopted to that end. It rides roughshod over all efforts aimed at restoring the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to self-determination on its national soil and calling for full withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories in the Syrian Golan and southern Lebanon.

Yemen supports all efforts aimed at the achievement of a just and comprehensive peace in South Africa as has been the case with regard to many other peoples that have won their freedom and independence.

Mr. VAZQUEZ (Argentina) (interpretation from Spanish): The United Nations General Assembly must again undertake consideration of an item which the overwhelming majority of its members would like to see completed on its agenda. As on previous occasions, the Republic of Argentina wishes to reiterate its most vigorous condemnation of the policy of apartheid and its solidarity with apartheid's victims. This position is in logical accordance with the basic principles on which the Republic of Argentina was founded.

Having made this statement of principle, we must recognize that our remarks in this debate are clearly influenced by the progress made in the Republic of South Africa in the present moves to bring apartheid to an end. We understand that various significant steps have been taken in this respect. We note with satisfaction measures taken in June to remove the basic laws institutionalizing apartheid from the statute books. Similarly we consider promising the National Peace Accord reached in Johannesburg between the South African authorities, the African National Congress, the Inkatha Freedom Party and other organizations. The Accord, which lays down codes of conduct for the security forces, political parties and organizations and establishes a national peace committee to monitor application of the Accord, is a good example of reconciliation and can be considered as a precursor to negotiations on a new constitution.

We also consider encouraging the results of the Conference of the United Patriotic Front in October where the ANC and the Pan-African Congress (PAC) and political trade unions and other bodies reached agreement on a common approach to the constitutional process. Also worth noting was the Memorandum of Understanding signed in September between the Government of South Africa and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) for the voluntary repatriation and reintegration of South African returnees, leading

(Mr. Vasquez, Argentina)

to the opening of an office of a special representative in South Africa and guaranteeing free and unimpeded access of the Organisation to South African returnees.

This recognition of the process of political transformation, to permit the establishment in South Africa of a democratic political system based on universal suffrage and equality before the law in a sovereign and independent system, led the Government of Argentina to conclude, on 8 August, an agreement on the re-establishment of diplomatic relations with the Republic of South Africa.

My Government hopes that the reopening of diplomatic ties will enable us to monitor more closely and encourage through positive collaboration the present process, because it is aware that there still exist important outstanding problems that need to be solved in order to consolidate the reform process in South Africa. In that respect I wish to point out the encouragement and incentives it is giving to the Government and the people of South Africa to complete the transformation as soon as possible, and to do so in a framework of national reconciliation and harmonious coexistence with neighbouring countries.

In this connection we hope that the effective implementation of the repeal of the apartheid laws will be reflected in elimination of inequalities among the population in important subjects such as land ownership, education and health.

(Mr. Vazquez, Argentina)

It is no less indispensable that all political prisoners be freed, and we consider that the full implementation of agreements in that connection and the entry into force of the Memorandum of Understanding between the Government and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees will unquestionably contribute to consolidating a climate conducive to negotiations.

My country trusts that the full implementation of the national peace agreement will end the violence that continues in the country and eliminate the obstacles blocking free political activity.

Moreover, we encourage the speedy commencement of broad, substantive negotiations on a new constitution and on transitional agreements laying the basis for a democratic South Africa. In that connection, we commend the parties involved in last weekend's preparatory meeting at which it was agreed to convene a convention on a democratic South Africa. We hope for the success of that convention, which will initiate formal negotiations on post-apartheid South Africa. We hope it will narrow the differences between the constitutional models that have been proposed by various groups and the differences on the machinery for drafting a new constitution and on transitional arrangements and modalities.

I conclude by expressing the hope that this will be one of the last General Assembly sessions with this item on its agenda, and that the Assembly will continue to ensure the implementation of the principles of the Charter with the cooperation of a democratic, non-racist South Africa. To that end, we must reiterate a simple principle that forms the basis and underpinning of any democratic system: one man, one vote.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): We have heard the last speaker in the debate on this item.

I should like to inform members that draft resolutions submitted under this agenda item will be considered at a later date to be announced in the Journal.

The meeting rose at 6.55 p.m.