

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**
FORTY-EIGHTH SESSION



**22nd
PLENARY MEETING**

Friday, 8 October 1993
at 9.30 a.m.

Official Records

NEW YORK

President: Mr. INSANALLY
(Guyana)

The meeting was called to order at 10 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 38

**ELIMINATION OF APARTHEID AND
ESTABLISHMENT OF A UNITED, DEMOCRATIC
AND NON-RACIAL SOUTH AFRICA**

The PRESIDENT: In connection with this item, the Assembly has before it a draft resolution issued as document A/48/L.2 and entitled "Lifting of sanctions against South Africa".

I call upon the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, Mr. Ibrahim Gambari, to introduce that draft resolution.

Mr. GAMBARI (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid: On 24 September 1993 I had the honour and the privilege to welcome to this Hall the President of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), Mr. Nelson Mandela, who addressed the Special Committee against Apartheid on an issue of the utmost importance to the people of South Africa and the international community at large. Outlining the latest encouraging developments in the South African peace process, he paid a tribute to the international community's support, which had brought South Africa to the point where the transition to democracy had now been enshrined in the law of the country. The international community, he said, should now lay the basis for halting the economic

slide towards social and economic disaster in South Africa as one of the imperatives for ensuring the success of the democratic transformation.

He therefore called on the international community to lift all economic sanctions against South Africa in response to the historic advances towards democracy that have been achieved, to strengthen the forces of democratic change and to help create the conditions necessary for stability and social progress.

Bearing in mind these developments and taking account of the fact that a broad spectrum of the South African people believe that enough progress has been made in the process of their transition to democracy to necessitate the lifting of economic sanctions, the international community cannot but recognize this reality and act in consonance with the wishes of the people of South Africa, even as it recognizes the existence of differences between the two liberation movements, the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), on the timing of the lifting of sanctions.

At an Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which took place here in New York on 29 September 1993, the appeal for the lifting of economic sanctions was endorsed on behalf of the Organization of African Unity. African States, the international community at large and the United Nations in particular were called upon to respond positively to that appeal. Accordingly, I have discussed the matter with other members of the Special Committee against Apartheid and have had extensive consultations with many other Member States and interested parties within the United Nations.

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Distr. GENERAL

A/48/PV.22
29 October 1993

ENGLISH

While the Ad Hoc Committee specifically supported the lifting of all economic sanctions, it accepted the retention of those which related to the arms embargo and to nuclear matters and which had been imposed by the Security Council. With respect to the oil embargo, it held the view that this should be lifted only after the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and the commencement of its work.

It is in this context that I would like to introduce draft resolution A/48/L.2, entitled "Lifting of sanctions against South Africa". While the first preambular paragraph reminds us to bear in mind the objectives of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, which was adopted by consensus on 14 December 1989, the second preambular paragraph takes note of the fact that the transition to democracy has now been enshrined in the law of South Africa.

In operative paragraph 1 the General Assembly would decide that all provisions adopted by the Assembly relating to prohibitions or restrictions on economic relations with South Africa and its nationals should cease to have effect once the draft resolution is adopted. All States are requested to take appropriate measures within their jurisdiction to lift restrictions and prohibitions they had imposed to implement previous General Assembly resolutions and decisions on this matter.

In paragraph 2 the General Assembly would further decide that all provisions adopted by the General Assembly related to the imposition of an embargo on the supply of petroleum and petroleum products to South Africa, and on investment in the petroleum industry there, should cease to have effect as of the date on which the Transitional Executive Council becomes operational. All States are again requested to take appropriate measures within their jurisdiction to lift those restrictions or prohibitions.

As I said earlier, the submission of this draft resolution was preceded by extensive consultations with members of the various regional groups. Those consultations encourage me to hope that the draft resolution can be adopted without debate and without a vote. By adopting this draft resolution by consensus, the General Assembly will send a very strong signal to the South African people that the international community, and the United Nations in particular, are ready to assist them in the economic reconstruction of their country and to ensure that the new South Africa begins its existence unhampered by the constraints imposed on the old South Africa.

The PRESIDENT: It is my understanding that broad-based consultations within and among regional groups have taken place and that as a consequence draft resolution A/48/L.2 is a consensus text. It has furthermore been agreed that there will be no debate on the item at this stage. I would point out that the question of apartheid will be discussed in plenary meeting at a later date during this session; at that time members will have the opportunity to engage in a discussion of this most important, indeed historic, decision.

The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/48/L.2. May I take it that the Assembly decides to adopt it by consensus?

Draft resolution A/48/L.2 was adopted (resolution 48/1).

The PRESIDENT: We have thus concluded this stage of our consideration of agenda item 38.

AGENDA ITEM 8 *(continued)*

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA AND ORGANIZATION OF WORK: THIRD REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE (A/48/250/Add.2)

The PRESIDENT: Following the very important decision that the Assembly has just taken, I now draw the attention of representatives to the third report of the General Committee concerning three requests submitted by the Secretary-General for the inclusion of additional items in the agenda.

First, in paragraph 1 (a) of the report, the General Committee recommends the inclusion in the agenda of the current session of an additional item entitled "Financing of the United Nations Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda".

May I take it that the General Assembly decides to include this item in its agenda?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: In paragraph 1 (b) of the report, the General Committee also recommends that this item should be allocated to the Fifth Committee.

May I take it that the General Assembly approves this recommendation?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: Next, I should like to draw the attention of representatives to paragraph 2 (a) of the report (A/48/250/Add.2).

The General Committee recommends the inclusion in the agenda of the current session of an additional item entitled "Financing of the United Nations Mission in Haiti".

May I take it that the General Assembly decides to include this additional item in its agenda?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: In paragraph 2 (b) of the report the General Committee also recommends that the item be allocated to the Fifth Committee.

May I take it that the General Assembly adopts this recommendation?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: Next, I should like to draw the attention of representatives to paragraph 3 (a) of the report (A/48/250/Add.2).

The General Committee recommends the inclusion in the agenda of the current session of an additional item entitled "Financing of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia".

May I take it that the General Assembly decides to include this item in its agenda?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: In paragraph 3 (b) of the report, the General Committee also recommends that the item be allocated to the Fifth Committee.

May I take it that the General Assembly adopts that recommendation?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: The Chairman of the Fifth Committee will be informed of the decisions that we have just taken.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

ADDRESS BY MR. FIDEL MOUNGAR, PRIME MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHAD

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The Assembly will now hear a statement by the Prime Minister of the Republic of Chad.

Mr. Fidel Moungar, Prime Minister of the Republic of Chad was escorted to the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I have great pleasure in welcoming the Prime Minister of the Republic of Chad, His Excellency Mr. Fidel Moungar, and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

Mr. MOUNGAR (Chad) (interpretation from French): It is both an honour and a pleasure for me to extend to representatives the warm greetings of the people of Chad and to express their sincere wishes for peace.

Before conveying to Members the message of the Transition Government of the Republic of Chad, I should like to extend to you, Sir, my delegation's congratulations on your election as President of the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session. I assure you that, in the discharge of this difficult task, you will have the ready and full cooperation of my delegation.

I should like also to express to your predecessor, Mr. Stoyan Ganev, our gratitude for the dedication with which he conducted the work of the General Assembly at its forty-seventh session.

Our thanks go also to our dynamic Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for his continuing commendable and tireless efforts in the cause of peace and development throughout the world.

It is also a pleasure to welcome the delegations of the Czech Republic, Slovakia, The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Eritrea, the Principality of Andorra and the Principality of Monaco.

The forty-eighth session of the General Assembly is beginning at a time when clear hopes for peace in certain regions are emerging, yet war continues to cause unspeakable suffering elsewhere. Misery is increasing throughout the world, and the gap between the richest and the poorest continues to widen. Given these problems, the United Nations is increasingly called upon for assistance. Consequently, its capacity to react and to intervene is reduced.

Concerted action by people of good will who love peace and freedom and who work to reduce poverty and misery and to advance democracy and human rights could help to limit the number of calls for assistance that are now being made on this Organization.

Within this framework, Chad set out on the road to democracy in 1990. This deliberate choice was made in the light of the recent history of our country and the profound aspirations of our people to peace and social well-being. In this regard, the Sovereign National Conference that was held from 15 January to 7 April 1993, and brought together nearly 1,000 delegates from all regions and all social strata of the country, enabled us to lay the basis for the establishment of stable democratic institutions and to ensure lasting peace and good management of the country's affairs. This National Conference, which instilled much hope in the hearts of the citizens of Chad, took the following steps in implementation of the Transitional Constitution: the President of the Republic, who is the guarantor of national sovereignty, was confirmed in office; the Prime Minister, who is the elected Head of Government, was put in charge of implementing the programme of action; the Supreme Council of Transition, the elected legislative body, was put in charge of follow-up action in connection with implementing the programme of action and was given the job of providing arbitration in the case of any disputes occurring during the transition.

The National Conference intended, through this restructuring process, to give new direction to public life in Chad, providing transparent administration in public affairs, full freedom of the press and scrupulous respect for human rights. These indispensable corollaries of any democratic system are among the major concerns of the delegates. Here, the Supreme Council for Communication and the National Commission on Human Rights, which will be

established soon, will guarantee freedom of the press and the fundamental rights of citizens.

For all the participants in the National Conference, as for all the people of Chad, the time has come to make peace, to seek new solutions to the country's problems, so that it will be possible to achieve genuine national reconciliation among all the sons of Chad. The Transition Government, which I have the signal honour of heading, is making sustained efforts to realize these objectives. Thus, it is trying to create the conditions necessary to the building of confidence among the people in the future of their country.

The restructuring of the national army of Chad that is now taking place will eventually open the way to better control of public expenditure and will make possible the channelling of the country's limited resources into the most productive sectors. Nor can any democratization be undertaken and made stable without security services capable of ensuring respect for the territorial integrity of the country. Above all, there is a need for a disciplined army that respects the Constitution of the Republic.

My Government lacks the financial and other material means to succeed in this transformation of the national army of Chad. First and foremost we need to encourage elements of the army from the outset by financing projects for military reconversion and for reintegration into civilian life. In that connection, we warmly thank the French Republic for its assistance over the past three years. I wish also to renew our appeal to all countries that wish Chad to be genuinely transformed to help us with all possible assistance in this difficult task.

Beyond the question of the success of the demobilization operation is the question of the future of democracy in Chad. Our democracy will be unable to withstand for long the many pressures resulting from all the various problems besetting our country.

Hence, my country is working tirelessly to conclude agreements of reconciliation with the remaining opposition politico-military organizations. My Government is developing initiatives in the area of human rights, bolstering freedom of the press and establishing political parties and civic organizations. Despite that progress, cases of human rights violations continue in my country. This proves, if proof were needed, that it takes time to change ways of thinking, no matter what the clear will of the highest national authorities may be.

There is no lack of obstacles for any young democracy. As it is said, democracy, poverty and insecurity are not good neighbours. At the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly, my delegation drew attention to my country's precarious economic situation. Apart from problems linked to uneven rainfall over our territory, to the threat of locusts and to fluctuations in the world economic situation, our economy is experiencing difficulties linked to poor administration. The resources of the State are insufficient to pay salaries and growing military expenditures. There is no guarantee that we will be able to afford the cost of materials and State contributions for investment in priority projects relating to infrastructure, health and education.

The basic imbalances that characterize financial management in Chad - which explain the continued deterioration of our country's social fabric - reflect those in other Central African economies covered by the Central African Customs and Economic Union (CACEU). Those countries had achieved notable growth in 1985, but since then have been in an unprecedented crisis. In the circumstances, my country - current Chairman of the CACEU Council of Heads of State - fully subscribes to the plan for subregional adjustment and economic recovery drawn up by the Central African States Development Bank, and hopes to benefit from the greater understanding and support of the international community. That support will give our Government a sound basis on which to implement, as it has declared its wish to do, a consistent programme of macroeconomic adjustment and structural reform, with the support of bilateral and multilateral donors.

Already we can say that the major thrust of the reforms will be in the areas of improved public financing, the resumption of productive activities through reductions in the cost of the elements of production, rationalization of management, elimination of arrears in State debt, the promotion of a well-functioning private sector, and the implementation of monetary, fiscal, customs and institutional measures drawn up within the subregional framework of CACEU and the customs zone.

My country, which has experienced the throes of war, cannot remain insensitive to the many conflicts that are tearing today's world apart, claiming innocent lives everywhere. In Africa, we are concerned at the exacerbation of the situation in Somalia and Angola. Chad hopes that the firm position adopted by the United Nations on those two conflicts will help make those most responsible for the tragedies respect agreements they have signed.

With respect to Mozambique, we are following with interest the peace process under way in that country, and we urge the two parties to cooperate fully and in a straightforward way to achieve peace. We also welcome the peace process that has begun in Rwanda, Liberia and South Africa, where in the months to come multiparty negotiations will lead to general elections, which we hope will be free and transparent.

In the Middle East, the signature of a declaration of principles on Palestinian autonomy in Gaza and Jericho and mutual recognition by the Palestine Liberation Organization and the State of Israel give us hope that the peoples of that region will at last be able to live in peace. Dialogue and cooperation should guide future relations among the peoples of the region.

Chad is convinced that only dialogue can restore peace to Central and Eastern Europe; we fully subscribe to the action taken by the international community to bring about a just and peaceful settlement of all the conflicts raging there.

Today's world economy is characterized by a structural crisis in the developed countries and by increasingly delayed development in the developing countries, particularly those of Africa. My country welcomes the convening of the international conference on African development, which is now under way on the initiative of the Government of Japan. We hope that the results of that meeting will be positive for Africa. On behalf of my Government, I convey deep gratitude to the Japanese Government for its initiative.

My delegation hopes that the restructuring and revitalization of the economic and social structure of the United Nations will contribute to strengthening the Organization's capacity to act.

My delegation reaffirms its strong conviction that only dialogue and cooperation will enable us to overcome the numerous obstacles to the establishment of peace and harmony among peoples.

It is in that spirit that my country has appealed to the International Court of Justice to settle its border dispute with the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. Both parties have committed themselves to respect the judgment.

Members will know from my remarks that my country is passing from a long, dark night of instability, dictatorship, human rights violations and economic set-backs. They will also know that the heroic struggle of the people of Chad has

led it onto the path of democracy; we want at all costs to stay on that road. My delegation affirms that forcefully.

My people earnestly desires to make achievements leading to a major recovery in its political, economic and social situation, and has adopted an ambitious programme of change, which we did not have the means to implement fully in the six months remaining in the transition period. As they tirelessly pursue implementation, my country's officials intend to focus all their efforts on certain pivotal objectives, which I shall enumerate now.

First, we must ensure unswerving respect for human rights by guaranteeing the security of citizens; we must ensure freedom of communication, along with all individual freedoms and, above all, respect for the value of human life. We must banish the concept of impunity from our judicial system. To that end, and to ensure the safety of our citizens through a major reorganization of the police, we require support from the international community both in devising the action to be taken and in providing the means to do so.

My Government's second objective is the holding of free, open and democratic elections.

The social crisis we have just described is creating inextricable problems for my Government, problems with serious and pressing implications. A country cannot be governed when there is constant pressure from the streets, nor can decisive efforts be focused on carrying out economic recovery if there is not a Government elected on the basis of a programme containing needed beneficial measures and if it does not have the support - or at least the understanding - of the people with regard to an economic and social plan. Thus, our Government intends to work on preparing for and holding free, open and democratic elections within the time-frame set out in the recommendations of the Sovereign National Conference. Here too, and above all, we will need the support of the international community.

On that note, in evoking the basic aspiration of my people, I shall leave this rostrum today, having transmitted my country's message of peace to the international community. Our aspiration to democratic change is, I feel, realistic and its implementation is, I believe, inevitable. Long live peace and dialogue between peoples!

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister of the Republic of Chad for the important statement he has just made.

Mr. Fidel Moungar, Prime Minister of the Republic of Chad, was escorted from the rostrum.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. OYONO (Cameroon) (interpretation from French): In extending to you, Sir, the warmest congratulations of the delegation of Cameroon on your election to the presidency of the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly, I am not merely obeying protocol. I do so as well out of my wish to pay a tribute to your outstanding qualities and to welcome the significant contribution your country, Guyana, has made to the building of a more just and more united world.

Your predecessor, our colleague Mr. Ganev of Bulgaria, carried out his mandate very well. We are grateful to him and express all our appreciation to him.

For two years now our Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, has devoted unusual energy to the management of the Organization, management that has been made difficult by the increase in the number of United Nations missions, the complexity of the challenges to be met, and the acute financial crisis that is hindering the successful carrying out of his activities. Cameroon wishes to commend him for his wisdom and to assure him of its support.

The Organization's universality has been enhanced by the admission of six new Member States. It is a pleasure for me to welcome them among us and to assure them of Cameroon's readiness to maintain and develop relations of cooperation and friendship with them.

The especially significant and unexpected changes that have marked the end of this century confirm our feeling that we must never despair of the human being and that, whatever the circumstances may be, we must keep faith in mankind's future.

Indeed, the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly is being held at a time when the image of that historic handshake between Prime Minister Itzhak Rabin and President Yasser Arafat is still bright in our minds, a handshake that sealed the mutual recognition between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization and consecrated the agreement on autonomy for Gaza and Jericho. Never before have conditions been as conducive to the building of a lasting peace in the Middle East.

That historic event, a sign of the times, was followed by the adoption by the Parliament of South Africa, which is still composed exclusively of whites and coloureds, of the agreement to establish a Transitional Executive Council, conferring upon the black majority a right to participate in the management of that country's affairs with an eye to the April 1994 elections, which should usher in a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Those are undeniably two major events of exceptional significance, events that demonstrate the extent of the upheaval in the world we are now witnessing.

Allow me, therefore, to salute the courage and great vision demonstrated by the Israeli Government and the leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Certainly, the peace in the Middle East that had seemed elusive is now within reach. Cameroon had always hoped for this, and we are therefore gratified at the progress made and wish to pay a tribute to the various protagonists who contributed to it.

And with regard to this situation, has the time not come to update the Organization's documents dealing with the situation in the Middle East? Cameroon intends to contribute to the consideration of this question the circumstances call for. The tone and provisions of resolutions concerning South Africa also need to be brought into line with the changes taking place in that country.

Cameroon supported the appeal made from this rostrum by President Nelson Mandela for the lifting of the economic sanctions against South Africa. We salute that outstanding son of Africa, and we include in this commendation President De Klerk, whose open-minded attitude has earned our admiration.

The democratic transition in South Africa is at once fragile and promising for the whole of the African continent. It demands the support of the international community, which must work to put an end to violence and the destabilizing actions of the forces in the country that are opposed to change.

Unfortunately, this remarkable improvement in the situations in the Middle East and South Africa cannot mask the threats to international peace and security caused by the persistence of armed conflicts in various parts of the world arising out of ethnic claims, the resurgence of nationalistic feelings, religious intolerance, the desire for power, poverty and underdevelopment.

At the very heart of Europe, a frightful war continues in the Balkans, a war the more frightful because the ideology underlying it is an affront to the conscience of mankind. The indignation it has aroused throughout the world demands that the weapons be silenced to enable the virtues of dialogue to prevail over the logic of exclusion and conquest. That war is also sorely testing the international community's ability to defend the principles and values of civilization in our era.

It is equally untenable that in Angola innocent people, caught up in an increasingly senseless war, continue to be massacred. It must be obvious to everyone that a solution to the Angolan problem cannot be imposed by force of arms. It resides in concertation, dialogue and negotiation. We therefore urge the parties concerned to seize this most recent opportunity to achieve peace afforded them by strict implementation of the Abidjan Agreements and the relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

The imperatives of peace are also pressing upon our Liberian, Somali and Mozambican brothers and sisters, who have legitimate aspirations to the stability needed to reconstruct their countries.

As regards Haiti, it is also important, if legality is to triumph, that everything possible be done for the implementation of the Governors Island Agreement.

In Western Sahara, we have not lost hope that, following the negotiations now under way, the obstacles to a referendum on the future status of the territory will be removed.

In other parts of the world where hotbeds of tension persist the spirit of confrontation must yield to the search for negotiated solutions. In this context, Cameroon welcomes the decisive contribution of the United Nations to the restoration of peace in Cambodia. In paying tribute to the memory of all those who have paid for peace in Cambodia with their lives, I include Captain Ndi Ncho Abrahams of the Cameroonian contingent of military observers of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), who fell on the field of honour in Phnom Penh on 7 September 1993.

I also wish to extend here our warm congratulations to His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk on his restoration to the throne of Cambodia. We are convinced that his lofty stature, eminent qualities and long experience will help his country to set out again on the path to progress and the reconciliation of its children.

Meeting the challenge of peace, involves not only the silencing of weapons, but also ensuring the reconstruction of countries ravaged by war. We therefore appeal that, as measures are taken to settle certain regional conflicts, the necessary resources be mobilized to meet, as well as humanitarian needs, the reconstruction needs of African countries that have been torn by armed conflicts.

This would bolster the willingness of the African Heads of State to assume greater responsibility in the prevention, management and settlement of conflicts in their region. The mechanism created for that purpose at the twenty-ninth Summit of the Organization of African Unity deserves the support of the international community, as it is involved in the implementation of the agenda for peace adopted by the Security Council. Furthermore, the adoption in Libreville in September 1993 of a non-aggression pact between the 11 States members of the Economic Community of Central African States is part of this trend. Concluded in the framework of the Standing Advisory Committee on Security Questions in Central Africa, created last year by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, this agreement is an essential link in the chain of confidence-building measures aimed at the progressive reduction of the armed forces and military budgets of the States of the subregion. Our States are thereby determined to create an area of peace, security and solidarity. We are thus entitled to expect the continued support of the international community for this initiative, sponsored by the United Nations.

In a more general context, the progress achieved in the field of disarmament and arms limitation should continue. We call on the major Powers to redouble their efforts to accelerate the disarmament process, especially in the field of nuclear weapons. The conclusion of a treaty banning nuclear tests would meet the expectations of the international community, just as the indefinite extension of the Non-Proliferation Treaty would help reassure the non-nuclear-weapon States. In this respect, we praise the dialogue being pursued by the parties concerned to find a negotiated solution to the differences between North Korea, on the one hand and the International Atomic Energy Agency and the Government of the United States of America on the other.

Lastly, the progressive establishment of the structures of the Organization's executive secretariat for the control of chemical weapons strengthens our conviction that general and complete disarmament is not just a dream. It is a fervent aspiration of mankind that could be achieved if greater political will were focused on that goal.

At the recent World Conference on Human Rights, held in Vienna, our common vision of the values underlying mankind's shared aspiration to the effective enjoyment of human rights made the longstanding dispute about a possible hierarchy as between civil and political rights and economic, social and cultural rights outdated. Now enshrined as indivisible and interdependent, all these rights have one objective alone: the promotion and protection of human dignity, regardless of considerations of race, colour, sex or religion. Recognition of that objective has contributed to the rebirth of the idea of the universality of human rights and has given those rights the moral and legal force of a categorical imperative with unassailable legitimacy.

This development encourages the Government of Cameroon, with the impetus given by His Excellency President Paul Biya, to continue updating the legal and institutional frameworks to promote the effective enjoyment of human rights by our citizens. Our resolute march towards democracy can be gauged by the incomparable freedom of expression burgeoning throughout our national media, the flourishing of political parties, the vitality of popular participation in public life and the establishment, in the wake of the State's gradual disengagement, of new and vast areas for the development of private initiative.

The National Committee on Human Rights and Freedoms, whose activities enhance its credibility, is helping enormously to make public opinion aware of the importance of human rights and to alert our authorities to any possible violation. The recent organization in Yaoundé by the United Nations Centre for Human Rights of a training seminar for members of that Committee highlights the role of international cooperation in the promotion of human rights, particularly in developing countries.

This cooperation suggests a new approach, necessitating a reversal of the tendency to turn human rights into political tools. This tendency often leads to a selective awareness of human rights violations and discrimination in the application of sanctions. Cooperation also suggests a new type of partnership, allowing the highly publicized activism on human rights to be replaced by calm and constructive dialogue between the various parties in charge of promoting and protecting human rights - States, national institutions, non-governmental organizations and multilateral institutions. In this context, the proposal to establish a post of high commissioner for human rights has its merits. None the less, it gives rise to some questions, the importance of which requires that it be considered attentively and in depth.

The universality of human rights, which everyone must henceforth respect, requires the democratization of international economic relations. It would be unrealistic to circumscribe the exercise of democracy within national boundaries, when there are also flagrant injustices in international economic relations that constitute grave violations of human dignity.

A victim of such injustices, Africa, more than any other developing region, has the characteristics of a continent adrift. It is toiling under an intolerable debt burden in a situation exacerbated by an overall trend towards disinvestment, a decline in official development assistance and a steady deterioration in the terms of trade as a result of the continuing fall in commodity prices.

In these circumstances, is it acceptable that net financial flows should continue from the impoverished African countries to the rich countries? As we have already pointed out, this situation cannot be considered in economic terms alone. It is an ethical problem involving the conscience of our Northern partners and of international financial institutions.

Need we recall that despite the seriousness of the economic crisis they are facing the African States, like the countries of the East, have undertaken courageous reforms towards liberalizing their economies and democratizing their political systems?

While we are pleased at the mobilization of resources aimed at accompanying reform in the countries of the East, we must deplore the fact that no similar effort has been made for the benefit of the African countries that are also in a state of transition. Structural adjustment plans are the only alternative solution proposed to them. Because they are becoming increasingly exorbitant and difficult to bear, their social costs need to be given more attention by our partners so that the already fragile foundations of our young States will not crumble.

The very recent International Conference, on African Development, held in Tokyo, will give us an opportunity to draw the attention of the international community to the distress of the African continent.

The failure of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development 1986-1990 and the disappointing progress of the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s underscore, if need be, the urgent need to establish for that continent a consistent set of measures to stimulate recovery

including, in particular, debt alleviation and the enhancement of human resources, the transfer of technology, support for the diversification of production and the improvement of conditions for access of our products to international markets.

We must set our sights on establishing a fund for financing African development. The imperatives of international solidarity are not consistent with compartmentalization on the basis of racial or geographical considerations. Hence, we cannot leave the African countries at the mercy of market forces, which are devoid of all legitimacy owing to speculation. The international community must therefore undertake to construct a more legitimate new world order that is in keeping with full respect for law and justice.

The world partnership for sustainable development enshrined in Rio de Janeiro responds to this aspiration. While we are pleased at the establishment of the Commission for Sustainable Development, the release of resources required for the financing of Agenda 21 has not yet been accomplished.

In the social sphere, activities conducted throughout the United Nations system with a view to fighting against the AIDS pandemic and to repressing the illicit traffic in narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances deserve high priority in the agenda of our Organization.

Similar importance should be attached to the integration of women in the process of development and to the protection of vulnerable groups of society.

The International Conference on Population and Development planned for Cairo in 1994, the World Summit for Social Development, to be held in 1995 in Copenhagen, and the Fourth World Conference on Women, to be held also in 1995, in Beijing, will offer opportunities to review all of these issues at the highest level. These gatherings will make it possible for us to refine our understanding of these problems in order better to integrate them in our development policies.

Guaranteeing international peace and security and promoting the economic and social development of its Members are the tasks that the United Nations has been called upon to perform since its establishment. The changes generated by the end of East-West rivalry have created conditions more conducive to the attainment of these objectives. Our Organization should therefore rethink its structures and its working methods in order to increase their

effectiveness, the better to respond to the ever-growing expectations of the international community.

The restructuring process under way is of course part of this trend. We are pleased at the prevailing spirit of consensus in the search for solutions to this problem - a problem made complex and delicate because of the need to reconcile the need for effectiveness and the imperative of democratization which alone can safeguard the plurality of approaches that underlies the universality of our Organization.

Mr. Kharrazi (Islamic Republic of Iran), Vice-President, took the Chair.

In this context, the reform of the Security Council should not be confined to a mere broadening of its composition. It should above all make it possible to revive the spirit behind the decision to confer upon the members of the Council broad powers regarding the maintenance of international peace and security. These powers should therefore be exercised in the interest of all, and not on the basis of other considerations.

The General Assembly should, along the same lines, remain a global forum where the positions of States are expressed and harmonized. We are therefore in favour of a strong Secretariat endowed with adequate structures and with a highly qualified staff that reflects the diversity and the excellence of the peoples of the United Nations. This means that throughout the system and within our Organization, the ongoing process of restructuring should be consistent with the spirit of the Charter.

Mankind has always cherished the utopian dream of a world in which man would no longer be a danger to his fellow man, and in which peace, justice and equity would prevail. The sudden acceleration of history at the turn of this century gives this utopian hope an impetus that enhances our shared perception of the need to establish a new and more united world order. This "promise of history" being shaped will be an expression of the convergence of our will to free mankind of the consequences of a past that we hope is forever behind us. The universal conscience cannot put up with the horrors of war and of flagrant violations of human rights, nor should it at the dawning of the third millennium tolerate the persistence of poverty and hardship that trample underfoot the intrinsic values of our shared humanity.

Thus the United Nations must meet the challenge of renewal in order fully to play its central role in the building

of a world consistent with the ideals of its founding fathers. In the final analysis, history condemns us to be hopeful - in the midst of violence, does man not persevere in his utopian dream of peace?

Mr. QHOBELA (Lesotho): On behalf of the Lesotho delegation and on my own behalf, I wish to congratulate Ambassador Insanally on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session. His election is a well-deserved tribute to his great personal qualities and also to the dynamic role that the Republic of Guyana has always played within the United Nations and in world affairs. We are also indebted to the dedication and the effective manner in which his predecessor, His Excellency Mr. Stoyan Ganev of the Republic of Bulgaria, guided the deliberations of this lofty body during the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

Allow me also to extend our congratulations to that distinguished son of Africa, His Excellency Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Secretary-General of the United Nations, whose untiring global efforts for peace continue to inspire us all. My delegation wishes to reiterate once more its readiness to continue to cooperate with him in every way that would promote international cooperation and understanding, in conformity with the Charter of our Organization.

On behalf of my delegation, allow me also to express, like those who have spoken before me, deepest condolences to the Government and the people of the Republic of India for the tragic loss of human lives resulting from the recent earthquake in that country.

Since 1945 the membership of the United Nations has increased dramatically, lending credence to the universality of this Organization and bearing out the wisdom of the founding fathers. Today we welcome the new Members to a United Nations whose numerical strength is matched by the broadened scope of its vision, the depth of its commitment to global issues and the capacity of its operations world wide which, more than ever before, it behooves us all to enhance further. We also look forward to welcoming back into the fold a free, democratic and non-racial Republic of South Africa in the very near future.

With the emergence of the new world order, we are today at a high tide of opportunity to realize the vision of global peace that inspired the United Nations Charter in 1945. The original design for peace, as outlined in the Charter in 1945, seems to be in sight with the emergence of that new world order.

The commendable efforts made by the Secretary-General towards the promotion of international peace and security and for the consolidation of peaceful coexistence among nations are about to bear results. Following the period characterized by international relations of confrontation between the military blocs of East and West, we see around us today an increasing recognition among nations of the need for the settlement of international and regional problems by peaceful means, that is, through negotiation and dialogue. All these developments augur well for the realization of the goals and objectives we set for ourselves in San Francisco in 1945.

Recent developments, however, continue to test our Organization's capacity to make the initiative of 1945 a reality. New challenges have emerged and continue to confront us. Though different in nature and content from those of the past, they are no less important in their bearing, scope and influence on peace and the future of mankind.

The beginning of this last decade of the century held out hope for international peace and stability. The world community lifted itself from the trenches of the cold war, pledging to build for mankind a new world order firmly based on legitimacy, cooperation and respect for the rights and dignity of the human person. The residual tendencies to confrontation were also collectively suppressed by the united world action in the Gulf.

The euphoria of a world finally at peace has not, regrettably, been universal. From Angola to Somalia to Bosnia and Herzegovina and, recently, in the political standoff in the Russian Federation, we witness a world haunted anew by disputes originating from legacies of the past. The destructiveness and brutality of internal wars are threatening to unweave the very tapestry on which civilization is based.

As it stands on the eve of celebrating the golden jubilee of the Charter, the world body must recognize the need for increased resources and more balanced burden-sharing among Member States in order to strengthen the capacity of the United Nations to fulfil effectively its peacemaking and peace-keeping obligations. It must continue to pursue more resolutely the objectives of the Charter, all of which stipulate that the realization of peace and development are legitimate aspirations of all peoples.

In the past we have talked about the urgent need for the democratization and restructuring of the United Nations. In this regard, we take note of the commendable efforts which are being made by the Secretary-General to strengthen the

structures of the other organs of the Organization within the context of "An Agenda for Peace" and through regional commissions.

In the aftermath of the cold war and at a time when international relations are being reshaped, it is necessary that the imbalances inherent in the present United Nations system be reviewed and corrected. Such an exercise should take into account the principles of decentralization of resources and equitable geographical representation in the decision-making organs of the world body. Like a world parliament, the United Nations must reflect in its structures the same democratic values that it advocates, the values of fairness, transparency and equitable representation, in order to validate the principle of equality of States.

The need for democratization extends, in particular, to the Security Council. The African continent accounts for almost one third of the United Nations membership. In the spirit of reflecting the regional diversity of our Organization, we must consider positively the interest of Africa in being allotted at least two permanent seats on the Security Council and an increased number of non-permanent seats.

Never before in the history of the United Nations has the world been presented with a greater opportunity for peace. The challenge of this opportunity will require us to conduct international relations with the vision and realism of people who recognize how near, in the past, the world has been to the edge of the precipice.

The United Nations global peace-keeping missions are a beacon of hope and a source of inspiration to peace-loving communities world wide that are ravaged by war and strife and in many cases have nowhere else to turn. But even in these trying times, a great opportunity exists, an opportunity possibly greater than any the world community of nations has seen since the founding of this Organization for the creation and maintenance of global peace.

Notwithstanding the positive initiative taken by the major nuclear Powers since the end of the cold war, there is still a need to establish a close link between disarmament and international peace in the years ahead. This is the ideal formula to fulfil the aspirations of mankind for a life that is free from the threat of war. To be effective towards this end, disarmament must be universal and embrace all categories of weapons, including conventional weapons.

We also recognize that the global reduction of military expenditures could enable the world to redirect its resources to development and to meet the challenge of reversing the

environmental degradation of our planet on the eve of the twenty-first century.

The hopes of the world were placed last year in the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED). The Earth Summit broke fresh ground in addressing global environmental and development crises. While it did not solve these problems, it at least succeeded in building a large amount of goodwill for the global economic partnership that is so vital if addressing the many environmental problems that the UNCED process recognized and, indeed, highlighted, are to be addressed.

More than a year after the Rio Conference, the establishment of the high-level Commission on Sustainable Development remains the most tangible development so far. The majority of the commitments made by world Governments in Rio are yet to be matched with actual deeds. The global trends towards the reduction of aid budgets by the developed countries and the intensifying commercial and political pressure on aid administration contrast sharply with the commitments made by these countries in Rio to reach the United Nations target of 0.7 per cent of gross national product in aid towards assisting the developing countries make a transition to sustainable development.

Another source of great disappointment is the continuing decline in voluntary contributions to the United Nations operational activities. The United Nations system has a central role to play in channelling assistance to developing countries, capitalizing on its comparative advantages of neutrality, widespread field-level presence and rapid response.

The least developed countries are continuing to experience a deterioration of their socio-economic situation owing to profound structural constraints and handicaps which reduce their ability to overcome the negative impact of external factors. The issue of the stalemate in multilateral trade negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) is a matter of great concern to the developing countries. Further delays towards successful, balanced and comprehensive GATT negotiations will render the principle of trade as the engine of growth and development an illusion. These basic economic structural problems, coupled with a proneness to natural disasters, seriously hamper these countries' efforts towards meaningful economic growth.

The recent drought which struck the countries of eastern and southern Africa was the worst ever. In Lesotho, the Government has had to declare a state of continuing

drought emergency and to extend provision of drought-relief measures for another year, until June 1994. We wish to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General and his team for their efforts in convening, jointly with the Southern African Development Community, a donors' conference in Geneva last year to address the drought problem. Similarly, we wish to thank the international community for its demonstration of solidarity with our region at a time of desperate need.

The Kingdom of Lesotho welcomes the Secretary-General's report entitled "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277). This document contains far-reaching recommendations on peacemaking, peace-building and peace-keeping. However, the implementation of these recommendations will fall short of attaining the intended results fully if they are not complemented with efforts to harness and reverse the further deterioration in peoples' socio-economic situations. It is on this basis that my delegation lends its full support to General Assembly resolution 47/181 on the "Agenda for Development". We stand ready to engage in constructive debate on the Secretary-General's preliminary report on "An Agenda for Development".

The world today faces profound changes, which are fuelled by the deep desire of people across the globe for respect for their basic human rights, for democracy, for public accountability and good governance. The democratically elected Government of the Kingdom of Lesotho embraces the idea and concept of national reconciliation, for which the people of Lesotho have yearned for so long. The Government has also embarked on a vigorous campaign to inculcate and nurture the culture of democracy, respect for basic human rights and popular participation, which should, in turn, have an impact on social mobilization for development, democratic institution-building, political stability and national prosperity.

The new Government views the 1993 general election and the overwhelming popular mandate it received for the stewardship of the nation's affairs as a golden opportunity to address, with fresh impetus, the urgent national issues of poverty, ignorance and disease. We therefore wish to make a special appeal to the donor community to lend a helping hand to our efforts in this regard, in the considered belief that democracy and development are complementary.

On behalf of the Government and the peace-loving people of Lesotho, I wish to express our gratitude for the prompt and generous support and assistance we received from the international community towards the success of our return to democratic civilian rule.

The situation in South Africa is always a cause for concern in Lesotho, as South Africa is our only immediate neighbour. Despite our concern with the ever-rising levels of violence and the increasing resolve by the right-wing elements to engage in sabotage in South Africa, we are encouraged by what has been achieved through negotiations in that country. In particular, we applaud the agreement reached by the negotiating parties on the date of the end of April 1994 for the holding of the first democratic elections as well as the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council to oversee the transitional arrangements prior to elections. While we acknowledge and support the call for the lifting of economic sanctions against South Africa, we urge the United Nations to upgrade the United Nations monitoring team in South Africa in order to give effective meaning to the Secretary-General's report "An Agenda for Peace" and its central message of preventive diplomacy, peace-building and peacemaking.

It is our fervent hope that the lessons of the Kingdom of Lesotho's peaceful transition to democracy will not be lost on the citizens of South Africa, whose own chance to elect a Government of their choice for the first time seems within reach.

The people of Angola, another sister country in the subregion, continue to be denied a chance for peace by UNITA. We condemn UNITA for the escalation of the military actions and for the continued massacre of innocent civilians and the destruction of the infrastructure in Angola. We appreciate the efforts of the Secretary-General and take note of Security Council resolution 851 (1993), which imposes a number of sanctions intended to limit the ability of UNITA to continue with its war effort.

We also wish to applaud the decision by the United States to recognize and establish diplomatic contact with the Government of Angola, as well as the subsequent positive initiatives for peace taken by the United States in Angola.

Mozambique is currently enjoying relative peace. The General Peace Agreement signed in Rome is holding, and the parties have continued to exercise restraint. We appeal to the parties concerned to implement the peace accords without delay and to cooperate with the Secretary-General's Special Representative in full, including the timely implementation of the mandate of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique.

In Liberia, we are optimistic that the collaboration between the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) and the Economic Community of West African

States (ECOWAS) Military Observer Group (ECOMOG), together with the Peace Agreement signed in Cotonou in July 1993, will bring lasting peace and that the warring factions will stop hostilities and agree on a transitional arrangement to lead the country to democratic elections.

Last, but not least, it is heartening to see real hope of a solution to one of the bloodiest, most impassioned and most obdurate conflicts of our time in the Middle East. The signing last month of the peace accord between the State of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization is a victory for common sense and the validation of peaceful methods in resolving disputes between States. The virtue of this mutual achievement is that it puts coexistence to a test in reality and not in mere exchange of rhetoric.

None of this, however, should distract the world from the reaffirmation of the right of the Palestinian people to nationhood in accordance with the relevant Security Council resolutions.

During the World Conference on Human Rights, held in June this year, the whole world converged in Vienna to discuss human rights issues. Although the World Conference was inundated with diverse interpretations of human rights, a great deal of progress was made. My delegation believes that the international community should rededicate itself to the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action as the central document in the effective implementation of existing human rights instruments and commit itself to the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In conclusion, my delegation would wish to emphasize once again that it remains for us to join hands and strive resolutely in all spheres of human endeavour to ensure the very survival of current and succeeding generations. Let this Organization remain the burning light of hope and inspiration for all mankind. For all its differences, and for all its diversity, ours is a world of interdependence and destinies inextricably joined. Let us renew our resolve to pursue to the end the lofty purposes and principles of the Charter of our Organization.

Mr. Tau (Republic of Moldova): First of all, I join previous speakers in warmly congratulating Mr. Samuel Insanally on his election as President of the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly, and wish him success in performing this highly responsible function. At the same time, I address sincere thanks to Mr. Stoyan Ganev for the

competent manner in which he led this great forum during his presidency.

I also take great pleasure in expressing my gratitude to the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for his tireless efforts aimed at enhancing the efficiency of the United Nations.

I take this opportunity to convey cordial congratulations to the Czech Republic, the Slovak Republic, The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Eritrea, Andorra and Monaco on their admission to the United Nations.

Recent political developments in a number of States and at the international level brought about the end of the cold war, the abatement of the danger of a nuclear catastrophe and some other positive changes. Unfortunately, we are compelled to note at the same time the emergence of some negative phenomena, such as disastrous regional and inter-ethnic conflicts. The end of this century presents a terrible picture: countries and people torn apart by fierce fratricidal wars, towns and villages set on fire, thousands of displaced people and refugees, innocent victims, tearful women and children.

The serious and complicated problems of our times - for example, those rooted in history or border disputes, and those with ethnic and religious, political and economic, social and spiritual origins, have generated various conflicts with grave consequences. These problems may lead to the outbreak of new violent confrontations in Europe that could endanger international peace and security. Under these circumstances, which are indisputable, the United Nations and other international organizations, such as the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Western European Union (WEU) and the European Economic Community (EEC) have a crucial role in stopping these unfavourable developments by the peaceful settlement of conflicts, thus leading to the strengthening of peace, international stability and security.

While appreciating the European efforts to find an adequate response to new challenges to security and stability, both at the global and regional levels, we consider that the role of the United Nations in this respect remains decisive. In order to meet the new imperatives, the United Nations ought to undergo a profound reorganization and a careful reassessment of its means. The report of the Secretary-General, "An Agenda for Peace", represents a reference point in the modern history of the United Nations and the starting-point of these necessary changes. We

welcome the continuation and broadening of the debates on this matter.

The recent outbreak of regional conflicts - the Yugoslav crisis in particular - reveals certain deficiencies in the international machinery dealing with peace and security issues, and indicates an urgent need for improvement.

The Republic of Moldova supports the reforms initiated within the framework of the Organization and is confident of its ability to adapt itself to the new political climate.

The appointment of an Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs strengthens this confidence. In our opinion, the programme of reforms should include the following three priorities: restructuring the Secretariat, rationalizing the work of the Main Committees and their working mechanisms, and reinforcing the role of the Secretary-General in his relations with the subsidiary bodies and specialized agencies.

I should like to point out that our delegation has been pursuing with great interest the debates on the agenda item entitled "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council". We consider that an increase in the membership of the Council aimed at ensuring wider representation would be in full consonance with the major changes that have occurred lately in the international arena and would reflect to a much greater extent the present level of democratization in international relations. At the same time, we share the opinion that any changes should maintain and increase the efficiency of this vital organ of the United Nations, taking into account a further possible recourse to the remarkable contributions by major Powers.

Over two years have passed since the Republic of Moldova proclaimed its independence. Our aspiration to become a democratic State with a market economy is absolute, notwithstanding the difficulties of transition. Our country has taken the first steps in this direction, irreversibly engaging itself on the path towards democracy. This resolute choice is reflected in our endeavours to join in international cooperation, an integral part of which is respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The Republic of Moldova has ratified the international conventions on human rights. The Government has consistently come out in favour of assuming new commitments to adapt the Republic's internal legal framework to international standards.

This position of principle on human rights on the part of the Republic of Moldova was reiterated at the World Conference on Human Rights. Unfortunately, this constructive approach has been vehemently challenged by the separatist forces in Transnistria, which are being inspired and supported from abroad. Shortly after the proclamation of independence, the pro-imperial forces started hostilities that resulted in great losses of innocent lives and flagrant violations of the basic rights of the native population, who were born and bred in areas controlled by separatists.

The allegations by certain political forces and mass media in the Russian Federation that the conflict is an inter-ethnic one are simply not true. In fact, it is a political conflict aimed at rebuilding the imperial structure. These accusations by the pro-imperial forces are meant to lead people to the conclusion that human rights are being violated in the Republic of Moldova and that ethnic groups had been subject to discrimination. In this respect, I should point out that these accusations were not confirmed by the United Nations and Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) missions that visited my country on several occasions.

Those same accusations were the pretext for the Russian Federation's decision to keep up a presence by its armed forces on my country's territory. The conditions imposed for the withdrawal of the Russian Fourteenth Army, namely that special legal status must be granted to the eastern districts of Moldova, is an attempt to keep that geographical area - including the Republic of Moldova - in Russia's sphere of influence.

The presence of foreign military forces on the territory of the Republic of Moldova is the principal source of insecurity and instability for my country. As was so rightly pointed out by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization, the question of the withdrawal of the Fourteenth Russian Army is a major stumbling-block along the way to a settlement of the conflict.

In this context, I should like to thank the European Community which, in their memorandum to the General Assembly, called for an early withdrawal of foreign troops from Moldova. In fact, the Fourteenth Army has huge amounts of military hardware and enormous weapons stockpiles in Transnistria that could easily be taken over by separatist forces: this is what happened during the escalation of hostilities in 1992.

Moreover, many residents of the eastern districts continue to be illegally drafted into the Fourteenth Army. This is another example of crude interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Moldova, and is a serious violation of international law.

Thus, with the political, logistic and moral support of the Fourteenth Army, the separatist leaders are still doing everything they can to impede the talks on a political settlement of the conflict. This has prevented the implementation of the Moldovan-Russian agreement of 21 July 1992 on the principles for a peaceful settlement of the military conflict in the eastern districts of the Republic of Moldova.

The high degree of politicization of the foreign military forces stationed on my country's territory and their support for the anticonstitutional regime in Transnistria are the main threats to the independence, integrity and security of the Republic of Moldova. At the same time, the presence of a foreign army in Moldova is the major obstacle to a peaceful settlement of the conflict in the eastern districts. We therefore consider unacceptable the Russian Federation's insistent proposals for it to be entrusted with a United Nations mandate for peace-keeping operations in conflict zones throughout the former Soviet Union.

First, we are convinced that neither the CSCE nor the United Nations have exhausted possibilities for solving these regional conflicts.

Secondly, one of the basic criteria for participation in peace-keeping operations is impartiality. In view of Russia's obvious interest in these zones and its insistence on assuming the role of peace-keeper, it is clear that these efforts are aimed at continuing and justifying its military presence on the territories of independent and sovereign States Members of the United Nations. Russia's final goal is obviously the revival of the old imperial structures with the blessing of the international community.

The acceptance of the 14th Army's presence on the territory of the Republic of Moldova as a precedent will certainly be very dangerous, not only for the territories of the newly independent States but also for all the adjacent areas.

The negotiations between the Governments of the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation - which began last year - on settling the terms for the withdrawal of the 14th Army have not attained any significant results. The Russian side obstructs the negotiations and displays no

willingness to withdraw its military forces. In these circumstances, the CSCE mission in the Republic of Moldova suggested that it participate in these negotiations. While the Moldovan party supported this initiative, the Russian party rejected it on every occasion. We note with deep concern that the constructive attitude in favour of compromise taken by the leadership of the Republic of Moldova is being repaid with a policy of *fait accompli* meant to separate the Transdniestria area from Moldova and place a "Trojan horse" in my country.

The recent developments are relevant in this sense and deepen this concern. General Alexandr Lebed, the commander of the 14th Army was recently elected, with the tacit consent of Moscow authorities, a deputy to the so-called Supreme Soviet in the "partial elections" that took place in the self-proclaimed "Dniester Republic". In this way General Lebed has proved once again his lack of good faith and his total disregard for the provisions of the agreements signed by Presidents Mircea Snegur and Boris Yeltsin.

The Government of the Republic of Moldova considers that the defiant and cynical actions of General Lebed, who is a Russian citizen and the commander of a foreign army temporarily stationed on the territory of my country, constitute blatant interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign State. This action is a new attempt by certain conservative forces in Russia to recognize *de facto* the so-called Dniester Republic.

It would probably be enlightening to recall that the self-proclaimed authorities in Transdniestria applauded with enthusiasm the putsch against Mikhail Gorbachev in August 1991. Moreover, during the recent events in Moscow, troops from Transdniestria were sent to the Russian capital to join the Communist hardliners in their fight against President Boris Yeltsin. The active participation of Transdniestrian fighters in the Moscow rebellion was a logical consequence of the close ties between the Tiraspol leadership and the reactionary Russian parliament, which violated all international norms under the false slogan of "defending the Russians" by means of the so-called Dniester Republic and, in practice, created a bridgehead in Moldova for the restoration of the Soviet empire.

In this context, I should like to inform the international community that the situation in the area of conflict continues to be tense and is very likely to become unstable.

We have all accepted the general principle that a foreign army cannot be stationed on the territory of another

State without the consent of the Government of the host country. I should also like to recall the appeals contained in the documents of the CSCE and the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, stating the need for complete, immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the 14th Army. In this spirit, we urge United Nations Member States to examine, with understanding and good will, a possible request for the inclusion of an additional item on the agenda of the General Assembly, on the question of the complete withdrawal of foreign military forces from the territory of the Republic of Moldova.

It is my belief that the same laudable solidarity expressed by the international community with the Baltic States is urgently needed by my country, which is prevented from achieving real independence and pursuing its firm choice of democracy and freedom. We reiterate our support for resolution 47/21, on the complete withdrawal of foreign military forces from the territories of the Baltic States, and we welcome with great satisfaction the encouraging achievement of the Lithuanian people, which has finally seen its territory free of foreign troops. We deem that only the concerted action of international bodies, especially that of the CSCE and the United Nations, can ensure peace and security in our region and protect the territorial integrity and independence of the Republic of Moldova.

I wish to assure this body that my Government is fully committed to doing its utmost to protect the rights of

minorities in the Republic of Moldova and is ready to receive any international monitoring mission to ascertain the real situation.

I cherish the hope that the fresh spirit emerging at the United Nations will help us to identify, by consensus, the necessary solutions for various problems the international community is facing now. My delegation is ready to make its contribution to the carrying out of efficient cooperation with other Member States in order to achieve the lofty goals of the United Nations that we are all striving for.

The meeting rose at 11.50 a.m.
