



General Assembly

PROVISIONAL

A/43/PV.28

13 October 1988

ENGLISH

Forty-third session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWENTY-EIGHTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 12 October 1988, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. CAPUTO (Argentina)
later: Mr. CHAGULA (United Republic of Tanzania)
(Vice-President)
later: Mr. CAPUTO (Argentina)
(President)
later: Mr. CHAGULA (United Republic of Tanzania)
(Vice-President)

- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements made by:

Miss Chiepe (Botswana)
Mr. Ssemogerere (Uganda)

Address by Sir Anerood Jugnauth, Prime Minister of Mauritius

Statements made by:

Mr. Gonelevu (Fiji)
Mr. Cenac (Saint Lucia)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the Official Records of the General Assembly.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, within one week, to the Chief, Official Records Editing Section, Department of Conference Services, room DC2-750, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Miss CHIEPE (Botswana): Let me join the speakers who have preceded me and extend Botswana's heartfelt congratulations to you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-third session. Your country and my own enjoy the happiest of relations, and it is with great pleasure that I assure you of my delegation's unstinting support and good wishes as you pilot the deliberations of this session.

Your predecessor, the eminently respected Deputy Foreign Minister of the German Democratic Republic, Mr. Peter Florin, deserves the fullest measure of our gratitude for the very able manner in which he guided the work of the forty-second session. We will miss his unshakeable composure in the face of even the most trying circumstances.

Before I turn to the issues before us, let me reiterate on behalf of my country and my delegation our sincere condolences to the peoples of Jamaica and Bangladesh, who have recently fallen victim to natural disasters due to cyclones and monsoons. Precious human and animal lives have been lost, and untold damage to property has been registered. We hope the international community will be generous in its response to those two Member States' appeal for assistance.

This year, 1988, has been a watershed year for the United Nations despite the intractable financial and other problems the Organization has continued to face. With patience, perseverance and a complete understanding of the workings of world politics and diplomacy, our Secretary-General has demonstrated to us all that the United Nations is alive and well and capable of responding decisively to the crises of our troubled world, given the active support of its Members. Never before have we witnessed such prevalent and pervasive rumblings of peace occurring, as they

(Miss Chiepe, Botswana)

have, in such a torrent, thanks to our Secretary-General's unyielding tenacity of purpose. We salute him and his team of men and women here at Headquarters and abroad, who have given the best of themselves and even risked their very lives in the service of world peace.

In this regard, I wish to congratulate the Secretary-General and the United Nations peace-keeping forces on the forces' having been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1988.

Yet we cannot pretend that all is well in our Organization. We are all aware of the serious financial crisis the Organization is facing even as it is called upon to undertake a multiplicity of missions all over the world. How ironical! Even as the United Nations is daily demonstrating its capacity to fulfil its mission as the instrument of peace in the world, given the necessary wherewithal, we are told it must reform itself in order to earn the right to have, or to receive, the financial resources which are due to it in accordance with its Charter. The result is that the Organization has no resources to perform the most central and sacred of its duties: the maintenance of international peace and security.*

The efficient deployment of resources by the United Nations is not the unilateral concern and preoccupation of one Member or a few Members; it is the common concern and preoccupation of all of us. That is why we all supported the work of the Group of 18 and its report, and continue to do so. The report of the Group of 18 was, in our view, never intended to transform the United Nations into a plaything of the big contributors. Its purpose was to improve the functioning of the administrative and budgetary management of the United Nations, and not to

*Mr. Chagula (United Republic of Tanzania), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Miss Chiepe, Botswana)

introduce weighted voting by stealth. It is in the interest of all of us to live up to our obligations under the Charter by the payment of our financial contributions to the Organization.

There has been a marked improvement in the international situation since the last session. There is a flowering spirit and atmosphere of rapprochement between the super-Powers, so happily evidenced by the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles - INF Treaty - the first of its kind in this cold-war era, and by the current negotiations on the reduction of strategic nuclear arsenals by 50 per cent. A welcome sense of realism about the dangerous folly of the philosophy of peace through nuclear terror seems to have taken root in both the East and the West. We have not seen the end - or the beginnings of the end - of the cold war; not yet. But there are encouraging signs that at least the Powers that hold the destiny of our world in their hands are prepared to coexist peacefully across the chasm of their mutual suspicions and animosities.

The recent rapprochement of the super-Powers should augur well for international peace and co-operation. Co-operation of the super-Powers in the adoption and implementation of Security Council resolution 598 (1987), on the Iran-Iraq war, for instance, would have been wishful thinking only a year ago, not to mention the pleasant novelty that is Moscow's and Washington's apparent convergence of purpose and interest in the ending of violence and strife in south-western Africa. This is a development we must welcome with genuine enthusiasm, because the efficacy of the United Nations in general and of the Security Council in particular rests on the willingness and readiness of the super-Powers, in the first instance, to co-operate in carrying out the vital decisions of this world body. Their urge to wage their ideological war through

(Miss Chiepe, Botswana)

reckless resort to their veto power in the Security Council will recede as they begin to reap the benefits of co-operation and as they realize that the United Nations is in fact the best vehicle for the promotion of their own interests.

Though the stability of our world remains precarious, we have every reason to breathe a sigh of relief that some of the most painful regional conflicts that have often threatened ignition of a global conflagration seem to be ready for resolution. As we meet here, the withdrawal of foreign forces is in progress in Afghanistan, a non-aligned South-West Asian nation that has endured a painful war since the turn of the 1980s. Thanks to the mediation of the United Nations and the unswerving determination of so many of us in this Assembly to stand by the people of Afghanistan in their time of trial and tribulation, a new era has begun in that war-weary country, an era which we pray and hope will be crowned with peace and stability.

(Miss Chiepe, Botswana)

Even painfully hapless Kampuchea has become the subject of a growing series of consultative encounters among the countries of the region. The Jakarta consultations of 25 to 28 July 1988 are among those encounters, which we hope represent the beginning, however tentative, of the end of the terrible carnage that has been the lot of that tormented country for so long. For our part, here at the United Nations, and at this session, the message must remain clear, unequivocal and uncompromising. Kampuchea belongs to its own people and in no circumstances should the United Nations, by silence or indifference, give comfort to the presence of foreign troops in that country of South-Eastern Asia. The people of Kampuchea, like those of Afghanistan, must be left alone to regain their inalienable right to self-determination after many decades of suffering.

We are somewhat encouraged by the visible signs of contact between the two Koreas. Our great hope is for this development to assume a more meaningful dimension leading to the peaceful reunification of Korea; and this, to our understanding, can be fostered only through dialogue among the Korean people themselves, without external interference.

The Middle East remains a hotbed of strife and conflict. Although Iran and Iraq are currently seized of the arduous task of laying the foundations for a durable peace, the rest of that part of the world continues to endure turmoil. The tragedy of Lebanon remains unmitigated. Its territorial integrity continues to be flouted and violated with reckless abandon. We insist that Lebanon be left alone to seek its own path to its own salvation. Keeping that tortured country in a permanent state of internecine strife does no service to the cause of peace in the Middle East.

(Miss Chiepe, Botswana)

The heartrending scenes that flash almost daily on television screens, depicting what passes for life in the West Bank and Gaza, are horrid indeed. For us from southern Africa such scenes are a painful reminder of the horrors of apartheid. No day passes without an innocent and defenceless Palestinian demonstrator being maimed or shot dead for wanting to be free in the land of his or her ancestors. And we honestly wonder by what logic the senseless carnage on the West Bank and in Gaza and other occupied Arab lands is supposed to enhance the security and survival of the State of Israel, or of any other nation in the area.

We remain convinced that for Israel, as for the rest of the Arab world, including Palestine, there is only one sensible and realistic path to salvation and survival - the path of mutual accommodation and acceptance. We commend to all countries of the region the resolving of their differences through negotiation rather than by the use of force or confrontation.

In the South Pacific the people of New Caledonia continue to invest their hopes in the traditional and mandatory responsiveness of this our United Nations as a vital and crucial complement to their own efforts to achieve self-determination. We take the view that New Caledonia is a legitimate candidate for self-determination under General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 1960 and Chapter XI, Article 73, of the Charter.

In Central America peace and stability still remain a distant dream. The peace agreement signed by the five Presidents of Central America in Guatemala on 7 August 1987 has not served the lofty purpose for which it was intended. The agreement has not been found to be in any way so flawed as to be unimplementable; rather it has become a bone of contention in the debate on how peace and democracy can be achieved in Central America. There are those in the region who hold the view that more aid to keep the flame of the contra revolution in Nicaragua will do the trick, that anything else can only prolong the agony of the people of Central

(Miss Chiepe, Botswana)

America, and Nicaraguans in particular. We beg to differ. We continue to support the Central American peace agreement and urge that it be implemented without delay.

In South America, the Falklands/Malvinas Islands dispute remains a source of concern and anxiety to us all. There does not seem to be any meaningful effort on the part of the parties concerned to work towards the resolution of the dispute. The bitterness of the 1982 conflict over the islands has lingered on and is clearly serving as an impediment to the resumption of the pre-1982 negotiations on the future of the Islands. Our view is that neither Argentina nor the United Kingdom can escape the fact that the only way for the Falklands/Malvinas dispute to end is for them to negotiate. We therefore appeal to the two countries to proceed to the conference table without delay.

Allow me now to focus attention on my own region of southern Africa. No changes of major consequence have come about in the political fortunes of the region since the last session, even though there has been a lot of talk going on since May this year. This Assembly has already been fully briefed on the talks, the quadripartite meetings involving Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the United States, with a view to finding peace for what is called south-western Africa, namely, Angola and Namibia.

To the extent that the talks have so far produced some results that we can live with, inasmuch as they have not prejudiced any principles we hold dear in southern Africa, we certainly welcome them. For us the bottom line, the irreducible minimum demand, is independence for Namibia through the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and respect for the inviolability of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the People's Republic of Angola. Nothing less is acceptable.

(Miss Chiepe, Botswana)

In South Africa itself nothing less than the total abolition of apartheid is acceptable. Even if the quadripartite talks succeed in bringing about peace in Angola and the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) in Namibia, the root cause of the problems of southern Africa as a whole will still remain unresolved. Apartheid in South Africa will continue to pose a threat to all the people of the region as it seethes with fury, waiting to erupt like a volcano, unless it is eradicated without further delay.

Botswana would like to believe that the South African authorities have realized that the use of military force, such as the invasion and occupation of parts of southern Angola, was a dangerous venture which served no useful purpose as regards South Africa itself or the region as a whole. For our part, we would like to reaffirm our faith in the principle of peaceful resolution of disputes, which we commend to the authorities in Pretoria. But we are concerned that time is fast running out.

In order to create a climate conducive to negotiations, the state of emergency must be lifted and all political prisoners and detainees released. Nelson Mandela and Zephania Mothopeng must be released, not only because of their age or illness but also because their continued incarceration deprives South Africa of what may be its only hope for salvation. Nelson Mandela, in particular, is the embodiment of the aspirations of the oppressed majority people in South Africa and there can be no meaningful negotiations while he remains incarcerated.

The violence of apartheid is the issue in South Africa, not the reaction of the African National Congress to it. That is what is to be negotiated: the end of the violence of apartheid and the democratization of South Africa, so that all its people, black and white, may at long last live in peace in a just society.

(Miss Chiepe, Botswana)

Apartheid is the source of destabilization and destruction in southern Africa. The front-line and other neighbouring States, some more than others, have all suffered as a direct consequence of apartheid. My own country has had continuously to run the gauntlet of South Africa's State terrorism, bomb explosions and murder and maiming of its citizens and South African refugees under its care, all for no other reason than the simple fact that we have become one of Pretoria's most readily available scapegoats as the anti-apartheid strife intensifies inside South Africa itself.

Look at the destabilization, the destruction, that has been wreaked upon Angola and Mozambique over the years by South Africa and its proxy armies of bandits, all in an attempt by Pretoria to preserve apartheid. For the People's Republic of Mozambique, in particular, the United States State Department report issued earlier this year says it all. Nothing could be more horrifying, more heart-rending, than the revelations of that report, which we hope will awaken the conscience of those who support the objectives of the RENAMO bandits.

Of late South Africa has launched a diplomatic offensive to conduct dialogue with African countries and thus break out of the prevailing state of diplomatic isolation it has brought upon itself. This offensive will not help solve South Africa's internal problem. The solution must be found inside South Africa by conducting meaningful dialogue with genuine leaders of the whole spectrum in that country.

Elsewhere in our continent we continue to be troubled by lack of progress in the search for a lasting solution to the question of Western Sahara. We continue to uphold the principle that the people of Western Sahara, like all other colonial peoples, are entitled to exercise their right to self-determination. In this regard, we commend the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) for their tireless efforts to find a lasting solution to the question.

(Miss Chiepe, Botswana)

The question of the Comorian island of Mayotte will never cease to exercise our minds so long as it remains unresolved. We therefore urge the French Republic and the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros to negotiate a peaceful settlement of the dispute.

Cyprus remains a nagging issue here at the United Nations and in the Non-Aligned Movement and the Commonwealth. We are adamant in our conviction that the solution to the problems of this divided island lies in the cultivation of mutual confidence between the Greek and Turkish communities. The current bicomunal talks must therefore be encouraged so that they may succeed. We continue to call for the withdrawal of foreign troops, as that would contribute towards a peaceful resolution of the dispute. We urge all concerned to co-operate with the Secretary-General in his untiring efforts to reach some accommodation.

The international economic system continues to be a cause of concern. Economic growth decelerated in the Western industrialized countries from 2.9 per cent in 1986 to 2.3 per cent in 1987. Because of their fear of high rates of inflation such as were experienced in the early 1980s, those countries refrained from providing the stimulus to their economies that would have maintained, or even accelerated, their rates of economic growth.

The impact of this economic sluggishness in the Western industrialized nations was felt in the developing countries, where the rate of economic growth slowed from 4 per cent in 1986 to 3.3 per cent in 1987. With the rate of population growth in many of the developing countries still in excess of 3 per cent per annum, this implies stagnation in the standards of living of the people. And even here it should be noted that most of the growth in the developing countries was recorded in the newly industrializing countries of Asia. Growth in African countries as a group either stagnated or was negative.

(Miss Chiepe, Botswana)

For the developing countries the prices of primary exports rose slightly; for others the prices of exports remained depressed. The rapid increases in the prices of manufactured imports led to a serious deterioration in the terms of trade for the developing countries and aggravated inflationary pressures within their economies. They experienced considerable strain on their foreign exchange reserves because of the inadequate purchasing power of their export earnings. The debt-service burden, in conjunction with the inadequate levels of export earnings, greatly constrained the resources available for development and resulted in less than satisfactory economic performance.

The issue of indebtedness has attracted considerable attention recently, both at the international level and within the African region. Some donor countries and financial institutions have undertaken to convert some loans to grants, extend some grace periods and maturities on outstanding debt and reschedule debt payments. These concessions are expected to provide much-needed relief. The programme co-ordinated by the World Bank is designed to provide concessional assistance, on terms of the International Development Association (IDA) type, to heavily indebted IDA-eligible countries in Africa which are implementing structural adjustment programmes. It is hoped that the benefits accruing from these developments will not be offset by a further deterioration in the terms of trade or a reduction in current levels of resource transfers.

As 1988 draws to a close, despite the many favourable outcomes that have been recorded on the African and world economic fronts, there are various disturbing signs of accelerating inflation, rising interest rates, weakening commodity market prices and growing protectionism in the industrialized world that threaten to disrupt the modest gains that have been achieved.

(Miss Chiepe, Botswana)

Last, but not least, my delegation welcomed at the outset the historic signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles - INF Treaty - and the ongoing negotiations on the reduction of strategic arsenals. That is concrete progress at the bilateral level. We hope that the momentum will be maintained so as to yield fruitful results in the general question of disarmament.

At the multilateral level, real progress towards disarmament remains elusive. This past May and June a special session of our Assembly, which had been expected to push us a little further along the road to disarmament, ended without achieving the desired results. The failure of the special session to produce the desired results was discouraging, but it cannot and must not in any way signal the end of the disarmament effort. We must continue to encourage the spirit of multilateralism.

The scourge of terrorism is still with us - terrorism perpetrated against innocents by individuals, groups of individuals and some States. It is a scourge that no explanation can justify, and it must be condemned unequivocally, regardless of its author. The typical imprint of what terrorism perpetrated by a State can do is there for all to see in the front-line States of southern Africa, the Middle East, Latin America and elsewhere where whole villages have been reduced to rubble and hundreds upon hundreds of graves of innocent victims of midnight commando raids and aerial bombardments dot the ravaged landscape like bales of hay. This is terrorism in every conceivable sense, and it must be condemned without equivocation.

I end my statement as I started it, by paying homage once more to this, our United Nations, for what it stands for; to our Secretary-General for his inspiring and productive leadership; and to his staff for their selfless devotion to their international duty. Our faith in this vital world institution remains strong

(Miss Chiepe, Botswana)

and unstinted. It is our determination to preserve it, to strengthen it, to infuse it with a new sense of purpose and mission.*

* The President returned to the Chair.

Mr. SSEMOGERERE (Uganda): I should like most sincerely to congratulate Mr. Dante Caputo on his election as President, which is a well-deserved recognition of his personal qualities and record of great distinction in the service of his country and the international community as well as a fitting tribute to the role and stature of Argentina in world affairs. He brings to the presidency a wealth of wisdom and political and diplomatic experience. We are confident he will make a decisive contribution to the success of our deliberations.

I wish also to place on record our sincere appreciation of Mr. Peter Florin, who presided over the forty-second session with impartiality and great distinction.

I should also like to take this opportunity to express my delegation's gratitude and admiration to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar. In recent years this Organization has faced many challenges and daunting problems, including a clear retreat from multilateralism, which threatens its very viability. But the Secretary-General never wavered from his resolve to ensure that the Organization would play its rightful role. With patience and tenacity he provided the requisite leadership and successfully reversed this trend and restored the United Nations to the centre of the world stage. The Secretary-General took initiatives to involve the United Nations in the resolution of many conflicts ranging from the Iran-Iraq war, to Afghanistan, the Western Sahara and southern Africa, to mention just a few. The peace agreements mediated by the United Nations have given a critical boost to the Organization's capacity to face the multiple challenges facing the world. They have resulted in the renewal of confidence and indeed of a realization that the United Nations is an irreplaceable multilateral forum for harmonizing international actions to handle the global problems of our time. The award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the United Nations peace-keeping forces last month is testimony to this climate.*

* The President returned to the Chair.

(Mr. Ssemogerere, Uganda)

Today the international scene shows signs of improvement which offer us both challenges and opportunities. The relations between the super-Powers, which often have great impact on the international political environment, have relaxed. On the horizon we can see a faint outline of a peaceful world. The scientific and technological developments achieved, if well utilized, could help mankind to tame nature, conquer poverty and promote development. Yet amidst these encouraging developments, the world continues to be plagued by a number of political and multifaceted economic crises. These dismal realities that still plague us and the dangerous anomalies existing in the present international situation serve as a warning to us that all is not yet well in spite of our optimism.

In South Africa, we have an oppressive system and a Government whose callousness and viciousness is unparalleled in human history both in its intensity and the length of time it has endured. The régime poses three major challenges to the international community, namely, the independence and freedom of Namibia, apartheid in South Africa and the destabilization of the neighbouring African countries.

The right of a people to self-determination, sovereignty and independence is a fundamental non-negotiable human right and the universal quest of mankind. Regrettably, in Namibia this right continues to be trampled on by South Africa in arrogant defiance of the international community and the United Nations. It is now 22 years since South Africa's mandate over Namibia was terminated. The adoption by the Security Council of resolution 435 (1978), which contained the only universally agreed plan for the independence of Namibia and which was sponsored by the Contact Group of five, gave us hope at the time that the independence of Namibia was imminent. Resolution 435 (1978), however, remains unimplemented. Right from the onset, the implementation of the United Nations Plan was undermined, frustrated and scuttled by South Africa's intransigence and duplicity. The South African régime

(Mr. Ssemogerere, Uganda)

hatched one pretext after another, as it carried out provocation after provocation against the neighbouring States to create ostensible excuses to remain in Namibia and ignore the obligations it had undertaken to abide by resolution 435 (1978).

Successive attempts to finalize arrangements for the emplacement of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia have since then been blocked by South Africa's continuing to hold Namibia's independence hostage to linkage with the extraneous issue of the presence of Cuban troops in Angola. The question of Namibia is essentially a decolonization problem, whereas the presence of Cuban troops in Angola is purely a bilateral arrangement, legitimately entered into between Angola and Cuba under Article 51 of the Charter. Angolan and Cuban troops have never crossed over to South Africa. On the contrary, it is South African forces which invaded the southern part of Angola and for a long time occupied that territory. It was in the first instance due to this invasion and occupation by the South African army that Angola had to seek the assistance of Cuba. It is, therefore, ridiculous to put the victim in the dock, or to equate him with the aggressor, or to demand that the victim must not be entitled to seek assistance in self-defence for its survival. The General Assembly, in its numerous decisions, and the Security Council in resolution 566 (1985), categorically rejected the linkage concept. Yet even at this time, linkage continues to be propagated both expressly and implicitly as a pretext to slow down the emplacement of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group and deny the Namibian people their independence.

In his report the Secretary-General struck a note of optimism in regard to the current talks on Angola and Namibia when he stated:

(Mr. Ssemogerere, Uganda)

"There has been an improvement in prospects for the independence of Namibia. Recent diplomatic activity has made a significant contribution to the peace process in southern Africa, which should facilitate a settlement in Namibia without further delay. The date of 1 November 1988 has been recommended for beginning the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). In the light of these developments, the Secretariat has undertaken a review of its contingency plans in order to hold itself in readiness for the timely emplacement of the United Nations Transition Group in Namibia. It is my hope that current efforts will finally succeed in bringing independence to the people of Namibia." (A/43/1, p. 3)

My delegation welcomes the report in the hope that this time the parties involved, in particular South Africa, are taking the Secretary-General seriously and are not giving him and, through him, the entire international community, false expectations.

Caution here is necessary, given the past conduct of the South African racist régime, which once raised the hopes of the international community only to have them suddenly dashed. This was the case at about this time of the year in 1980, when presidential elections in the host country, a member of the Contact Group of Five, were about to take place. As the pre-implementation talks of February 1981 demonstrated, South Africa's promise to begin the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) turned out to be a hoax.

(Mr. Ssemogerere, Uganda)

It is our sincere hope that we are not being made the victims of yet another hoax, but that we are about to witness the emplacement of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) as the beginning of the complete and immediate decolonization of Namibia.

Much as we would like to be optimistic about Namibia's independence, we must realize that the whole South African problem derives from apartheid. We continue to witness the South African régime's hostility towards its neighbours, and to wonder whether the apartheid régime will allow Namibia to be truly independent.

It is our view that the international community, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and its allies should guard against the challenge in the likely event that the apartheid régime again pulls the rug from under us. To this end my delegation fully endorses the efforts of the Secretary-General to set a well-manned UNTAG in place in Namibia, and urges the international community to support all necessary steps aimed at guaranteeing the sovereignty and viability of independent Namibia.

Namibia is a unique responsibility of the United Nations. It is therefore imperative that any negotiations regarding the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) should be within the framework of the United Nations. It is equally important that SWAPO, as the legitimate representative of the Namibian people, should be directly involved in such talks.

In South Africa itself the people continue to suffer under the inhuman practices of racism, repression, deprivation and State terrorism. For the last three years the South African régime has stepped up terror. South Africa is under a state of emergency which in effect amounts to martial law intended to muzzle the press, escalate arbitrary mass arrests, carry out detentions without trial, torture and the killing of many innocent South Africans, including women and children.

(Mr. Ssemogerere, Uganda)

However, the much-touted military superiority of the racist régime is clearly under serious challenge and stress. We have seen for the first time whites revolting against conscription into the South African Defence Force. Draft evasion among whites has reached a level that has begun to worry the Pretoria régime. Recently, the leaders of 143 draft evaders declared their determination to stand firm against compulsory military service and identified the South African Defence Force as the linchpin of the system of apartheid. They realize that serving in the South African Defence Force is not the way to contribute to peace in their country and the region as a whole. The Dutch Reformed Church which gave apartheid its philosophical underpinning has been forced to disavow the system as being incompatible with Christian beliefs and morality. The increased divisions within the Afrikaner establishment in South Africa are a manifestation of the continued success of the liberation struggle. The racist régime is at war with its own people.

We are often warned that if the South Africans continue to fight this war of resistance, the South African apartheid régime "will continue its descent into a siege mentality and become a garrison state in which all South Africans will be losers". Of course there is a price to pay for freedom. The Charter of the United Nations was bought for such a price. People in the whole world, including those who didn't know exactly what was at stake, were mobilized to fight the Second World War. The loss and human suffering were great but the ultimate achievements were worth the resistance. In South Africa, however, we are told this is different: even to mention sanctions is taboo.

The international community can no longer stand by and let the South African racist régime, directly or through its surrogates, continue to commit acts of aggression and economic sabotage against neighbouring States, with the clear intent

(Mr. Ssemogerere, Uganda)

of intimidating them into perpetual subordination. My delegation takes this opportunity to put on record Uganda's appreciation of the front-line States for the immense sacrifice they continue to make in the struggle against apartheid. We appeal to the international community to increase economic support for the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC).

The conflict occasioned by apartheid has given rise to a tragedy of enormous proportions resulting in a massive displacement and exodus of people as refugees. UNICEF in its report entitled, "Children on the Frontline - the impact of apartheid, destabilization and warfare on the children in southern and South Africa" chronicled and portrayed this grim reality. This August in Oslo, Norway, an international conference was convened to address this very problem. We are very appreciative of those who have provided relief assistance to the refugees and displaced persons. However, this assistance can only be a palliative: as long as apartheid remains, the tragedy will continue to unfold. Our obligation is to put an end to this crime against humanity.

The fortieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is a timely reminder that the apartheid system is the very essence of the practices against which the Declaration was directed. That such a system flourishes in our midst is a strong indictment of all those who, through their actions or omissions, have contributed to its survival.

It is 50 years since that infamous Munich conference where, in face of the danger posed by the Nazis to the rest of the world, a fragile peace agreement was signed in 1938 in order to appease Hitler. It turned out to be a costly mistake and the price paid was the Second World War. The lesson learned then was that it does not pay to appease a bully or, more so, a group which believes in the idea of a superior race. It is instructive to note that when the world realized the danger

(Mr. Ssemogerere, Uganda)

the Hitler régime posed, it took up arms against that sea of troubles and by opposing it, ended it. The apartheid régime in South Africa poses a precisely similar danger and calls for concerted action by the international community.

We submit that apartheid cannot be reformed: it must be dismantled. The conduct of the Pretoria régime within South Africa, as well as in Namibia, and its acts of aggression against the front-line States clearly fall within the purview of Article 39 of the Charter. The imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions is clearly an imperative and it may be the only peaceful way left to eradicate apartheid.

We welcome the positive developments in another crisis area in Africa, namely, Western Sahara. The peace Agreement which both Morocco and POLISARIO have accepted should pave the way to ending a situation which is fraught with conflict and thus complete the process of the decolonization of Western Sahara. We hail the efforts of the Secretary-General and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in this regard. We call on the international community to support the Secretary-General and the OAU in implementing the Agreement.

We also welcome the accord and normalization of relations between Ethiopia and Somalia, on the one hand, and between the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Chad, on the other. These are indeed positive developments in our region.

We equally welcome the cease-fire and the silencing of the guns between Iran and Iraq. The war has exacted a heavy toll on the lives and resources of the two countries. The task of reconciliation is enormous. We urge the parties to ensure that the truce holds and that they move speedily to the implementation of Security Council resolution 598 (1987).

(Mr. Ssemogerere, Uganda)

Uganda remains concerned with regard to the situation in the Middle East. The people of Palestine continue to languish without a homeland of their own. In flagrant defiance of the international community, Israel continues to consolidate its hold on the occupied Arab territories. The people of Palestine, in the face of oppressive measures by Israel, refuse to be cowed. They have continued to fight against and challenge the occupation. The uprisings that have been going on since December 1987 are clear testimony to their resolve to defend their inalienable rights. Instead of heeding the call of the international community to vacate the occupied Arab territories, Israel has chosen to respond with brutal force. All this constitutes a sad chapter in the seemingly endless tragedy of the Palestinian people. Israel needs no reminder that General Assembly resolution 181 II, which set up the State of Israel, also set up a Palestinian Arab State. The United Nations has a duty to implement that resolution.

As always, Uganda calls for Israel's unconditional withdrawal from the Palestinian and Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem. The people of Palestine, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, their sole and authentic representative, have an inalienable right to self-determination and to an independent State of Palestine.

I wish to stress our continued support for General Assembly resolution 38/58 C which calls for the early convening of the International Conference on the Middle East. We are convinced that such a conference would provide a unique opportunity and platform for the achievement of a just and lasting solution of the crisis.

With regard to Afghanistan, Uganda welcomes the Geneva Agreements, which offer the Afghan people an opportunity to resolve their problems. All the parties concerned ought scrupulously to abide by the provisions of the Agreements.

We are likewise encouraged by developments in Kampuchea, where one can discern a movement towards resolving the conflict by peaceful means.

(Mr. Ssemogerere, Uganda)

Our position with regard to the division of Korea has never changed. We fully support the aspirations of the people of that divided country for peaceful reunification without outside interference.

We have also been encouraged by the Secretary-General's report on the question of Cyprus, in which he indicates that there are good prospects for success in the intercommunal talks. I wish to reiterate Uganda's continued support for the sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Cyprus.

With regard to Central America, we believe that the Arias plan contained in the Guatemala agreement of last year, provides a basis for the resolution of the conflict in that region. The people of the region should be left to negotiate the solution of their problems without outside interference or intimidation. The sovereignty and independence of each country in the region must be respected.

One of the most pressing issues of our time is the prevention of war, particularly a war involving the use of nuclear weapons. Nuclear weapons pose a danger to all countries since there can be no sanctuary for any State in the case of nuclear fall-out. Therefore the calls for general disarmament and for the elimination of nuclear weapons remain issues of great importance to all countries. There have been promising developments over the past year. Perhaps the most significant development in this area is the Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles - the INF Treaty. The agreement was reached after over a decade of dangerous tension in super-Power relations, which had rendered our planet a more dangerous place. We therefore welcome and applaud this agreement.

However, we must caution that the INF Treaty, has only a small quantitative effect on the nuclear threat. The number of weapons to be eliminated by both sides is less than 5 per cent of the total number of nuclear weapons deployed. The main

(Mr. Ssemogerere, Uganda)

significance of the Treaty is not military; rather it represents a substantial concession on the political and strategic postures of the two super-Powers. If the Treaty is to fulfil its significant historic meaning, it should provide a springboard for more bilateral and multilateral negotiations and for the improvement of world security. It is imperative to pursue negotiations for the gradual reduction of strategic weapons and ensure the prevention of an arms race in space.

Nuclear disarmament and conventional weapons disarmament are complementary aspects of the objective of general and complete disarmament. The global prevalence of conventional weapons, the high incidence of their use since the Second World War, coupled with the demands they make on the resources of developing countries, require urgent action to curb them. At the regional level, we can create the necessary climate for the reduction of conventional weapons by adopting appropriate confidence-building measures.

We had hoped that the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament would agree on a programme that would accelerate the momentum of the disarmament process. Regrettably, at that session the Assembly was not able to agree on a final document. That should not, however, deter us from making further efforts inasmuch as there was agreement on many issues.

We, in Africa, have opted for a nuclear-free zone and most of our countries are States parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. But our efforts to that end have been frustrated by the continued nuclear collaboration between the racist régime of South Africa, Israel and certain nuclear countries. South Africa has admitted publicly that it is now capable of producing nuclear weapons. As I have had the occasion to state before, collaborating with South Africa in this regard is indefensible. We believe that nuclear energy should be used for peaceful purposes only. We therefore continue to hope that the

(Mr. Ssemogerere, Uganda)

International Atomic Energy Agency and the Economic Commission for Africa will join with the Organization of African Unity in facilitating the holding of the seminar on this subject planned to take place in Uganda next year.

The manufacture, supply and use of chemical weapons is, in our view, a criminal offence and a violation of fundamental human rights, particularly the right to life. Those weapons kill indiscriminately. We urge all the Members of this Organization, individually and collectively, to adopt concrete measures to ban the production, supply and use of those deadly weapons.

For a considerable period of time, toxic waste, including nuclear waste, produced in the industrialized countries, has been dumped in developing countries. We, in Africa, refuse to accept that our continent be used as a cesspool for this dangerous industrial garbage. We support the enactment of a convention to make such dumping an international crime. Those who engage, collaborate or conspire in this practice should be condemned and punished.

It should by now be self-evident that disarmament is inextricably linked with development. It is a sad commentary on our times that we live in a world that spends over \$1 trillion a year on armaments. That amount is equivalent to the total indebtedness of the developing countries with its attendant deprivation and misery. That the resources of the world are being used to destroy rather than to improve the welfare of mankind is an eloquent summary of human folly. It is our hope that the recent relaxation of tension will usher in a period in which those resources will be diverted to development.

The contours of the world political landscape seem to have changed for the better over the past year in total contrast to the picture with regard to the economic situation. The international economic system remains inherently iniquitous.

(Mr. Ssemogerere, Uganda)

The grim reality is that the present world structure preserves and perpetuates the oasis of privilege and affluence in the desert of dearth and deprivation. It is a situation that causes concern and has grave implications for the future. The developing countries continue to be confronted with harsh circumstances. They are faced with an astronomical debt burden, the contraction of world trade and deteriorating terms of trade.

Most developing countries have hitherto relied on the export of primary commodities for their income. But over the last 10 years prices of these products have continued to decline and have now almost collapsed. Yet the prices of imports of manufactured goods from industrialized countries, required as production inputs, continue to escalate. The net effect is a scandalous net outflow of resources from the impoverished South to the affluent North resulting in further balance-of-payments difficulties, unfavourable terms of trade and the inescapable resort to borrowing from the North. Those of us from the South should also take serious note of the fact that as long as the North continues to fix the prices of our products as well as the prices of their products the sea of poverty, hunger, disease and malnutrition is likely to continue to enlarge. It is therefore incumbent upon us to unite for existence. We can no longer tolerate a situation where the reward for the hard work of our people is hunger.

To address the problem, developing countries have been asked by the North and its financial institutions to undertake structural adjustment measures. The measures they have been forced to take are severe. They adversely affect their development prospects. In the face of the harsh economic environment, Governments have to face the social and political tension arising therefrom. These measures have not yielded the desired results. They are, moreover, frustrated by increased protectionism in the developed countries, sharply reduced returns from our export

(Mr. Ssemogerere, Uganda)

commodity earnings and the ever-mounting debt trap. This is a critical economic situation in Africa.

When the thirteenth special session of the General Assembly adopted the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development 1986-1990, there were great expectations as to the impact of the programme. But to date the economic situation in Africa continues to deteriorate despite the economic reform efforts that have been undertaken at heavy social and political cost. Available financial resources continue to be insufficient to ensure sustained economic recovery and growth in our continent.

The inappropriately designed and externally driven short-term stabilization/structural adjustment programmes have become the hallmark of internationally supported reforms in Africa. Meanwhile, net resource outflows from Africa have increased due to the interrelated problems of dealing with export earnings, diminishing real resource inflows, and the crippling debt-servicing burden.

We are now witnessing the ugly indicators of the scourge of reduced investment in the social sectors: a substantial fall in school enrolment, especially at the primary level, combined with a sharp increase in the brain drain, the highest incidence of infant mortality in the world and countless millions of lives at risk due to the re-emergence of diseases long thought to be extinct. Indeed, in the absence of positive economic growth, adjustment programmes in Africa have become politically inexplicable, socially unacceptable and economically unattainable.

For Africa or any other developing region, it is inverted logic and inadmissible practice to sacrifice real long-term development and prosperity to theoretically perceived short-term and short-lived macro-balances. While the role of market forces in the efficient allocation of resources is critical,

(Mr. Ssemogerere, Uganda)

ideologically based policy generalizations distort reality and should never be allowed to influence the direction of economic reforms.

We believe that for the long-term structural transformation of Africa the need for viable alternatives to the traditional adjustment must be addressed. To build viable economies in our continent it is imperative to base such growth on the transfer of science and technology, reliance on favourable trading arrangements, the effective deepening of subregional and regional economic integration, and establishing the supremacy of the human being in economic development.

At \$200 billion, Africa's outstanding debt looks relatively small compared to the estimated \$1.2 trillion total debt stock of developing countries. Africa's average debt-service ratio, however, estimated at 60 per cent average, exceeds 100 per cent for a number of countries. In December 1987, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) extraordinary summit meeting set out a common position on specific measures and modalities for tackling the African debt problem, within the framework of an integrated and co-operative development-oriented strategy, based on a dialogue of co-operation and shared responsibilities. We hope that the creditors and the international community as a whole will give the necessary support to the African initiative for a North-South dialogue on all pressing issues.

We should carefully restructure our trade and financial linkages so that our own markets can act as a motor for our own development. We are therefore encouraged by the global system of trade preferences scheme which has been adopted by the non-aligned countries and the initiatives being undertaken by the South Commission. In our own subregion of eastern and southern Africa the preferential trade area has deliberately embarked on the path of regional economic co-operation to this end.

(Mr. Ssemogerere, Uganda)

The United Nations has a vital role to play in the world of tomorrow. It should therefore be strengthened for this purpose. We accept reforms where these are intended to achieve the rationalization and better use of resources. Member States of the Organization should, however, be on guard to see that reform is not used to weaken the Organization, or to challenge and compromise the multilateral role assigned to it by the Charter. In his report on the work of the Organization the Secretary-General has eloquently cautioned:

"For a country, large or small, to turn its back, to whatever extent, on the United Nations would be to surrender a good part of its actual or potential influence. To follow a two-track policy - at one level, to owe allegiance to the Charter and, at the other, to seek to marginalize the United Nations - would be to act contrary to the goal of harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of their common ends." (A/43/1, p. 8)

As we mark the fortieth anniversary of that immutable Universal Declaration of Human Rights, we commend the Secretary-General for his efforts in promoting human rights through the creation of advisory services which Governments, including that of Uganda, have taken advantage of. It is important to remind ourselves that a cardinal objective of the United Nations spelt out in the Charter is to ensure the full enjoyment of fundamental human rights, the respect, dignity and worth of the human person and the promotion of social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom. The Declaration proclaims in Article 25(1):

"Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control."

(Mr. Ssemogerere, Uganda)

Article 28 further states:

"Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized."

(Mr. Ssemogerere, Uganda)

As we prepare to enter the next millenium, the fulfilment of these objectives remains the challenge facing us in the next decade. It is imperative for us to ponder whether we shall bequeath to coming generations an international order that guarantees the total fulfilment of the rights proclaimed, in their entirety. The perpetuation of underdevelopment leads to lack of job opportunities, to poverty, disease and social deprivation. That situation becomes a breeding ground for dictators, for conflicts and wars and for violations of human rights. It is at this stage that the international community starts to deal with the symptoms - refugees, famine relief, and so on. The whole scene becomes a tragicomedy in which the poor keep chasing the mirage called development.

The United Nations is currently formulating a development strategy for the 1990s. It is imperative that that strategy be people-oriented. It should aim at bringing about development with a human face and the international order envisaged by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We maintain that the right to development is a fundamental human right. We should not construct the edifice of the world of tomorrow in such a way that we end up with a few people moving towards a post-industrial revolution while the overwhelming majority remain trapped in a state of underdevelopment and poverty. Such a configuration would be a recipe for perpetual insecurity, for a world without peace. That is the challenge to the United Nations.

ADDRESS BY SIR ANEROOD JUGNAUTH, PRIME MINISTER OF MAURITIUS

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Assembly will now hear an address by the Prime Minister of Mauritius.

Sir Anerood Jugnauth, Prime Minister of Mauritius, was escorted to the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I have great pleasure in welcoming the Prime Minister of Mauritius, Sir Anerood Jugnauth, and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

Sir Anerood JUGNAUTH (Mauritius): On behalf of the people and the Government of Mauritius I am pleased to convey to you, Sir, my sincere congratulations on your election as President of the forty-third session of the General Assembly. Your outstanding personal qualities and your vast experience in the field of diplomacy will be a guarantee of success in the deliberations of the Assembly's session.

I also wish to express the appreciation of the Government of Mauritius for the outstanding work performed by Mr. Peter Florin, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic, the outgoing President of the Assembly.

His Excellency Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar deserves special mention for his devotion in pursuit of the goals and objectives of the United Nations. Despite the many hurdles in his path, he has succeeded in bringing to the negotiating table yesterday's antagonists and adversaries, and they are now talking about finding solutions to intractable problems. May we assure him of our unstinting support in the exacting tasks that confront him.

Mr. President, it is with great pleasure that, on behalf of the people and the Government of Mauritius, I congratulate, through you, the United Nations peace-keeping force on being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. For decades, the blue helmets of the peace-keeping forces have been seen throughout the world, patrolling the most varied of conflicts. As the Nobel Prize citation states:

"The peace-keeping forces of the United Nations have, under extremely difficult conditions, contributed to reducing tension where an armistice has been negotiated but a peace treaty has yet to be established."

The Peace Prize is also a tribute to you, Mr. President, to the Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, and to the United Nations family as a whole.

Earlier this year, the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament tackled the problem facing mankind. Although it was not possible to adopt a document in its final form, yet we were unanimous in grasping the major

(Sir Anerood Jugnauth, Mauritius)

implications of the problem. Everyone agreed that differences in political, military, social, economic and other fields should not stand in the way of closer international co-operation for peace and security. The entire disarmament process would be facilitated through a positive approach and greater openness and transparency in military matters.

Nuclear weapons today constitute the greatest menace to the existence of man. Therefore, our main concern is the avoidance of nuclear holocaust. At the special session there was a beginning of consensus on priority issues relating to chemical weapons, to verification and to the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. We hope that further progress will be made in future discussions of those vital issues.

The special session welcomed the existing nuclear-weapon-free zones and debated the creation of new zones. The Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean concluded its second and last session of 1988 on 22 July. At the conclusion of the Ad Hoc Committee's work on the Indian Ocean the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee, Ambassador Daya Perera of Sri Lanka, expressed the view that the members would have the political will to convene the conference at Colombo in 1990, at the latest. We wholeheartedly share that view. I am confident that the members of the Ad Hoc Committee will have meaningful discussions during the two preparatory meetings scheduled in 1989 so that the long-overdue conference is finally convened. My delegation will give its full support to the Ad Hoc Committee in its work, as we in Mauritius are deeply concerned with the demilitarization of the Indian Ocean.

We have on previous occasions spoken on the vast amount of resources being spent on armaments, especially on conventional arms and forces. We are strongly in favour of the action programme charted by the international Conference on the Relationship Between Disarmament and Development. A global process of disarmament leading to a substantial reduction in military expenditure is bound to release much-needed resources to promote the prosperity of all nations. Lasting peace is

(Sir Anerood Jugnauth, Mauritius)

more likely to be established through economic development than through lavish expenditure on armaments.

I should also like to say that Mauritius supports the stand of His Excellency Shri Rajiv Gandhi, Prime Minister of the Republic of India, enunciated in his address on 9 June 1988 to the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

In clear violation of the principles of the United Nations the island of Diego Garcia, along with the Chagos Archipelago, was detached from Mauritius by Britain prior to our independence in 1968. The island of Diego Garcia was ceded by Britain to the United States of America, which transformed it into a military base. The inhabitants of the island were summarily relocated to Mauritius. The key strategic role now assumed by Diego Garcia has brought the nuclear peril right into the heart of the Indian Ocean. We are determined never to give up our claim over Diego Garcia. With the support of other Indian Ocean States, we shall continue to mobilize international opinion for the restitution of the island to Mauritius. We are thankful to the States members of the Organization of African Unity and the Non-Aligned Movement, as well as other friendly countries, for their continued support of our just claim.

(Sir Anerood Jugnauth,
Mauritius)

It grieves me to refer again to the sad plight of our brothers and sisters in South Africa, who have been denied their fundamental rights and have lived far too long under a régime of murder and terror. Despite the efforts of the United Nations, over four decades, to bring to an end this abominable form of racism, apartheid remains in force. Repeated calls have been made on the South African Government to comply with the resolutions of the United Nations, but to no avail. The resolutions calling for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, the elimination of apartheid, and the establishment of a free, united and democratic society in South Africa based on universal suffrage, continue to be flouted by the racist régime. My Government has systematically condemned the policy of apartheid. We consider that there can be no peace and security in South Africa until apartheid has been dismantled. Let it also be said that the racist régime of South Africa continues, unabated, its policy of external aggression and the destabilization of neighbouring front-line States, in defiance of repeated condemnation and the enforcement of sanctions.

The policy of apartheid has affected not only the oppressed people of South Africa but also the Namibian people, who continue to suffer through the illegal occupation of their country. It is now more than 22 years since the General Assembly terminated South Africa's mandate over Namibia and created the United Nations Council for Namibia to administer the Territory and prepare it for independence. The South African Government has used delaying tactics to block the implementation of the United Nations Plan for the Independence of Namibia, contained in Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

We have always supported the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) in its struggle for the liberation of its homeland. We shall continue to do so until the country is ultimately free. We sincerely hope that the positive talks

(Sir Anerood Jugnauth,
Mauritius)

between South Africa, Angola, Cuba and the United States of America will yield the desired results, so that the United Nations will be able, in the very near future, to welcome to its midst the independent and sovereign State of Namibia.

The lessening of tension in southern Africa will enable the international community to tackle another crucial problem of the region, which concerns some six million refugees. In this context we commend the initiative of the recent International Conference on the Plight of Refugees, Returnees and Displaced Persons in South Africa (SARRED) for its plan of action towards reconstruction and rehabilitation measures in a region despoiled by 13 years of war.

I wish now to set the record straight regarding the policy of Mauritius towards the racist régime of South Africa. It is indeed with sorrow and much anger that I have to denounce a systematic campaign of disinformation about Mauritius and its links with South Africa. This campaign has been orchestrated by international vested interests, which feel threatened by the economic success of Mauritius, and by jealous rivals unable to emulate the Mauritian miracle. The aim of the campaign has been to equate Mauritius's success to her links with South Africa, and to stick the label "sanctions buster" on Mauritius.

I would like to take this opportunity to set the picture straight. Under British colonial rule, administrative and economic links tied Mauritius with South Africa. Geographically, South Africa is the closest mainland to our island. However, since my Government assumed office in 1983, links with South Africa, which in any case were limited, have been diminishing as we have actively been seeking alternative sources and markets.

In 1982 Mauritius's domestic exports and re-exports to South Africa amounted to 0.76 per cent of its total world exports, and by 1987 they had dropped to 0.41 per cent. Our imports from South Africa in 1981 represented 9.6 per cent of

(Sir Anerood Jugnauth,
Mauritius)

our total imports world-wide; in 1987 they represented only 8.3 per cent. Investment from South Africa in 1987 was 1.27 per cent of total foreign investment. Only 0.7 per cent of total investment in our export processing zone is South African, 60 per cent being Mauritian. We have diversified our sources of tourists so that, from 22.6 per cent in 1984, the South African element fell to 14.7 per cent of total tourist arrivals.

Mauritius has a very fragile economy - being a small island State with no mineral resources, and being distant from markets and main sea routes. Despite these constraints, my Government, supported by the people of Mauritius, is, I repeat, actively diversifying away from South Africa, in accordance with our commitments to the United Nations, the Commonwealth and the Organization of African Unity.

The question of Palestine has remained on the agenda of the General Assembly since the founding of the United Nations, and still defies a just and equitable solution. Such a solution can only be found within the framework of a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East situation, based on Israel's total withdrawal from all the territories occupied since 1967 and the restoration of all the rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to return to their homeland, the right to self-determination and the right to establish their own independent and sovereign State on their national territory. We therefore support the speedy convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East, with the participation of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

My Government rejoices that both Iraq and Iran have agreed to go to the negotiating table, thanks to the persevering efforts and diplomatic finesse

(Sir Anerood Jugnauth,
Mauritius)

displayed by the United Nations Secretary-General and his tireless staff. We pray that the efforts of the Secretary-General will pave the way for a peaceful settlement in that war-torn and ravaged area.

We also welcome the efforts of the countries members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) in their quest for a comprehensive political settlement to the problem of Kampuchea. All foreign intervention and military occupation should be brought to an end without further delay. The incessant flow of refugees from that country has created tensions and security problems in neighbouring States. The recent Jakarta informal meeting, held in the city of Bogor from 25 to 28 July 1988, is no doubt a starting-point for a peace process that can lead to the restoration of the sovereign, independent, and neutral and non-aligned status of Kampuchea.

(Sir Anerood Jugnauth,
Mauritius)

We welcome the recent Geneva Agreements as a major step towards the restoration of peace in Afghanistan. This is an achievement that must be credited to the United Nations and especially to its Secretary-General. I pay a tribute also to the understanding shown by the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The Korean people are also eagerly awaiting the peaceful reunification of their country. We hope that through dialogue the people of Korea, both North and South, will soon join the rest of the international community in the United Nations.

On the subject of human rights, my Government views with great concern the instances of violation of human and democratic rights, the enactment of the coercive internal security decree, and above all the systematic harassment of an ethnic group in Fiji. We appeal for the immediate restoration of the process of national reconciliation. Let the Government of Fiji show that it is motivated by a sense of fair play and universal justice and by tolerance and harmony.

Similarly, we hope that reason will prevail and that tensions in such troubled areas as Cyprus, Lebanon and Central America will give way to peace and stability.

For nearly ten years now the world economy has stagnated, causing the slowing down and reversal of development, high unemployment and gruesome poverty. World trade is dominated by sharp currency fluctuations, trade imbalances between the major market economies and the debt-burdened developing countries. The 1988 World Economic Survey prepared by the United Nations has forecast that growth is expected to fall in 1989. The Survey goes on to say that, while economic growth among developing countries varied greatly last year, affected by foreign debt, decreasing overseas earnings and difficulties in orienting policies towards economic stability, growth slowed down for the developing countries, mostly in Africa and Latin America, where per capita output is continuing to fall.

(Sir Anerood Jugnauth,
Mauritius)

My Government supports the call by the Heads of State or Government of the seven major industrial nations and the President of the Commission of the European Communities at the recent Toronto economic summit, for relief for developing countries whose economic growth is paralysed by external debt. In 1987, the amount transferred to foreign creditors abroad in interest and repayments outpaced new lending and absorbed resources needed for domestic investments. Several countries have accumulated significant arrears to official creditors. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) alone was owed \$2 billion in 1987.

The performance of developing countries is important to the world economy. Central to the prospects of the developing countries are a healthy global environment and an open trading system, adequate financial flows and also their commitment to appropriate economic reforms. The problems of many heavily indebted developing countries are a cause of economic and political concern and can be a threat to political stability in the developing countries themselves. Many indebted countries have begun the difficult process of macro-economic adjustment and structural reform necessary for sustained progress. My Government urges an increase in concessional resource flows to help the poorest developing countries resume sustained growth, especially in cases where it is extremely difficult for them to service their debts. Protectionist measures, particularly in large developed countries, should be removed without delay so that a more favourable environment can be built for accelerated growth in international trade.

A large number of States of Africa, Latin America and Asia are still burdened with the problem of debt. The recent disorders in the stock exchange, which have resulted in sudden losses much more substantial than the total debt accumulated

(Sir Anerood Jugnauth,
Mauritius)

over the years by African countries, have revealed the vulnerability of even the most powerful economies. It is indeed paradoxical and anomalous that African States, which are endowed with a wealth of human, natural, spiritual and material resources, should, after two or three decades of independence, have turned into an exporter of capital and human technology, into importers of foreign expertise, of inappropriate technology or food they can produce, of goods that are meant to satisfy artificial needs created from abroad; in a word, that they should have turned into importers of catastrophies and frustration.

The international community has a great responsibility in contributing to the solution of our debt crisis. The debt-distressed countries that are most severely handicapped should receive special attention and should be the object of special measures of a concessional nature, of an increased flow of resources, and of reduced interest rates. It is also important that the praiseworthy example of donor countries which have written off public loans or converted them into grants should be more widely followed. At the same time, there is a need to ensure that solutions to the debt crisis do not reinforce the political, economic and technological dependence of the affected countries.

We support the recommendations in the report of the World Commission on Environment and Development, which was so ably chaired by Gro Harlem Brundtland, Prime Minister of Norway. Threats to the environment recognize no boundaries. International co-operation among all countries is required if we are to return to a healthy environment. Urgent action is needed to save the world from a global climatic change, from air, sea and fresh-water pollution, from acid rain, hazardous substances, deforestation and toxic waste.

(Sir Anerood Jugnauth,
Mauritius)

Mauritius deplores the actions of several unscrupulous companies which have tried to obtain facilities for dumping toxic industrial wastes in various African States. The States involved are for the most part western African States whose Governments have no separate portfolio for environmental affairs.

It is a matter of great concern, and not only on humanitarian grounds; it is not a question of a trade-off between growth and development on the one hand and environmental issues on the other. It has to be seen in its true context, that is to say, as being as urgent as problems of chronic indebtedness and food scarcities, if not more so. The presence of radio-active and other toxic wastes on African soil is definitely detrimental to future development programmes and to the future use of natural resources.

We unreservedly support the resolution adopted by the Conference of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) held at Addis Ababa, which condemned the use of African States as dumping grounds by the more industrialized countries, under whatever financial terms proposed. We call upon the international community to take vigorous steps to exercise surveillance in order to prevent the recurrence of such reprehensible and irresponsible acts and to assist the affected States in the rehabilitation of their natural environment.

The rich developed countries should show greater concern for vulnerable small island States which are saddled with problems of development. In addition to our limited resources and capacity for autonomous development, we are far from international markets and heavily dependent upon them. There is therefore an urgent need to ensure stability in these markets, especially in respect of our commodities and manufactured goods. We therefore appeal to our trading partners in the North to remove all trade barriers and to do away with all protectionist measures which adversely affect the development of our economy.

(Sir Anerood Jugnauth,
Mauritius)

Mauritius is actively beginning to develop regional co-operation with other countries of the Indian Ocean and member States of the Preferential Trade Area with a view to achieving greater collective self-reliance through the improvement of our trade exchanges and the setting up of intra-regional projects. In that context, we appreciate the generous assistance rapidly made available by friendly countries and international organizations so that regional co-operation may become viable and meaningful.

The illegal use of and illicit trafficking in drugs threaten the well-being of mankind. There is an urgent need for improved international co-operation to counter all facets of the illicit drug problem, in particular production, trafficking and the financing of the drug trade. My Government has adopted tough laws to confiscate the proceeds of drug traffickers and to prevent money laundering.

Although the great eighteenth-century English philosopher Hobbes said in his Leviathan that man's life is short, nasty and brutish, we, after going through the catalogue of problems and misfortunes besetting the world, have every reason to see the light at the end of the tunnel. There is cause for satisfaction and contentment in the knowledge that recent events in northern Africa, in Afghanistan, in the Gulf region, in the field of disarmament, at the Berlin conference of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and elsewhere have taken the upward path of sanity. Above all, there is the sudden consciousness that man's destiny is the survival of the species.

Our people are peace-loving and are dedicated to the cause of peace at home and an enduring peace in the world. Our people uphold human rights and dignity. Our people uphold democratic values, principles and practices, and freedom of association, of conscience and of speech. Our people also believe in the sanctity of human life, in unity at home and in the world, and in the splendour and richness

(Sir Anerood Jugnauth,
Mauritius)

of diversity. Our people also believe in one world and in man, and believe that we should constantly search for truth and concentrate on all the common good that binds all of us on our planet Earth and that should bind all in our common endeavour to work for a better, safer and happier world. We also believe that we have come - and that all should come - to the United Nations not to save face but to save lives.

Armed with that conviction, let me conclude my address on this note of optimism and good cheer that tomorrow a better world will dawn.

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

Mr. Anerood Jugnauth, Prime Minister of Mauritius, was escorted from the rostrum.

Mr. GONELEWU (Fiji): It is a pleasure, Sir, for my delegation to see you presiding over the forty-third session of the General Assembly. We are certain that with your experience in international affairs and your personal qualities you will lead and guide our work with skill and diplomacy. We congratulate you on your election and assure you of our fullest support and co-operation.

Our thanks go also to His Excellency Mr. Peter Florin, who so ably guided the work of the forty-second session.

The year 1988 and the forty-third session of the General Assembly will probably go down as the most momentous in the history of the United Nations. Perhaps never since its founding has the Organization played such a dramatic role in conflict resolution, and that at a time when it faced the most acute financial crisis of its life. The Secretary-General and his staff deserve our highest praise for their tireless, painstaking efforts. We are confident that they will be

(Mr. Gonelevu, Fiji)

rewarded even more for their work before the final gavel falls at the closure of the forty-third session in September next year.

The cessation of hostilities between Iran and Iraq on 20 August last after one of the longest wars of the century - and perhaps the bloodiest - brings relief to two embattled nations and their peoples. My delegation hopes that the peace process currently under way will lead to a lasting solution to the differences which separate those two proud nations. Peace between them will mean so much less turbulence in a region important to the economic and political stability of the world.

As is evident from the cease-fire between Iran and Iraq brought about through the patient mediation of the Secretary-General, the United Nations can play a major and positive role in conflict resolution. The cessation of hostilities in the Gulf war was not the first success of the initiatives undertaken by the Secretary-General within a period of a few months. Before that came the accord that led to the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan. Those developments prove that, irrespective of the numerous resolutions the General Assembly might adopt, there can be little hope of resolving conflicts without accompanying positive steps towards mediation. The intervention and good offices of a third party with no motive other than the promotion of international peace and security, appear to constitute an acceptable avenue. The United Nations, through the good offices of the Secretary-General, is the third party which, as has been proved, can play that vital role most effectively.

My delegation is confident that the best of intentions will continue to be displayed by both parties in the Iran-Iraq conflict during the peace negotiations and that they will soon establish the basis for a just and acceptable long-term

(Mr. Gonelevu, Fiji)

solution to their differences. Likewise, we also hope that the parties to the Afghanistan accord will do nothing to jeopardize the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan.

Let us hope that progress towards peace in those two areas will impel the parties involved in conflicts elsewhere to accept the good offices of the Secretary-General to help resolve their differences. The signs are favourable in Namibia, Cyprus and Western Sahara. We urge all the parties concerned not to allow the opportunity to pass, but rather, using the Afghanistan and Iran-Iraq settlements as beacons, to add momentum to mankind's most cherished hope of a peaceful world. We are certain that the Secretary-General, who has an open mandate from all Member States to promote international peace and security, will be ever willing, ready and available to use his good offices in the cause of peace.

(Mr. Gonelevu, Fiji)

For small countries like my own, one way of demonstrating our commitment to the ideals of the United Nations is to contribute to peace-keeping operations. We are pleased to note that some countries which had withheld payments for many years are now meeting their commitments. Regrettably, a major contributor has become a defaulter. We urge all Member States not to cripple the Organization at a time when it is poised to make its most significant contribution to peace and security since its founding. Here I should like to reiterate that my country will continue to support the United Nations in all its peace-making and peace-keeping endeavours. We shall continue to contribute troops, as we do to the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) and the United Nations Good Offices Mission for Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNGOMAP) and to any other peace missions which might arise. The award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the United Nations peace-keeping forces is a fitting tribute to the Organization and the various troop-contributing countries, including my own.

The events in Fiji last year which necessitated a review of our constitutional basis remains a major preoccupation for us. We are grateful for the support which many countries have expressed for our efforts to devise a solution relevant to our circumstances. As those familiar with our part of the world will know, we are determined to pursue a course of action which will be fair and just to all our people.

The Interim Government has pursued two major objectives since it took office on 5 December 1987. Those objectives are the reconstruction of the economy and the preparation of a new constitution. On 15 September 1988 the Interim Government released the eagerly awaited draft constitution, which contains guarantees for the protection of fundamental rights and freedoms, including protection of the right to life and personal liberty; protection from slavery and forced labour; protection

(Mr. Gonelevu, Fiji)

from inhuman treatment; protection from deprivation of property; protection for privacy of homes and other property; protection of freedom of conscience, freedom of expression, freedom of assembly and association and freedom of movement; and protection from discrimination on the grounds of race or religion. It is envisaged that a consensus will emerge on the draft constitution, enabling the Interim Government to fulfil its promise to hold a general election within two years of taking office - that is before the end of 1989.

Fiji is a multiracial country, where all ethnic groups live in harmony without any systematic harassment. We will never institutionalize racism, as was alleged recently. At the same time it is vital that the needs and fears of the indigenous community be addressed if long-term peace and stability are to be assured. We need to take affirmative action as a matter of urgency to ensure that the indigenous community does not become an underprivileged minority in its own country.*

The issue of decolonization still occupies a prominent place on the Assembly's agenda every year. There are now only a few colonial Territories left. We remain fully committed to the principle of self-determination for all the colonized peoples. The option of which choice to accept must be left to the people. Once they have made their decision the administering Power and the international community must respect their choice and assist in the implementation of their decision.

Among the few Non-Self-Governing Territories now remaining, none is of greater international concern than Namibia, which is being illegally occupied by the minority racist régime of South Africa. Security Council resolution 435 (1978) provides the basis for the just settlement of the Namibian question and we would

* Mr. Chagula (United Republic of Tanzania), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Gonelevu, Fiji)

like to see it implemented in its totality. The agreement reached last month is a positive and welcome sign and the international community must now use all its endeavours to give it momentum, so that the people of Namibia may be granted their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. The good offices of the Secretary-General may be vital in the pursuance and achievement of that goal.

On the opposite side of the world there is another people yearning for self-determination. There, too, we now see more hope than was evident a few months ago. My Government welcomes the positive measures that the new Government of France has adopted in its policy towards New Caledonia. The reopening of dialogue with the people of the Territory has resulted in the formulation of a timetable for a genuine act of self-determination.

It was with cognizance of those positive developments that my delegation, with the full support of other South Pacific Forum members, put forward a resolution on the question of New Caledonia which the Special Committee on decolonization adopted by consensus. That same resolution will come before the General Assembly. We believe it reflects the developments now taking place. It is positive and constructive in language and forward-looking in scope. We are confident that the General Assembly, taking note of the current situation in the Territory, will also adopt the resolution by consensus.

The reunification of the two Koreas remains the hope of the people of both those countries, ardently supported by much of the international community, but it can become a reality only given the determination of both parties to resolve outstanding difficulties. Until that happens my Government sees no reason why either one should be denied its rightful place in this Organization. We support the admission of both North Korea and South Korea as full Members of the United Nations pending reunification. For the present, however, if one is unable or

(Mr. Gonelevu, Fiji)

unwilling to take its seat, the other should not be penalized by being prevented from joining the Organization.

While some positive developments give us reason to be hopeful, my Government once again voices its strong support for the Kampuchean people in their struggle to restore peace and stability to their war-torn country. The independence and territorial integrity of Kampuchea must be restored and this can come about only through the withdrawal of all foreign forces. The people of Kampuchea have a rightful claim to peace and security.

(Mr. Gonelevu, Fiji)

While problems and conflicts between countries can be resolved through mediation, nothing can restore dignity and equality to a people who are oppressed by a régime which is bigoted in its thinking and dogmatic in its policy. The minority régime in South Africa continues to fly in the face of international opinion and persists with its policy of apartheid. Regrettably, it is emboldened in pursuing its oppressive racist policy because some influential Member States lack the political will to apply appropriate pressure. If all Member States that strongly condemn and abhor the policy of apartheid had exerted consistent and firm pressure on the Botha régime, the oppression of the majority in South Africa would not have gone on for so long. If the international community continues to vacillate and not take effective measures against the apartheid régime, it must accept the responsibility when the volcano of suppression erupts. That day does not appear to be far away. Let us therefore act collectively and effectively so that bloodshed and violence can be avoided.

The easing of tensions and the resolution of regional conflicts has been given a greater impetus by the recent improvement of relations between the two super-Powers, leading to enhanced prospects of a more lasting peace through arms reduction. But much more remains to be achieved if the world is to be spared the scourge of another war. If the world is to be saved for succeeding generations, the elimination of nuclear weapons must remain our principal concern and steadfast goal. Until agreement can be reached on this score, however, we believe that the time has come to cease all nuclear testing. In this regard, my delegation condemns in the strongest possible terms the continued testing of nuclear devices in the South Pacific region, which, under the Treaty of Rarotonga, has been declared a nuclear-weapon-free zone. We urge France to respect that Treaty and desist from defiling our part of the world. We would go further and urge the three

(Mr. Gonelevu, Fiji)

nuclear-weapon States - Britain, France and the United States - which have not yet done so to accept and sign the Protocols to the South Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone Treaty.

The impact of the continuing international financial turmoil has a particularly devastating effect on the third world, and more so on island developing countries such as my own. The vulnerability of such States means that when the world economy is healthy we are unable to take full advantage of the boom. But when conditions are difficult we suffer the greatest penalty. The escalating debt crisis, worsening of the terms of trade and rising protectionism will mean a grimmer future unless comprehensive steps are taken to cushion their impact on the developing world. Much is made of partnership between developed and developing, but this has to be reflected in more equitable policies and a greater willingness to share.

Through its numerous social and economic programmes the United Nations has given dignity and self-respect to millions of people in every corner of the world. Now it is embarked on a major task - to improve international peace and security. Yet the Organization is faced with a worsening financial crisis which today is more critical than it has ever been in its 43-year history. Every Member State has the right to criticize the Organization, to point out its shortcomings, to ask for reforms and greater cost-effectiveness. But no Member State should expect to be able to exercise that right when it does not honour its financial obligations.

The Organization continues to face a critical financial situation. Repeated requests by the Secretary-General for timely and full payment of assessed contributions continue to go unheeded, taking the Organization nearer to the brink of bankruptcy. We support and join the Secretary-General in his plea to all Member States to honour their financial obligations under the Charter.

(Mr. Gonelevu, Fiji)

The United Nations has long been accused of being ineffective. The events of the last few months prove that when Member States show the will to support it the Organization can play an important role in helping to build a more peaceful and better world. Let us therefore give it the support it deserves. Let us make it an Organization to be proud of and one under whose aegis we can build a better world for our children.

Mr. CENAC (Saint Lucia): I ask the President to accept my congratulations on his election and elevation to his most illustrious and profoundly important position. We are not unaware of his formidable credentials, and I am as confident as we all are that this session will be as fruitful as any.

After several years of being shunted into the shadows, of having its moral authority undermined, and consequently driven into decline, the United Nations is again on the ascendancy, though still threatened by the ultimate modern Damoclean sword of financial strangulation. Once again, the phoenix rises from the ashes, as it rose some 43 years ago from the burning heat and debris of conventional and nuclear conflagration, man's greatest folly.

Four and a half decades ago we fought the war to end all wars. But the result left us angry and bitter, locked in a new cold war and frightened, because the result of that war was the birth of a new weapons system that in itself had the power to end all wars. But to end all wars - indeed to end it all - we should have to use the new weapons system, whose use would end everything, would end us all.

(Mr. Cenac, Saint Lucia)

But the solution had itself created a new problem. So we created the United Nations to do for us what we could not do for ourselves: stop the ridiculous carnage.

But the Organization quickly got in the way of ambitious men, men of power; so we sidestepped it, emasculated it, asked it not to interfere, and turned to it only when convenient to seek maximum propaganda value for our cause. We thus created a vast dichotomy between what we say within the Organization and what we do without. That is a fact.

Thirty years ago, while still standing in the rubble of the Second World War, we joined, with alacrity, in adopting a General Assembly resolution calling for general and complete disarmament and charged this Organization to oversee it. Yet, since that time we have more than quadrupled our military expenditure in real terms to over \$1 trillion a year, all the time adopting more resolutions, now almost 1,000, calling for serious measures towards disarmament. That is also a fact.

The paramount *raison d'être* of the United Nations really must be that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. We all share this view. Nevertheless, we have stockpiled over 13,000 megatons of them, just in case. And since a nuclear war cannot be won, those whose ambition it is to win wars must fight conventional ones, and so we have had more than 150 in the last 40 years, killing more people than those that died in the last great war. That is yet another fact.

Upon the Organization we piled indignity upon indignity, and allowed it to become nothing more than our best excuse. When we looked into the mirror of the United Nations we saw not ourselves, but a giant piece of machinery, infused with energy to do work. So the United Nations should keep the peace, we said; and our citizens believed it.

(Mr. Cenac, Saint Lucia)

It is no wonder that they began to lose hope not in their Government, but in the United Nations - faith misguided. I am proud to say that Saint Lucia was not among those who had lost hope, and we will never lose hope in the importance, effectiveness, or continued viability of this Organization.

From the initial use of the term "United Nations" by the American President Franklin Roosevelt, through the San Francisco Charter, to the official dawn of this Organization on 24 October 1945, the United Nations as an organization has been locked in a battle for supremacy of will over the always parochial, often bellicose, actions and intentions of nation States. We are often reminded by our Secretary-General that the United Nations is not a supranational authority. It cannot, without the combined will of all the members of the Security Council, impose its own will upon its Members. It is an Organization made up of independent and sovereign nations. But the Organization has no sovereignty of its own, so it can only initiate, harmonize and encourage its Members to take effective actions which are in keeping with the spirit of the Charter.

In many respects, then, this remarkable Organization, despite the machinations of Member States, has proven to be exceedingly resourceful in meeting the challenges that daily confront it. So, once again, exhausted by the international tribulations of our own creation, we turn to it in a desperate search for respite.

We have always looked to the Organization in the social and economic spheres, but now it seems that we have returned to it in attempting to solve our political problems.

For the past eight years Saint Lucia has been among those countries that have called for the preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan. We have also repeatedly reaffirmed the right of the Afghan people to determine their own form of

(Mr. Cenac, Saint Lucia)

government, and to choose their economic, political and social system free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever. We also called for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan, and urged all parties concerned to work for the urgent achievement of a political solution in accordance with the spirit of the Charter, and the creation of the necessary conditions that would enable the Afghan refugees to return voluntarily to their homes in safety and honour.

Thanks to the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General, and his representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, we witnessed the conclusion of the Geneva Accords last April as a major point of departure in the long effort to find a peaceful solution to the situation in Afghanistan. We therefore urge all parties to live up to the letter and spirit of the Geneva Accords so that we may soon realize the outcome which we all desire.

The fratricidal eight-year-long armed conflict between Iraq and Iran has been among the bloodiest in this century. From the start of the war in 1980, the United Nations has been active through various channels in trying to get the parties to compose their differences. Saint Lucia is gratified by the cease-fire that was finally secured on 20 August this year. We urge both parties to bring the necessary political will and flexibility to the table to assure the effectuation of a just and lasting peace in the region.

The question of Cyprus, too, has for long been a troubling one. We have dealt with this question, in one aspect or another, for the past 25 years. The decision by the leaders of the two sides, upon an initiative of the Secretary-General, to meet without any pre-conditions and to attempt to achieve by 1 June 1989 a negotiated settlement of all aspects of the Cyprus problem is particularly welcome at this time.

(Mr. Cenac, Saint Lucia)

Also in South-East Asia there has been positive movement. Nine years ago, the General Assembly called upon all States to refrain from any interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and resolved that the people of Kampuchea should be enabled to choose democratically their own government without outside interference, subversion or coercion.

(Mr. Cenac, Saint Lucia)

Saint Lucia has actively supported this principle every year since then. We are therefore heartened that, encouraged by indications that all parties concerned are now interested in achieving a political solution to the problem, the Secretary-General has presented to the parties a number of specific ideas intended to facilitate the elaboration of a framework for a comprehensive political settlement. We urge them to consider those ideas seriously.

Since 1946 we have dealt with the question of Namibia at 42 successive sessions, at three special sessions, and at one emergency special session of the General Assembly. We have repeatedly demanded that the apartheid régime of South Africa immediately and unconditionally withdraw its illegal administration, occupation army and police force from Namibia, but the racist régime has persisted in its refusal to comply with the resolutions and decisions of the Security Council, thus violating the principles of the Charter and defying the authority of the United Nations.

After more than four decades of intransigence on the part of South Africa, there are now some signs of movement in the right direction. Saint Lucia fervently hopes that the Brazzaville agreements will be successful.

The South African régime has thumbed its nose at the international community for so long. We hope, however, that these first steps in the right direction are merely the beginning of a journey which will lead soon to the release of Nelson Mandela and the dismantling of the heinous apartheid system.

Saint Lucia is encouraged by the atmosphere of conciliation which seems to surround the peace plan of the Secretary-General and the head of the Organization of African Unity that was submitted to the concerned parties in Western Sahara. We hope that this spirit of conciliation will lead to a speedy, just and lasting negotiated solution to this problem.

(Mr. Cenac, Saint Lucia)

The situation in the Middle East remains our most intractable problem. Saint Lucia wishes to reiterate its view that the question of Palestine is at the core of the conflict in the Middle East and that no comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the region can be achieved without the full exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable national rights and the immediate withdrawal of Israel to internationally recognized and secure boundaries.

In the Korean peninsula, the problem of a divided Korea is also still with us, and Saint Lucia looks forward to the peaceful reunification of the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Saint Lucia therefore welcomes the continuation of dialogue among all parties concerned with a view to achieving that objective, and we believe that, in the interim, membership of the United Nations for both Koreas will not hinder the attainment of that goal.

Saint Lucia is concerned that there seems to be a reduction in momentum of the Esquipulas II agreement of the five Central American Presidents signed on 7 August last year. We continue to support a peaceful, negotiated solution to the conflicts in Central America.

In the Caribbean itself, we have been concerned at the developments that have occurred in our sister country of Haiti. Over the past year, Saint Lucia has repeatedly called for a return to the democratic process, for selection by election, and not by dictation, for the fulfilment of the provisions of the new Haitian Constitution, and for the creation of an opportunity for the reflowering and rebirth of the spirit of a people whose forefathers pioneered the path to freedom in this hemisphere. It is not too late. We urge the new leaders in Haiti to seize the time to launch their country firmly on the path of democratic process, as so many other dictatorships in the hemisphere have recently done. Those who

(Mr. Cenac, Saint Lucia)

first lit the revolutionary torch so many decades ago should not now be lagging behind in the wake of change. The region awaits a new and democratic Haiti. The people of Haiti desire it. The moment is in their hands.

We approach the end of the third United Nations Development Decade with many of the developing countries poorer now than they were 10 years ago. International political gains cannot be sustained without concomitant international economic development.

With decreasing per capita gross national product in many countries, deteriorating terms of trade in others, and still others staggering under Tolstoyan debt burdens, the developing countries face an uncertain future. These problems are compounded by an alarmingly high level of net transfers of resources from the developing to the developed countries, and a sharp fall in resource flows to the developing countries. In Latin America and the Caribbean, chronic poverty still plagues more than 130 million people, or over one third of the aggregate population. And the debt burden hovers at \$400 billion.

We need to deal with these problems quickly and effectively. My delegation therefore strongly supports both the convening of an international conference on money and finance for development, with universal participation, and the convening of a special session of the General Assembly devoted to the reactivation of economic growth in the developing countries.

We are all in sympathy with the peoples of Jamaica and Mexico who suffered so terribly from the devastation of hurricane Gilbert. We in Saint Lucia consider ourselves fortunate by comparison, having escaped with only a few million dollars' worth of damage, caused by flooding and landslides. We urge the international community to support the resolution on emergency assistance to Jamaica to be introduced later this year.

(Mr. Cenac, Saint Lucia)

In the past 20 years, natural disasters have claimed the lives of over 3 million people and caused more than \$23 billion in damage.

We in the small island developing countries are particularly prone since natural disasters show a marked concentration in tropical and sub-tropical climates. Hurricanes, tropical cyclones and typhoons are essentially a feature of warm oceans and coastal regions. Over larger land masses and temperate seas their violence decreases rapidly.

In this century alone, in my own sub-region, hurricanes have struck Barbados, Cuba, Dominica, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Jamaica and my own country. Many of these islands have been hit several times. Volcanic eruptions have devastated Guadeloupe, Martinique and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. Earthquakes have caused damage in Antigua and Barbuda, the Dominican Republic, Jamaica and Puerto Rico.

The effects of any disaster are more pronounced for a small island than for a larger country with a wide variety of products, back-up facilities and resources for recovery. We therefore eagerly lend our support to the adoption of General Assembly resolution 42/169. Last year, the 1990s were designated as the international decade for natural disaster reduction, a decade in which the international community, under the auspices of the United Nations, will pay special attention to fostering international co-operation in the field of natural disaster reduction. We commend the Secretary-General for his efficiency in establishing an international ad hoc experts group for the international decade.

But, as if natural disasters such as Hurricane Gilbert were not enough trouble for the island developing countries of the Caribbean, we in this region are being threatened with man-made catastrophies, potentially more devastating. Over the past year, Caribbean countries have been alarmed at reports that a number of

(Mr. Cenac, Saint Lucia)

companies, particularly in the United States, were making arrangements to dump tons of hazardous industrial and nuclear waste in the Caribbean. In fact, in one recent particularly callous incident, a ship dumped such waste on a beach in Haiti after Haitian authorities had denied it permission to enter its territory. A few months later, the Caribbean was placed on the alert for another such ship which seemed headed for our waters with another shipment of that horrible cargo.

The dangers of toxic waste for the Caribbean are enormous, even more so than for those countries of affluence which refuse to accept their own industrial effluence. Given the porous nature of the soils in the tropical Caribbean, the toxins contained in the waste can spread rapidly through the food chain. The threat therefore is not merely to our tourism industry from the damage to our beaches, but to life itself - to marine life, the environment, to human life. In the small islands of the Caribbean, life as we know it can therefore easily disappear.

We call upon those countries whose companies are engaged in this nefarious activity to take action to halt this trend. We are particularly concerned where secret deals and arrangements are worked out between some companies and Government officials, where waste is shipped under false labels, and we urge our sister Caribbean countries to be vigilant in this regard and to preserve the integrity and purity of our environment. We are encouraged that the United Nations, in the spirit of General Assembly resolution 42/183 (1987) which condemned waste trafficking, is attempting to regulate the trade, and we hope that the international community will adopt the proposed global Convention on the control of trans-boundary movements of hazardous waste when it becomes ready for signature in 1989.

(Mr. Cenac, Saint Lucia)

In general, as we approach a thirteenth-year review, as it were, of the special needs of island developing States, we are pleased that there is a growing recognition of the special problems and needs of island developing countries as reflected in the resolutions passed unanimously in the General Assembly over the past decade on island developing countries, and in the Declaration of the Twelfth Annual Meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Group of Seventy-Seven.

Since the early 1970s the work of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) has contributed to a better understanding of island developing countries and has been a determining factor in assisting the international community to recognize their specific problems. Numerous analytical and descriptive studies have shown that small island developing countries have characteristics distinct from those of developing countries in general. As a result, the type of development strategy regarded as appropriate in general is, in many respects, inappropriate for those countries in particular.

As we undertake the long-overdue review of the question of island developing countries this year, my delegation hopes that we can move from the stage of the purely academic to one of putting in place specific mechanisms to assist those countries in particular and effective ways.

We now have, so to speak, a second chance to make this Organization what it was supposed to be. In 1969, U Thant, then Secretary-General, warned us that we had little time left in which to subordinate our ancient quarrels and launch a global partnership to curb the arms race, to improve the human environment, to defuse the population explosion and to give the required momentum to development efforts. And, to be sure, it is a truism, as laid down in the principles of the Inter-Allied Declaration of 12 June 1941 that:

(Mr. Cenac, Saint Lucia)

"The only true basis of enduring peace is the willing co-operation of free peoples in a world in which, relieved of the menace of aggression, all may enjoy economic and social security. It is up to us."

A second dawn has broken and a new opportunity arisen to take a truly global approach to solving what, in the final analysis, are all global problems. Let us not waste this second chance.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.