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PROVIS IONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE ELEVENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 28 September 1989, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. GARBA (Nigeria)

later: Mr. ABULHASAN (Kuwait)
(Vice-President)

later: Mr. GARBA (Nigeria)

- Address by Mr. Jaime Paz Zamora, President of the Republic of Bolivia
- Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa [28]: draft resolution
- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements made by

Mr. Papoulias (Greece)
Mr. van den Broek (Netherlands)
Mr. Alatas (Indonesia)
Mr. Totu (Romania)
Mr. Fernandez Ordoñez (Spain)
Mr. Solana (Mexico)
Mr. Booh-Booh (Cameroon)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

ADDRESS BY MR. JAIME PAZ ZAMORA, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOLIVIA

The PRESIDENT: This afternoon the Assembly will hear an address by the President of the Republic of Bolivia.

Mr. Jaime Paz Zamora, President of the Republic of Bolivia, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the Republic of Bolivia, His Excellency Mr. Jaime Paz Zamora, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President PAZ ZAMORA (interpretation from Spanish): I should like first to extend my congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the current session of the General Assembly. I wish you every success in your endeavours. I also wish to thank the United Nations, through the Secretary-General, for the extraordinary role which it is playing in the international system and for the extraordinary role that the Secretary-General is playing personally.

I have given a great deal of thought to the way in which I might begin this dialogue with the international community and to the concerns that I should communicate to the representatives present here. I have decided that the most appropriate course would be to share with you a profound concern which I, as a political leader and as a citizen, have felt. It is a concern which I believe is not mine alone, rather one which is universal and of interest to the world as a whole. I am referring to that complex problem of alienation between society and the State, which is producing among the people, almost everywhere in the world, a constant feeling of mistrust and lack of belief which, in my opinion, is eroding the very bases of any proper political system, in particular a democratic one.

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In the few days that I have been in New York, when I have been travelling around in the official car of the Bolivian Mission, I have noticed that few people on the streets seem to be paying any attention to the cars. Most people seem to see them as an expression of some kind of power. The United Nations itself may be seen to be expressing a power that is concentrated every year during the General Assembly. But after all it is a power which, in one way or another, is suffering from this problem of the distancing of the people and this generates a feeling of despair or mistrust or disbelief. There seems to be a world citizenry who do not feel that the authorities are part of their daily lives.

That is my first concern, but there is another thought, which I consider necessary. I believe that the citizens of our world want to be able to believe in something important transcending boundaries. For this reason they are asking us to be truthful - truthful at all times with respect to any problem. That truth may be the antidote to distrust. It may give our citizens faith and hope in their own societies, Governments and States. That is why I believe, today, that the words of the Gospel are of greater importance than ever before - the words that tell us that the truth - and only the truth - will make us free. There can be no freedom without truth. It is impossible to imagine truth that does not express itself within a free system. That is why I should like, openly and frankly, to tell you our truth - the truth of the President of the Republic of Bolivia, the truth of all Bolivians. But first of all, a profound truth that involves the very roots of our nationality.

I come from a country which is embedded in the heart of the South American continent, where all the geographical features of South America converge. It is difficult for us as Bolivians to know whether South America begins in Bolivia or whether South America ends in that geographical knot which is called Bolivia, whether our country marks the starting-point or the limit of the continent.

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I should like to speak today about the cultures of our people. I am speaking on behalf of age-old cultures, such as that of the Tiahuanaco. Science has not yet been able to discover its origins. Its origins cannot be measured in terms of time. Just like the stars, it is ageless as a civilization, with its extraordinary capital on the high plateaus of our continent. Together with it there are the cultures of the Amazon region, the cultures of the Chiquitana plains which extend toward Brazil and Paraguay, where the Jesuit missions were located in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

I should like to speak of that Bolivia which in the eighteenth century, with leaders like Tupackatari, was among the first to rise up against what was then colonialism in our territory; of that Bolivia which also participated in the nineteenth century in the beginnings of Latin America's independence movement. I should like to talk about the Bolivia of the twentieth century, that Bolivia of the twentieth century which in the 1950s carried out an extraordinary national revolution, which was reflected in major debates here in the General Assembly, here in the United Nations - a national revolution that laid the foundations for what took place later at the Bandung Conference, where African and Asian leaders in the midst of a struggle for decolonization met.

But I also wish to speak about the Bolivia of today - the Bolivia which in an extraordinary effort over the past years has succeeded in overthrowing the scourge of economic instability through a policy of financial and economic stabilization which has truly become a process studied and admired the world over. I wish from this international rostrum to pay a tribute to the peasants, to the workers, to the farmers, to the men and women of the middle class in my country, to the humble, to the disinherited, to the poorest of our people, because it was they who bore the dramatic price of the process of economic and financial stabilization.

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I wonder how many people died in that act of violence. I wonder whether in the civil war which is afflicting a number of Latin American countries more children are dying than died in the violence entailed in the process of economic and financial stabilization, such as the one in my country.

There is another problem facing contemporary democracy, especially in the poorest countries: is economic and financial stability compatible with democracy? That is a challenge to the entire United Nations, because our democracies, given hyper-inflation, the economic crisis and instability, are becoming defenceless - economically and financially defenceless. This is another issue in which the international community must shoulder responsibility.

But, in addition to engaging in the process of bringing about economic and financial stability, our country - in that Latin America which is in such a state of upheaval and which is attempting to work towards democracy through transition - has strengthened its democracy. I can say with pride before all the peoples of the world: Bolivia today has a strong democracy. We have carried out this process in our own way, with our own laws. We have succeeded because of a meeting of minds of Bolivians, the patriotic agreement of the overwhelming majority of Bolivians, which led to a Government of national unity in which political organizations and individuals that had fought each other for almost 20 years managed to come together.

That can be understood only in light of the fact that one stage of Bolivian national political life was superseded - that is, the situation following the 1930s, the world crisis, the Chaco war. And today there has been a change in Bolivian national policy: a new cycle, an attempt to make consensus, agreement and harmony, rather than conflict and confrontation, the foundations of Bolivia's democratic policy. That is what we are starting to call the revolution of

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democracy - a revolution occurring all over the world, now that it is no longer possible to have single parties or hegemonic parties or elements in national political life, and everyone is obliged to share and work together.

While we arrived at this solution in Bolivia, our Polish brothers and sisters were finding a different solution. And earlier we had had the French model of ideologically and historically opposing forces managing to share power within a democratic system.

But, together with this economic and financial stabilization, achieved with so many sacrifices, in a continent - and I emphasize this - where in recent decades democracy has been an exception, today in Bolivia political stability has been strengthened. I must recognize that this has been the result of the efforts of the entire national community and its institutions; and that the Bolivian armed forces - which the international community had regarded as a source of constant instability in our country - have today, like all other elements in Bolivia, become an institution which is a real, solid basis for contemporary Bolivian democracy.

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In addition, our humble country has succeeded, with a special effort, in solving a problem that has been discussed here on many occasions and is being discussed at this very session - the problem of foreign debt. In the past two years our country, in the midst of an economic crisis and the process of democratic transition, has managed to honour and pay almost 30 per cent of its foreign debt - money owed to the international banking system - \$300 million - and bilateral indebtedness. That was possible because of the will of Bolivians and their Government, but also because of international co-operation, which enabled us to renegotiate with the international banks on terms advantageous to the country. It was also possible because of the coincidence that in recent weeks there came to power two Governments, in Bolivia and in Argentina, with faith in Latin America, Governments that believe in Latin Americanism and that with respect to their bilateral debts apply the principle whose application they had been demanding for many years of the rich industrialized countries - the basic principle that there are certain debts that it is technically impossible to pay, and that to find a solution what is needed is the political will and political decisions.

President Menem of Argentina and the President of Bolivia took the decision mutually to write off the debts that had accumulated over past years between the two countries. I believe that that precedent set by contemporary Bolivia and contemporary Argentina can be linked positively with other efforts being made in the same direction to resolve the problem, which is of such magnitude.

That is why I stand before the Assembly, proud of my people and of my country, whose age-old culture and contemporary achievements from an unbroken line guaranteed by the people themselves, who are determined to realize their own destiny in their own sovereign way. Therefore, I should like to paraphrase,

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humbly, but also proudly, words I used in my election campaign, saying to the international community: "Here we are before you with what we have done". What more can you ask of us? What more can you say? We also stand here with our will to work with the international community to resolve the basic problems of our world of today.

At the same time I want to tell the Assembly that we represent the voice of a whole new generation that has emerged in our country. This is not only a Bolivian phenomenon; it is a Latin American, continental phenomenon. In the past two decades of Latin American life a new political generation has been formed, a generation trained in the school of the struggle for democracy. We are the generation that brought about the clash against the dictatorships to create the democracies on our continent. Although it may seem a young generation, it is an experienced generation, bearing the scars of the struggle against the dictatorships. It remembers the lives of the martyrs who paid the price to bring democracy to Latin America. It is a generation that knows that the struggle was for the Latin American people, the Bolivian people, and that therefore understands that we cannot accept any democracy that is not at the unconditional service of all the inhabitants of Latin America, including the neediest.

None the less, I want to tell representatives that this Bolivia, which has made those achievements in recent years, is a country which, like all other third world countries, like all the other developing countries, has not resolved basic structural problems. My country continues to have a problem of chronic unemployment, even more chronic because of the financial and economic adjustments we have had to make. My country still has a small market and a small productive sector, and it remains a country on the sidelines of the global economy. Indeed, I would say that it is at the margin of the sidelines. It remains a country of critical poverty, perhaps among the most acute on our continent.

(President Paz Zamora)

Together with those continuing structural problems, which are challenges to be met by Bolivians, with international co-operation, we still have, in spite of our current achievements, the grave structural problem of lack of access to the sea. We continue to be a mountainous enclave in the heart of South America. I do not want to dwell on a problem that has existed for more than a hundred years, but I do want to point out here, to the international community, that our demand for a sovereign outlet to the sea is a Bolivian demand that cannot be renounced.

Over Bolivia's long history we have lost territory in the Amazon region, but that does not mean that we ceased to be a country of the Amazon. We have lost territory in the Rio de la Plata area, but that does not mean that we ceased to be a Rio de la Plata country. But in losing territory giving access to the Pacific we ceased to be a maritime country. In other words, we lost not only territory, but the benefit of being a country with access to the sea, which we had when we began our independent existence. That is the basis in justice of our claim for access to the sea.

While members of a past generation led us into an unjust war that resulted in the problem, we of the new generation stress that at the end of the twentieth century we cannot continue to deal with Bolivia's maritime problem and Bolivia's claim with the tired and limited mentality of the nineteenth century. We must begin to approach it with the new outlook that must be adopted as we enter the twenty-first century. In that context, we must find a solution in the new spirit, full of hope, of the coming century.

I make this claim here at the United Nations because it is precisely in this international forum that it has been recognized that for the underdeveloped countries lack of access to the sea is one of the causes of underdevelopment and poverty. That has been recognized in the world Organization.

(President Paz Zamora)

But above and beyond all of this, I wish to turn to my compatriots from Bolivia, my Latin American compatriots from Chile and from Peru, and tell them that we should take up this challenge on behalf of our peoples and our Governments and find a solution which will open new prospects for all of us, new possibilities and a new prosperity to construct together.

I wish to speak about some other problems facing my country - and not just my country, for we share them with the entire international community. These are problems such as illicit drug trafficking, the systematic erosion and impoverishment of the global environment, and acute poverty.

Concerning the drug traffic, we are all aware that this is an old problem, but we should welcome the fact that recently the international community has gained a new awareness of the importance of the problem, and that as a fundamental part of that new awareness it has been fully understood that this not a problem of one country alone or of a handful of countries but, rather, an international problem, a problem for the international community as a whole. We should also welcome the fact that, having understood this, the international community has now incorporated the concept of coresponsibility in its approach to the drug traffic. This in itself is a great achievement: it is a great achievement that the average American citizen, who may indeed be suffering the consequences of drug addiction in his own family, understands that somewhere else in the world, in Bolivia, there are peasants facing an equally acute problem from a humanitarian and moral standpoint, from the standpoint of their lives and the quality of their lives. It is important also that that Bolivian citizen in the countryside should understand that, just as he has existential problems in connection with the drug traffic, in the United States and in other parts of the world there are people for whom it is also a

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problem, a problem of life and death. I believe that this is an international achievement we should all welcome. The Vienna Convention is a reflection of this progress, and recently in the United States, through President Bush's plan, we have seen another reflection of concern over this problem and a new approach commensurate with the international community's rising awareness of the problem. Of course, we welcome this plan, although we share the view here that the resources allocated to implementing the plan are perhaps not commensurate with the new awareness the plan reflects.

But I know that the international community wants to know Bolivia's opinion on this - and I said at the beginning of my statement that Bolivians would tell the truth, would tell our truth in this forum. So it is important to state that, so far as this problem is concerned, we are convinced that we must tell each other the truth, frankly and once and for all. It would be very bad for us to deal in empty phrases. But it would be still worse if each of our countries were tempted to handle the problem on the basis of politics, of domestic political needs or other types of interests.

We must be sincere, we must tell each other the truth - and the first truth I wish to tell the international community is this: I wonder whether we are really waging a head-on war against drug trafficking. I wonder whether we are actually in a state of war, because sometimes that does not seem to be the case. The worst thing I could do would be to involve my country in a war that is not the war we should be waging, or that we are waging as a formality or because of some other need. So let us be honest with each other in the international community about this problem; let us try to tackle the problem properly, for if we really are waging a war it is because we want to win that war - indeed, that is the objective of going to war.

(President Paz Zamora)

Having examined President Bush's plan, I think we must base our analysis on differences between, on the one hand, consumer countries, areas and sectors and, on the other, countries, areas or sectors which sell their services or act as intermediaries or channels for drugs, and we have to draw a distinction between both of these and the countries that produce the raw materials: if we do not draw that clear distinction, we shall not be seeing the war in its true and proper dimensions and will run the risk of making things even more complicated than they are today.

The thinking of the Bolivian people is that the problem of drug trafficking is similar to the foreign-debt problem in many aspects. It is a scourge, just as the foreign debt is a scourge. However, in drug trafficking, as in the matter of the foreign debt, there are common issues which are of interest to the whole international community and are part of a common strategy that we need to carry out together. But to use the analogy of the foreign debt again, each country has its own specific problems and drug trafficking takes specific forms in different countries. That is why we say that we need to consider the general case, but at the same time we need to look at particular cases, at what is specific about the way the problem presents itself in each country.

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Hence we must say that for the consumer countries the basic requirement is a policy of prevention. It is not the only step that needs to be taken, but prevention is fundamental. However, for the countries that act as middlemen and as marketing countries, and countries through which drugs are channelled, then the basic requirement is prohibition and suppression. But in the poor, underdeveloped countries, where the raw material is produced - such as the coca leaf in Bolivia - the basic requirement has to be development alternatives to the coca crop.

Consequently, with respect to consumer countries, it is prevention; for intermediary countries, it is prohibition; and in underdeveloped countries the production of the raw material needs to be eradicated through development alternatives, such as other products. But markets for such products must be found. What kind of President would I be if I were to tell Bolivian farmers that they needed to change their crops, which provide them with specific benefits, for other crops that would provide them fewer benefits and leave them uncertain of finding new international markets, for there would be unwillingness to open up international markets to those alternative products?

I believe that we must be perfectly clear on this point if we are seriously to tackle the problem - and that is what I would call a real war, one which we must all fight together.

I have spoken with a number of Heads of State and other leaders here - including President Bush, with whom I had a very pleasant talk which generated a great deal of mutual esteem. In those talks I indicated that, in so far as my country is concerned, the best way to fight against drug trafficking was to invest in Bolivia, because drug trafficking cannot be separated from unemployment and from the economic crisis. Drug trafficking is also linked to the critical poverty in my country. Therefore, we would be mistaken to believe that all we needed to do in Bolivia was to curtail production, just as we would be mistaken to believe that the

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drug problem in the United States could be solved through the substitution of crops or the starting of alternative development. We need to place things in the right context.

In my talks with the President of the United States and others in this country, as well as representatives of other countries, I was fortunate to encounter a clear understanding that we must tackle the problem together and in this context.

I also wish to state here before the international community that Bolivia is ready to mobilize all its national will and commit itself to a frontal attack against drug trafficking. We are prepared to do so on the basis of our own national reality; we are prepared to do so together with the entire international community. We ask that, based on our own concept, every people take its own initiative within its own country, because this is an endeavour that cannot be accomplished on one's own. Every people needs to tackle the problem directly.

Bolivia pledges to do its part on its own territory, to take the lead in the struggle on its own territory. We ask co-operation from the international community so as to press forward with the struggle, and we hope that the international community will assess the endeavours of the Bolivians in the light of the results of our struggle in our own land.

Bolivians are ready to shoulder their own responsibility in the struggle on their own national territory. We seek international co-operation because our country is poor in resources, poor in logistics, poor in infrastructure - co-operation in the struggle against drugs and for development. We accept to be judged by the international community on the results that we shall achieve as a people in this struggle.

(President Paz Zamora)

We also intend to enhance national awareness in respect of this struggle and, as a country, we pledge to work together with the international community to fight against another scourge - the deterioration of the environment.

Fortunately, Bolivia remains one of the few ecological preserves of the planet. When President Menem flew over Bolivia three days ago at one o'clock in the morning and as a Latin American sent me a fraternal message, I answered him by saying that I welcomed him in my country's airspace and that I was very pleased that he was flying through one of America's purest skies. My words were not meant as a metaphor; they reflected an ecological reality, for his plane was flying through one of the least polluted skies of the continent.

We are prepared to enter this struggle as well and to do so as a country of the Amazon region. A great deal is being said these days about the Amazon. There is something that members perhaps do not know - in proportion to its territory, Bolivia is the most Amazon country of South America. Over 70 per cent of Bolivian territory is in the Amazon basin. We have spoken with President Sarney to promote an ecologically sound production policy in the Amazon territory that we share. We would like to work together with the other countries concerned. We should not be prevented from opening up new productive economic frontiers for the peoples of these territories in the name of a false ecological concept. We need to seek balance between the need of our people for development and the need of our people, and of all mankind, not to harm nature. In this regard, we are prepared in our development process not to repeat the actions taken by the developed countries that have harmed the environment in their development process. That is also a challenge for mankind.

(President Paz Zamora)

The problems of drug trafficking and the environment are related to another problem, namely, that of extreme poverty. I call these the three scourges: drug trafficking, extreme poverty, and the economic, financial and external debt crisis - the latter being the overriding scourge of the poor countries, like my own. These are the scourges facing poor countries such as ours.

(President Paz Zamora)

For our people, they are the three horsemen of the Apocalypse, so in our struggle we cannot separate them. If we are to combat drug trafficking we must combat poverty as well, and we must preserve the environment. The production of cocaine is related to the systematic destruction of the environment in countries where it is produced. In order to combat damage to the environment we need to combat both drug trafficking and extreme poverty. And to fight against extreme poverty we need to fight against drug trafficking and damage to the environment. This is, as I said before, an inseparable trilogy, and anyone who does not understand this is not fighting the right war, and as I am sure the international community will understand, we should not be fighting the wrong war.

We are prepared to run our own risks; we are prepared to shoulder our responsibilities; and we are prepared to share all of this with the international community. But, above and beyond everything that I have said, I want to tell this Assembly that Bolivia, with its Government of national unity, with its process of national harmony, has definite goals in mind. We want to maintain the economic and financial stability that we have won at such great cost. By the end of the year Bolivia will have a maximum rate of inflation of 12 per cent. Truly this is a record in Latin America. This economic and financial stability is an achievement for our people, and we certainly cannot throw it out of the window. We want to use it as the basis for development because stability without growth is fragile: it has feet of clay. Stability without movement is the stability of the cemetery. There is stability in cemeteries, but it is the stability of death. What we want is the stability of life, which is the stability of growth. We want stability with a profound policy of social development.

(President Paz Zamora)

Our peoples can no longer tolerate poverty. They need employment. They want to work. Often, when international co-operation - for example, in the form of food - arrives I hear Bolivian workers and farmers say, "Thank you very much for the food, but please co-operate by giving us tools, because we want to work so that we can produce our own food. Help us by investing. We want to work. We want to produce in order to bring about our own national development." What we need is stability with a view to growth and development, to health, education and the generation of employment. Truly, unemployment is a cancer in my country. More than 20 per cent of the population of Bolivia are unemployed. The country's informal economy is larger than its formal economy. Some workers are euphemistically described as having been relocated when they have been expelled from their work places and have joined the informal labour force, which is but one step from unemployment. So, we want stability which brings about production. We want stability that will enable Bolivia to regain access to international markets. As I have said already, we are now on the sidelines.

We want to accomplish all of this in a spirit of harmony with the international community. We need help, but it is honourable help that we want. We want true assistance, not assistance that brings with it problems of another type. We want to work with other countries in a spirit of international co-operation, and within our own country we want to work with different sectors of society and with different regions. We want an effort of unity, an effort of national consensus, because we know that only understanding, dialogue and consensus will work, both nationally and internationally.

I have talked a great deal about my country and its problems, but I have referred also to the problems, in one form or another, of many other countries of the international community. I hope that the summary I have just given will help others, just as Bolivia tries to benefit from the experience of others.

(President Paz Zamora)

I should like to refer very briefly to certain international problems in respect of which Bolivia's voice must be heard. As Latin Americans, we believe that a Latin American solution must be found to the problems of Central America, and we believe that that solution must be based on a resolution of the problem of democracy. In the last analysis, what is at stake in Central America is the question of democracy. Let us allow each country to be the protagonist of its own democracy, so long as it is a clear democracy that can coexist with others. I believe that the countries of Central America have a special responsibility because they are most familiar with the problems of the sub-region.

As Latin Americans, we Bolivians ~~want~~ reaffirm that the Malvinas Islands are Latin American, that they belong to Argentina, but that Argentina and the United Kingdom should find a solution in the form of an international agreement. We fervently hope that there will be fruitful dialogue between those two countries, both of which have age-old fraternal links with Bolivia.

In the international sphere, there is something else that is very important to Bolivia. We want an appropriate solution to be found to the problem of the Middle East. We want a just solution that respects the rights of all the peoples of the Middle East. There can be no solution that works to the detriment of any party, because such a solution would not respect the rights of all those who coexist in the region.

(President Paz Zamora)

That is why I welcome the efforts made by the United Nations in that area. I hope an international conference under United Nations auspices will take place and that none of the parties or their authentic representatives will be excluded from it, lest we approach the problem without any real determination to solve it.

Much has changed in today's world; those changes are but the forerunners of future changes. Our world is moving closer to détente, understanding and co-operation. We hope the next century, which will be upon us in a few years, will find us all sharing a single ideology: the ideology of global civilization, of a universal culture in which we are all linked to one another. It is up to us.

We are already seeing some signs of that world of the future, a future from which we may look back at the twentieth century and its problems in the same way we look today, in history books, at the problems of the eighteenth century, in the same way we look at the problems discussed by the encyclopaedists of that age.

Technology is becoming the ideology of the modern world, for technology is drawing us all together. It operates above and beyond the ideologies we inherited from past centuries. Technology and culture will be the ideology of the twenty-first century. What is the ideological difference between an American astronaut and a Soviet cosmonaut? They share the same ideology: technology. They are scientists and have few differences between them. That may be a model of the world to come, a model to be shared by all mankind.

I wish in conclusion to reiterate my faith in the United Nations system and in the purposes of the Organization: to combat poverty and backwardness now and in the future. I believe the United Nations can no longer tolerate the violence of oppression, extreme poverty or the presence of violence and death in many parts of the world. Deep in our hearts, we all feel that those problems must be resolved.

Since 1945 leaders of the entire world have come here to tell the truth: their truth. Some have come with the arrogance of strength; some have come with

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the anger of powerlessness. But we have all come here to tell our truth.

As the President of a poor and humble country, I would recall the wise message of Ecclesiastes, where it is written that

"wisdom is better than strength; nevertheless the poor man's wisdom is despised, and his words are not heard". (The Holy Bible, Ecclesiastes 9:16)

The United Nations and the international community must hear the words of the poor, because, as the Holy Father has said, the new name of development is peace.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Bolivia for the important statement he has just made.

Mr. Jaime Paz Zamora, President of the Republic of Bolivia, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

AGENDA ITEM 28

POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA: DRAFT RESOLUTION
(A/44/L.1)

The PRESIDENT: Pursuant to a request contained in the letter from the Permanent Representative of Guinea-Bissau in his capacity as current Chairman of the Group of African States (A/44/577), the Assembly will now consider the draft resolution circulated yesterday afternoon as document A/44/L.1. The draft resolution relates to agenda item 28, entitled "apartheid of the Government of South Africa".

I call on the representative of Guinea-Bissau in his capacity as current Chairman of the Group of African States to introduce the draft resolution.

Mr. CABRAL (Guinea-Bissau) (interpretation from French): It is an honour for me to be speaking on behalf of the African Group. It is for an urgent reason that I asked to speak on behalf of them today.

(Mr. Cabral, Guinea-Bissau)

Despite my frustration in the face of a serious and urgent problem, I wish to take this opportunity to convey to you, Sir, the satisfaction and pleasure of your brothers and friends - among which I count myself - at your recent unanimous election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-fourth session. As I inaugurate the first stage of our discussion of South Africa, I hail you as an anti-apartheid militant, a tireless champion of human rights. It is a special pleasure for me to do this since your contribution in the area under discussion has been exemplary, and worthy of the prominent place your country, Nigeria, occupies in the struggle for respect for human dignity.

(Mr. Cabral, Guinea-Bissau)

The South African Government has taken the serious decision to execute tomorrow, Friday, the African National Congress (ANC) activist, Mangena Jeffrey Boesman. I do not wish to dwell on the nature of the sentence or on the particular features of South African courts; nor do I intend today to put the hateful system of apartheid in the dock. For the time being I say simply that the execution of this ANC patriot can only exacerbate the situation by giving comfort to the proponents of apartheid and making them even more opposed to change, thereby leading to an increase in violence and in the number of victims.

The South African leaders, and President de Klerk in particular, are at a cross-roads. They must take decisions which go beyond speeches made for special circumstances. Putting an end to racial discrimination in buses, in swimming pools and elsewhere is insignificant in relation to the major point, which remains the abolition of apartheid in all its forms. The South African Government must face reality four-square. It is now time for the South African President to calm people's minds and help to staunch the wounds. There is no other way to do that but to abolish apartheid, to respect the most basic human rights and the democracy so dear to us all, that is, to respect majority rule. That is the road - the only road - to follow. The South African Government should commit itself to doing that if it truly wishes peace, peace for all South Africans without distinction, peace for all countries in the region and, furthermore, peace which is indissolubly linked with that of the rest of the world and for which all of us should bend our efforts.

I have the privilege today of calling on the Assembly to take further action in support of the struggle for human rights and the elimination of apartheid in South Africa, to take, together with the African States, the step we propose today, which is above all humanitarian, to save the life of a man and no doubt thereby preserve the lives of thousands of others.

(Mr. Cabral, Guinea-Bissau)

That is the purport of draft resolution A/44/L.1, now before the Assembly. The African countries have done me the honour of asking me to introduce it. I feel, however, that there is really no need here to plead for justice, for equity and to ask delegations to join Africa in defending the values which we cherish and which many speakers before me have referred to in urging us to defend these rights together.

To the list of sponsoring countries named on the draft resolution we should add the following: Cuba, Djibouti, Guyana, Honduras, India, Libya, Madagascar, Morocco, Nigeria, Somalia, Suriname, Togo, Tunisia and Vanuatu. The list is certainly not closed; I am aware that other Members that have not become co-sponsors share the ideals of the African countries. That is why I am convinced that all delegations present here will heed once again an appeal from Africa and will join the African countries in ensuring that from this Hall will go out the resounding message expected by our brothers in South Africa. That is the least we can do today, now.

As I said, I am convinced that we are all aware of the seriousness of the situation. Indeed, we are particularly convinced that a new dawn seems to be breaking in Africa. We in the African countries would like to believe that it is. We want to contribute to the change in South Africa. We ask delegations here to help us take this step. It is urgent for the South African Government to heed the voice of reason.

Napoleon said that a statesman should have his heart in his head. I hope that the South African leaders have their heads on their shoulders and realize that now is the time for change, now is the time to create the necessary conditions for a new humanism and to cultivate love and friendship among all men and all races in South Africa. Africa is counting on the Assembly's support.

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/44/L.1.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominica, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador,* Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: None

Abstaining: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Draft resolution A/44/L.1 was adopted by 149 votes to none, with 2 abstentions (resolution 44/1).**

* Owing to a technical difficulty, the vote of El Salvador in favour of the resolution was not reflected on the board.

** Subsequently the delegations of Ghana, Grenada and Swaziland advised the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of the United States for an explanation of vote.

Mr. PICKERING (United States of America): The United States position on political prisoners in South Africa is clear. We continue strongly to encourage the Government of South Africa to release all political prisoners as a means to force a dialogue among South Africans. We also call for an end to violence from all sources. However, we make a clear distinction between prisoners of conscience, political prisoners and all those convicted of non-political crimes such as murder. There can be no circumstances in which a violent murder such as the one in this case, what has come to be called "necklacing", could be considered a rightful political act. Mr. Boesman was convicted of burning to death a woman in her fifties, apparently because she took her children to school at a time of a strike against school attendance. We have nothing to suggest that Mr. Boesman did not receive a fair trial or that he was not guilty of the offence for which he was tried. Given what we understand to be the circumstances of the crime, its heinous nature, and the fact that Mr. Boesman was given a fair trial, we are not able to support the present resolution. We have abstained in the voting because we do not believe that we should oppose a call for a commutation of sentence, under the special and particularly difficult circumstances which prevail in South Africa today.

The PRESIDENT: Consideration of item 28 will be resumed at the appropriate time during the session.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. PAPOULIAS (Greece): On behalf of my Government, I wish at the outset to extend warmest congratulations to you, Sir, on your election as President of the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly. We are indeed deeply satisfied that a most distinguished representative of Nigeria, a country with which Greece maintains traditionally the closest relations of friendship and co-operation, has been elected by acclamation to this prestigious office. Your vast experience in the work of the Organization and the leadership and diplomatic skills you have displayed ensure that you will discharge with success the duties with which you are entrusted. I take this opportunity also to assure you that we recall most vividly your last visit to Athens, when as Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid you co-chaired the symposium entitled "Culture against apartheid".

I avail myself of this opportunity to express to your predecessor, Mr. Dante Caputo, former Foreign Minister of Argentina, our deep appreciation for the able and inspired manner in which he guided with great effectiveness the work of the forty-third session of the General Assembly.

My personal thoughts turn also to the Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, to whom I wish to express my admiration for his untiring efforts in efficiently leading the United Nations in its task of maintaining international peace and security. I wish to congratulate him on the report on the work of the Organization he recently presented to us. His review of international developments brings home, in bold and lucid terms, the acuteness of tensions in areas where violence and injustice are, unfortunately, still the norm in the everyday life of peoples and countries - all this against a growing consciousness that the United Nations can be

(Mr. Papoulias, Greece)

more effective in the prevention of conflicts and the suppression of acts of aggression. In short, he has presented "a credible strategy of peace".

Earlier this week the Foreign Minister of France, Mr. Roland Dumas, in his capacity as President of the European Economic Community, made a statement on behalf of the 12 States Members of the European Community. My Government fully concurs with the views expressed on issues that are central to our concerns and to our aspirations. For my part, I should like also to point to the new hopes raised in Europe in the wake of a historic evolution which should, we hope, lead to the elimination of confrontations and to the attenuation of divisions. It is that same Europe, which, as the Secretary-General does not fail to mention, was plunged 50 years ago this very month into a most savage and destructive conflict, which eventually engulfed other continents. Greece survived that holocaust, devastated but with an unshakeable faith in democracy, human dignity and justice, the very purposes and principles of the United Nations as enshrined in the Charter.

The openness and restructuring that are defining current developments in Eastern and Central Europe constitute a political event of historical dimensions. Relief of unparalleled importance has been brought forward in the theatre of European relations, affecting overall world affairs. Greece has contributed actively to this process which marks a turning point in the relations between East and West on the European continent. We are convinced that confidence can replace mistrust and that co-operation should replace confrontation.

The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe has played a major role in creating an advanced stage of co-operation among the 35 participating States. The Concluding Document issued at its last Session in Vienna, marks an important step in the Helsinki process. The Forum of Information, held in London, and the Conference on the Human Dimension, held in Paris more recently, give the measure of the further progress achieved in two most sensitive areas.

(Mr. Papoulias, Greece)

Within the framework of the process established by the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, regional co-operation in the Balkan peninsula has been a most significant development. My country takes satisfaction from the fact that it was the first to propose the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act on a regional basis. Since then, we have been consistently committed to the advancement of this co-operation with our Balkan neighbours, seeking to enlarge the range of areas of common interest. Following the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the six Balkan countries in Belgrade last year, a series of specialized meetings have been organized consecutively in various capitals. An important meeting of high officials is planned to take place in Athens in the coming months. We shall spare no effort towards the furtherance of this process, which serves peace and stability in our region.

(Mr. Papoulias, Greece)

As regards neighbouring Turkey, we would like to develop in our relations a climate enabling us to establish in the near future a serious dialogue that would bring us to an era of peace, friendship and co-operation.

Efforts leading to nuclear and conventional disarmament remain at the centre of our preoccupations. These efforts, primarily deployed in the framework of the United Nations system, are obviously influenced by the progress of bilateral talks between the two nuclear super-Powers. 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 - INF Treaty - concluded in December 1987, and the negotiations for the reduction by 50 per cent of their respective nuclear arsenals, have a direct bearing on the general relaxation in international tensions. In Europe again, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) remains the most efficient negotiating framework for conventional disarmament. We earnestly look forward to the success of negotiations initiated recently in Vienna aiming at the reduction of such weapons in Europe, and also to an agreement on a new set of confidence- and security-building measures.

Beyond the confines of European initiatives, we look forward to a successful conclusion of the negotiations for the prohibition of chemical weapons carried out within the framework of the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva. The United Nations should continue to provide to the international community the institutional framework for disarmament negotiations. Without being unduly pessimistic, we should place in their true dimensions both the seemingly fruitless results of the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament and the more inconclusive last session of the Disarmament Commission.

If, in the words of the Secretary-General, "the United Nations needs to demonstrate its capacity to function as guardian of world security", its Member

(Mr. Papoulias, Greece)

States should be conscious - as indeed they are - of the true nature of regional conflicts as well as of the nature of the solutions achieved, or to be achieved. In a tightly interdependent world, no regional problem loses its international character, the more so when the Organization is seized of it. The involvement of the United Nations suggests that the extent to which it can contribute toward solutions greatly depends on the existence of a genuine political will for the maintenance of peace and security by the parties directly concerned. The most notable examples in this respect are the agreement between Iran and Iraq for a cease-fire in the region of the Gulf following resolution 598 (1987), unanimously adopted by the Security Council, the Geneva Accords on Afghanistan and the New York agreements on Namibia signed in December 1988. A few years earlier, these problems seemed to be insoluble. However, diplomatic skill and patience, in parallel with the untiring efforts of the Secretary-General, but primarily with the efforts of the parties directly involved, have brought to an end the military conflict between Iran and Iraq. We express the hope that both parties will co-operate intensively with the Secretary-General on the basis of Security Council resolution 598 (1987).

The same skill and patience has produced an agreement for the withdrawal of foreign military forces from Afghanistan. Similarly, it has brought about agreements for the disengagement of alien forces and other elements from Namibia and from Angola, in the framework of an overall solution designed in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978). However, we are still deeply concerned that in the regions just mentioned the agreements reached, or the peace plans and other arrangements pursued, have not yet come to full fruition and have not as yet succeeded in eliminating grave internal problems. National reconciliation is at stake in Afghanistan and local conditions are far from giving hope for an early return of the refugees to their homes in safety and honour.

(Mr. Papoulias, Greece)

In Namibia, we have been following with some concern the strenuous efforts of the United Nations to establish normal conditions to secure free and fair elections in time for the agreed date, early November 1989, as well as for the return of refugees. The plight of prisoners of war still held by the former belligerents in the region of the Gulf, where other serious problems have still to be resolved, delays the implementation of the settlement plan laboriously pursued by the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative.

Greece is following with particular interest developments in South Africa, where the situation continues, regrettably, to endanger peace, security and stability in the area. The state of emergency is still in force throughout the country, while sporadic positive developments, such as the release of a number of political detainees, fall short of constituting the fundamental change that the situation requires. Anti-apartheid organizations are still banned and harassed, and their activities are restricted by all kinds of repressive measures. We hope that recent developments in that country will lead to the complete and peaceful eradication of apartheid by an effective national dialogue across political, religious and colour distinctions, with a view to establishing a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

In Central America, the Esquipulas II agreement and the recent Tela agreements supported by the Presidents of the five countries of the region lead us to hope that agreements to terminate military activities from one territory to another, to end internal strife and to guarantee the democratic process will be crowned with success. Observer groups to be eventually established by the United Nations to verify and control the peace process under way may be part of a substantial contribution by this Organization.

(Mr. Papoulias, Greece)

In Kampuchea, in the Western Sahara and, last but not least, in the Middle East, the impasse persists, and the United Nations has not yet been in a position to enhance effectively a few positive steps taken in any of the cases mentioned. The inconclusive results of the Paris Conference on Cambodia do not prevent us from noting that the Vietnamese forces seem to be keeping to their timetable of withdrawal. The peace plan presented by the Secretary-General to the opposing parties in the Western Sahara still remains a valid proposal for a just and lasting agreement. However, the persistence of Israel in occupying since 1967 Palestinian and other Arab territories, including East Jerusalem, aggravates the already harsh conditions of life of the civilian population in the occupied territories and remains the main obstacle to a just solution in accordance with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). We believe that the settlement of the Middle Eastern question can be reached by the convening of the International Peace Conference under the auspices of the United Nations, leading to talks in which all the directly interested parties should participate, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

We are deeply concerned by the tragic conditions prevailing in Lebanon. We call upon all parties to refrain from the use of force and to reach, through peaceful negotiations, a solution that will guarantee the unity, sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of this country. We are particularly satisfied that the plan of the Tripartite Committee of the Arab League appears to have been accepted, thus paving the way for the return of peace in that country, torn for so many years by internal strife.

With regard to the Korean Peninsula, we welcome President Roh's new unification formula as well as any proposal aiming at reducing tension in the area. The South Korean Government has our support and encouragement in its efforts to promote unification through peaceful and democratic means.

(Mr. Papoulias, Greece)

A brief review of cases regarding regional conflicts inevitably brings forward a pattern on which the United Nations is invited to act or is acting, in conformity with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

(Mr. Papoulias, Greece)

This pattern of United Nations involvement leads us to take note of two distinct levels of action encompassing each problem as a whole. The first level of action refers to the external aspect of a problem, which as a rule is relevant to the prevention or termination of an armed confrontation, the withdrawal of foreign military forces of occupation or foreign elements alien to a country whose sovereignty and territorial integrity have been violated. The second level of action normally relates to the internal aspect of a regional problem, which, as previous examples clearly denote, consists of internal strife and the need for national reconciliation, the settlement of refugee problems, and the enforcement of human rights and the rule of law. In varying degrees, as circumstances in each case dictate, the United Nations is called upon, usually through the good offices of the Secretary-General, to assist in the settlement of a conflict, acting at the two distinct levels I have just mentioned.

Allow me now to refer in a more extensive way to the Cyprus problem, the persistence of which is of special concern to Greece and to the United Nations as a whole.

It is evident that for the last 15 years there has been a manifest lack of will on the Turkish side to reach a solution that would allow the two communities of Cyprus to enjoy the full fruits of independence to their mutual benefit. The Turkish invasion of 1974 and the continuing military occupation of more than a third of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus constitute a most blatant violation of the United Nations Charter and of the resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly. The resulting plight of the Cypriot people is well known. I wish again to remind the Assembly that some 200,000 people had to flee their ancestral homes and have become refugees in their own country, while to this day 1,619 missing persons are still unaccounted for. Furthermore, advantage has been taken of the continuing occupation of the northern part of

(Mr. Papoulias, Greece)

Cyprus by Turkish military forces to bring in thousands of Turkish settlers in order to alter the demographic structure of the island. Ensuing acts of secession and partition were unequivocally condemned by resolutions of the Security Council, which has repeatedly called upon Turkey to withdraw its forces from the island. Mention should also be made of the looting of cultural treasures and the destruction of objects and monuments of historic value and places devoted to worship. To all this it should now be added that, according to recent disturbing indications, the Turkish-Cypriot side seems to be planning to install new Bulgarian Muslim settlers in the occupied part of the territory of the Republic.

Efforts to bring about a solution to the Cyprus problem entered a new, more hopeful phase after the new initiative taken in July 1988 by the Secretary-General in the framework of his mission of good offices. The President of the Republic of Cyprus has striven to conduct meaningful talks with the leader of the Turkish-Cypriot community under the auspices of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, with a view to reaching a solution that should be just and lasting, for the benefit of all citizens of Cyprus. We believe that President Vassiliou is right in addressing simultaneously the two aspects of the problem, namely, the withdrawal of all foreign military troops, eventually entailing the full demilitarization of the territory of the Republic, and the reconciliation and coming-together of all Cypriots, regardless of ethnic origin. Greece supports the initiative of the Secretary-General and the efforts of the President of Cyprus.

However, we are deeply concerned by the new obstacles the other side has created. After some progress had been made in the course of three rounds of intensive talks, that side rejected the evolutionary process which the Secretary-General was pursuing with both parties to the dialogue in accordance with agreed procedures. In actual fact, the leader of the Turkish-Cypriot community

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suspended his participation in the talks in a manner which has put in jeopardy the Secretary-General's mission of good offices itself.

I repeat that Greece, for its part, shall continue to give its full support to the Secretary-General's mission of good offices. At the same time, we will not fail to denounce in unequivocal terms the lack of response from the other side to the endeavours towards a just and viable solution to the problem of Cyprus. Its international dimension and the aggravation resulting from the military occupation of part of the territory of a sovereign State, a Member of this Organization, constitute a permanent threat to peace and security.

I should be remiss if I did not pay a tribute to all the men and women who form the peace-keeping forces of the United Nations for their dedication in fulfilling a most noble task in the service of international peace. Greece has consistently supported United Nations peace-keeping activities. A Hellenic Air Force aircraft flew to Windhoek in Namibia on 7 June, carrying supplies for the use of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group as a contribution from the people and Government of Greece. Next month, Greek civil servants will join their colleagues from other countries to carry out their duties as electoral supervisors at the elections scheduled for early November in Namibia.

I should like to stress that we fully support and strive for the establishment of a financially secure and sound basis for all peace-keeping operations. Peace, and by extension peace-keeping operations, is the collective responsibility of all mankind. It follows that expenses for such operations, without exception, should be mandatory to all Members of the United Nations and assessed in accordance with the established scale of contributions. It has been stated before on behalf of the Greek Government that the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus remains the only peace-keeping force to be financed by voluntary contributions, thus placing at risk the mission with which it is entrusted. I appeal to all Member States to

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support the Secretary-General's proposal to correct what appears to be an anomaly and an exception to the rule of financing peace-keeping forces through assessed contribution.

An overall review of world conditions would not be complete without a strong reminder that respect for human rights constitutes an active concern of the international community and is no longer an internal matter of each individual State. Our external policies are also influenced by the respect human rights are enjoying in other countries.

The United Nations Commission on Human Rights has been instrumental in promoting the legal and political concepts emanating from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In Europe, and in particular among the 35 participating States to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, an important step was taken by the Concluding Document of the Vienna session, whereby a mechanism to monitor and control the respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms was instituted. We shall actively participate in that process. At the same time, we do not fail to note with interest the prominence constantly given to a universal acceptance of the need for full respect of human rights and individual freedoms. The Declaration recently adopted by the members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries at its summit conference at Belgrade gives ample proof of that positive development.

We are deeply concerned by the increased activities and costly implications of transnational drug trafficking. The trafficking of drugs is no longer an isolated national issue. It constitutes a global problem of grave social dimensions. Transnational and organized forms of crime have become so powerful that they challenge legal and democratic institutions in some countries. They are eroding the moral fiber of society.

(Mr. Papoulias, Greece)

However, the fight against drug trafficking is receiving increased political support world-wide. For our part, we have declared a relentless war against drug dealers and their supporters. Further, Greece has joined other nations in signing, on 23 February 1989, the United Nations Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances that was adopted last December. There is an urgent need for increased co-operation on a multilateral basis and the most appropriate forum for that purpose is provided by the United Nations.

(Mr. Papoulias, Greece)

The question of international terrorism is also on the Assembly's agenda at the current session. The international community continues to be plagued by acts of the meanest and most cowardly form of violence. States Members of the United Nations are uniting to co-ordinate their efforts in combating heinous crimes perpetrated at random or at will against innocent persons. Greece has not been spared from being the target of such crimes, but we have not been shaken in our determination and efforts to eradicate this scourge within the framework of international endeavours undertaken to that end.

Another problem I should like to single out is the destruction of the environment, which threatens the very existence of our planet today and degrades the quality of life. Greece, facing serious environmental problems, is in favour of dealing with this matter at both the international and the national levels. We attach great importance to the convening of a United Nations special conference in 1992 on environment and development. We believe that the conference must establish an international strategy and adopt ways and means with a view to obtaining sustainable and environmentally sound development in all countries. As far as my country is concerned, we shall spare no effort for its successful conclusion.

The 1980s represented a decade of contrast and diversity of developmental experiences. Progress has been accomplished in raising living standards and strengthening democratic institutions. However, large masses of people in some regions continue to live under unacceptable economic, social and political conditions. The debt crisis has become crushing in a large number of developing countries. It has blurred the distinction between social and economic issues, which are increasingly perceived in much the same way world-wide.

Greece contributed to the negotiation and adoption of decision 43/460 calling for a special session to be devoted to international economic co-operation, in particular to the revitalization of economic growth and development of

(Mr. Papoulias, Greece)

developing countries. It continues to play an active role in preparations for the session through the assumption of the chairmanship of the Preparatory Committee. The special session is seen as an opportunity to place development at the top of the world political agenda again, at a time when the relaxation of tensions in international relations has led to improved prospects for international economic co-operation.

Greece, a founding member of the United Nations, remains fully committed to the ideals enshrined in the Charter and to the multilateral approach. We therefore strongly feel that the United Nations should continue to intensify its efforts and exploit the best opportunities to resolve international problems through strengthened co-operation. The ultimate goal of achieving peace, security and prosperity remains as valid as ever. In this regard I share some of the optimism expressed in the report of the Secretary-General when he states that "peace has gained a meaning and a dimension that it lacked before". Peace, justice and human dignity appear to be assuming the dimensions of multilateral endeavours. This is the task of the United Nations, to which we are fully committed.*

Mr. VAN DEN BROEK (Netherlands): I should first of all like to extend my warmest congratulations to the President on his assumption of the presidency of the current session of the General Assembly. With the wisdom and experience which are his, the Assembly is evidently in good hands. He can count on the constructive co-operation of the delegation of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

Earlier this week my colleague Mr. Roland Dumas, the Foreign Minister of France, explained the common position of the Twelve member States of the European Community on a wide range of international issues, so I need not return to all those issues addressed in his speech.

* Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. van den Broek, Netherlands)

A living memory of the past is essential in our efforts to shape the world of the future. This is true for each of us individually. It is also true for our collective endeavours - the United Nations itself not least among them. Knowing where we came from is a constant reminder of where we should go and where we should not.

This month, 50 years ago, with the Nazi attack on Poland, the Second World War broke out. What followed was not just another European war, in which force had to decide on a new balance of power. The Second World War was fought against an extremist ideology and for the ideals of freedom and democracy which in the course of the war found their expression in the Atlantic Charter. Ultimately it was a war about civilization and human values. Countless millions perished. Behind the barbed wire of occupied Europe, moreover, the most terrible form of racism the world has ever seen was unleashed. No words can describe the fate that befell European Jewry. To remember is to prevent.

The end of the war saw the birth of the United Nations. The horror that was just behind them had convinced the founding fathers of our Organization that international relations had to be based on new principles and that peace could not be separated from respect for human rights and human values. But the years following that war did not bring the full realization of the ideals that had been fought for. Today, however, we witness hopeful new trends. All around the world people of different national and cultural backgrounds are reaching out for freedom and democracy. A democratic revolution of global proportions is clearly on its way.

Unfortunately the legitimate aspirations of people to greater freedom and democracy are not being met in all parts of the world. Who does not recall the shocking events on Tiananmen Square this summer? Elsewhere, however, democratic forces have managed to gain the upper hand and, although often faced with difficult social and economic conditions, there can be no question that democracy is the key

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to tomorrow's world. Nothing holds out as much promise as a democratic society free from oppression and fear.

The winds of change have not left Eastern Europe untouched. Poland has now captured the imagination of the world by its historic leap towards pluralism and democracy. Hungary seems set to take a giant step of its own in that direction. And in the Soviet Union, that breathtaking process of perestroika is opening doors that had been shut for decades, thus releasing the genius and energy of its people without which no nation can hope to thrive. We do hope that the reforms now under way will meet with success.

By changing their own societies, by making them responsive to democratic aspirations, this movement of reform can have an enormous positive impact on peace and security in Europe and indeed in the world as a whole. President Gorbachev encapsulated the essence of this, when he said to the Assembly of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg last July:

"A world where military arsenals would be reduced, but where human rights would be violated, would not be a safe place. We have made this conclusion for ourselves once and for all."

(Mr. van den Broek, Netherlands)

In the United Nations, too, we have been further elaborating human rights standards in certain specific areas. I want to mention in particular the Second Optional Protocol on the Abolition of the Death Penalty. The importance of this Protocol is highlighted by the recent report of Amnesty International, which shows how many death sentences are still being carried out. We would call upon this Assembly to adopt the draft Protocol at this session.

But the main focus of our attention should now be on how to improve compliance with human rights. Despite improvements in many parts of the world there remains a wide gap between the standards we have set and actual practice. What is needed is a more systematic and efficient use of the monitoring mechanisms at our disposal, such as the system of Special Rapporteurs of the Commission on Human Rights. Furthermore, we believe that the United Nations, through the Commission on Human Rights, should be able to respond to serious violations of human rights the moment they occur. We would also wish to warn against attempts by groups of countries, on unrelated political grounds, to prevent human rights violations from being addressed. Are not such practices extremely damaging for the credibility of the efforts of the United Nations to protect human rights?

The remarkable improvement in East-West relations has given a strong impetus to arms control and disarmament. Real disarmament, such as we could only dream of at the beginning of this decade, is now beginning to materialize.

Nothing illustrates the new momentum better than the contrast between the snail's pace of the former Mutually Balanced Force Reduction Talks, which never led to any agreement, and the swift advance of the current negotiations on conventional forces. Thus, for instance, we are already approaching an agreement in Vienna on common ceilings for some major categories of equipment. These are ceilings that will entail very substantial reductions. Only last week, the 16 North Atlantic

(Mr. van den Broek, Netherlands)

Treaty Organization participants in the Vienna negotiations submitted further details of their proposals, notably concerning verification and stabilizing measures

With regard to chemical weapons, we must not allow proliferation to catch up with the negotiations on a complete ban. We welcome the proposals President Bush made at the beginning of this session to rid the world, in his words, of

"... these truly terrible weapons ..."

and work

"towards a treaty that will ban - eliminate - all chemical weapons from the Earth". (A/44/PV.4, p. 56).

We have every reason to make haste in Geneva. The increasing measure of agreement between the two super-Powers is in this respect very encouraging. The memorandum of understanding on a bilateral verification experiment and data exchange, just signed in Wyoming by Secretary of State Baker and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, underlines the extent of the bilateral process, for we would expect this to help move forward also the multilateral process. In view of the urgency of the matter we favour the spreading of the negotiating sessions over the year. If the world would join in, we do believe we can achieve the complete ban on chemical weapons we have sought for so long.

It is in the field of nuclear arms control that progress is most tangible. All intermediate-range nuclear missiles are now being eliminated and an agreement to halve the strategic arsenals seems to be in the offing. Last week progress was made towards agreement on improved verification arrangements needed for ratification of the threshold test-ban Treaties. And after that, we would expect the United States and the Soviet Union to seek further limits on testing in conjunction with the process of actual reductions in nuclear weapons. All this should contribute to a favourable climate for the next Review Conference of the Parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

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While the positive trend in arms control negotiations between East and West is encouraging, one cannot overlook the fact that in some parts of the world armed conflict and its gruesome consequences are still a daily reality.

The improved East-West relations and the new thinking in Soviet foreign policy have helped to remove or mitigate some of the external factors in regional conflicts. Soviet troops have left Afghanistan; Cuban troops are in the process of leaving Angola and, assuming promises have been kept, the Vietnamese withdrawal from Cambodia should by now just have been completed.

But unfortunately, the indigenous sources of contention in these and other conflicts have proven to be less amenable to solutions. Thus the people of Cambodia, to limit myself to them, are still waiting with apprehension to discover what the future has in store for them. We can only hope that there will be no shift back to the battlefield and to massive violation of human rights, but that diplomatic efforts will continue to prevail.

The more active role of the United Nations in promoting peaceful solutions in a number of regional conflicts is in itself an encouraging sign. The Security Council, benefiting from the improved international climate, has displayed greater cohesion and thus greater effectiveness. I should in particular like to pay a tribute to the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General and his assistants in the many areas of tension and conflict in the world.

The instrument of United Nations peace-keeping operations is proving its great value every day. Peace-keeping operations certainly are not a substitute for a political settlement, but they can be a decisive element in implementing such a settlement. We are intrigued by the gradual evolution of the role of the United Nations in promoting peace in various parts of the world. Recently we have seen how the Organization has become involved, apart from classical peace-keeping

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operations, in new forms of peace promotion. The clearest example can be found in the Esquipulas process in Central America, where the United Nations will not only monitor compliance with the agreements but also observe, together with others, the election process, an absolute first, in one of the Member States of the Organization.

No doubt the current transition towards the independence of Namibia under United Nations supervision is indeed one of the most challenging and significant operations ever undertaken by the world Organization, as the Secretary-General observes in his report to the Assembly. We would like to commend both the civilian and the military personnel of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) for the way they are dealing with this difficult task. My country is proud to be contributing a contingent of military police to this operation, thus playing our part in ensuring a scrupulous implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia.

Fundamental change in South Africa itself is long overdue. Who can contest that the system of apartheid contravenes basic human values and that it must be dismantled? Further procrastination or half-way measures will only make the inevitable process of change more difficult and painful.

Now that the all-White elections are behind us - and let us hope these are the last of their kind - we are waiting to see what the new government will undertake. Pronouncements by the new South African President about "writing a new chapter in the history of South Africa" are raising expectations. But words like these have not been spoken for the first time. They will have to be followed by deeds if they are to remain credible.

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It is essential that a process of dialogue and negotiation between all parties be started before long within South Africa. But it is clear that decades of oppression have bred deep distrust about the preparedness of the South African Government to bring about real change. Indeed, how can there be talks if leading figures of the opposition, like Nelson Mandela, are still in gaol and their organizations remain banned? In his inaugural address earlier this month, President De Klerk called on the international community to take note of what is happening in South Africa and to adopt a positive attitude towards developments in that country. We are receptive to positive appeals, but, clearly, it is now up to the South African Government to take concrete steps that will create confidence and initiate dialogue. I repeat that it will have to do so before long. With the politically deprived in South Africa, we are eager to see a fundamental change of direction. If such a change does not come there will be no alternative for the international community but to reconsider its position vis-à-vis South Africa.

I wish to make a few remarks regarding the Middle East in addition to what my French colleague said earlier this week on behalf of the Twelve.

The difficult quest for a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict received new impetus with the declared acceptance by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) of Israel's right to exist and its renunciation of terrorism. These are welcome developments. It is, of course, essential that those principles should find consistent application in PLO policy. It is equally important that Israel, for its part, carefully reconsider its priorities and contribute towards a comprehensive settlement on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1978) and 338 (1973), including the principle of the exchange of land for peace. Such a settlement should accommodate both Israel's right to secure and recognized borders and the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people.

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Negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians, and the peaceful solution that should result from them, will necessarily be a step-by-step process, each stage contributing to greater confidence and understanding. The proposal by Israel for elections in the occupied territories deserves serious consideration, provided it is the beginning and not the end of a process leading to a comprehensive settlement. In this connection, we welcome the efforts currently being made by President Mubarak of Egypt to bring about the urgently needed negotiations between Israel and representatives of the Palestinian people.

With regard to the situation in the Korean peninsula, I should like to express again here the hope that before long the Republic of Korea will be represented in our world Organization. The recent proposal by the Republic of Korea for a national community charter may contribute to improving relations within the peninsula.

I should now like to make a few remarks about the international economic situation, because the struggle against poverty, malnutrition and underdevelopment is far from being won. Imbalances in the world economy persist. The unequal international distribution of wealth, the discrepancy between population growth and economic development and the persisting external debt problems in many developing countries all point to the need for new and imaginative approaches.

The forthcoming special session of the General Assembly on the reactivation of economic growth should provide a set of realistic guidelines and principles for future international economic co-operation. Building on the outcome of the special session, the international development strategy for the forthcoming development decade should shape a framework for sustainable economic and social development. This requires favourable internal as well as external conditions; here there is a shared responsibility of both developing and developed countries. The new strategy

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must take into account the different needs and situations in individual countries and regions and the varying degrees of development in the world. The situation in the least developed countries, particularly in Africa, remains alarming and therefore deserves our attention.

Many years ago the Netherlands, together with some other countries, set an example by reaching a disbursement level of 1 per cent of its gross domestic product for development purposes. In recent years a few other countries have substantially increased their level of official development assistance, but many others, it must be admitted, are still lagging behind. The international community - certainly those countries benefiting the most from the economic upswing we have experienced in recent years - should do its utmost to attain the adopted target for official development assistance of 0.7 per cent of gross domestic product.

The United Nations as an organization is being called upon to undertake new challenging tasks at a time when it is carrying out a process of profound reform. We have the feeling that the reform process is now on the right track. New budgetary procedures are in place and the Secretariat is being streamlined. On the other hand, the restructuring of the intergovernmental machinery of the Organization - in particular, in the economic and social sectors - is far from being completed. In the Netherlands' view all of these reforms should be pursued with vigour. This can only further strengthen Member States' already renewed confidence in the United Nations and enable the Organization to respond more effectively to the many challenges that lie ahead.

The members of the United Nations should for their part, of course, pay outstanding contributions - in fact, share the burden of the many essential activities of the Organization, including peace-keeping. This is also true of

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actions required to meet manifold new urgent humanitarian needs and emergency situations that continue to demand our attention. Indeed, Hurricane Hugo, which left a trail of destruction in the Caribbean region and elsewhere, demonstrates, once again, that the United Nation system should also be able to play a role in the case of natural - "nature-made" - disasters.

Let me make a few remarks about man-made disasters. One of the most formidable challenges of our time is the degradation of our environment. The growing list of threats is by now well-known: warming of the atmosphere, depletion of the ozone layer, the ever-increasing volume of waste, the expanding deserts and reckless deforestation - to mention just a few of the many man-made disasters. Clearly, we have a collective duty to change our attitudes and habits.

The Brundtland Report deserves credit for alerting the world to the magnitude of the challenge. The increasing international awareness of the interdependence between environment and development is important, but awareness is of course only the first step; solutions have to follow. Each Government has a responsibility to protect the environment, as stipulated by the Stockholm Principles of 1972.

The threat to our atmosphere and its gradual warming undoubtedly constitute one of the most pressing problems. In March this year 24 Heads of State or Government from many parts of the world gathered in The Hague, the Netherlands, to discuss these issues. The Declaration they signed, which has since been endorsed by many more countries, calls for urgent action and sets out innovative approaches to tackle the problem of climatic change.

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We are indeed convinced that we should aim for a world climate convention and we hope this can be achieved within the next two years. The second United Nations climate conference will be an important step in the process towards such a convention, and the Netherlands greatly values the preparatory work and the technical studies currently being carried out in the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change established by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO).

Our endeavours to protect the atmosphere, and indeed the environment as a whole, can be successful only with the full participation of the developing countries as well. At the same time, I am well aware of the many pressing and often conflicting needs which confront most of these countries. While this cannot of course detract from the shared responsibility for the preservation of our planet, I believe that the industrialized countries have an obligation to help these already overburdened nations. Thus, we shall have to devise mechanisms for technical and financial assistance, so as to enable the developing countries to carry out the measures a climate convention would require of them. Such measures are likely to include matters such as forest management, industrial adaptation, energy, pollution monitoring and research, and I can state that my country is prepared to contribute to such a financial mechanism.

With the aim of providing an additional impulse to the efforts to solve the problems of atmospheric pollution and climate change, the Netherlands Government is organizing a ministerial conference on these issues to be held in the Netherlands next November, and we are gratified that many countries will attend.

More generally, I believe we should reflect on ways of strengthening the international instruments for the protection of the environment. In an age of ecological interdependence, the nations of this world can no longer afford to go

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their separate ways. We need further international law-making - a climate convention would be an example here - but we also need world-wide monitoring of pollution levels and more effective control over compliance with environmental standards and obligations. The United Nations, with its universal membership, is the obvious framework in which to bring about such a global response.

A first step would be to strengthen UNEP. In this connection, I am happy to announce that my Government has decided to double its contribution to UNEP in the period 1990 to 1994.

Quite a few other ideas and proposals for enhancing the authority and role of the United Nations in the protection of the environment have been put forward recently. I mention the Declaration of The Hague, but there are also other proposals, including those which the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union have already made. These ideas deserve to be further explored, perhaps also on a subject-by-subject basis. The Netherlands stands ready to take an active part in such an exercise.

All the threads of the current debates will come together at the conference on environment and development in 1992. The Governing Council of UNEP has forwarded a set of well-balanced recommendations concerning the preparations for this conference which, in my view, deserve to be endorsed by the General Assembly. The 1992 conference would, to my mind, be the ideal opportunity to set the seal on a world-wide agreement on measures to strengthen the authority of the United Nations with regard to the protection of our environment.

Earlier I said mankind has to learn from its past in order to face the future. This is a perpetual learning process, but in the way we deal with our environment we are approaching dangerous thresholds that cannot be crossed with impunity. The damage already done is staggering, though still not beyond repair. Nevertheless, it is the very conditions for life on Earth that are at stake.

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As the Secretary-General puts it in his report to the Assembly, political conditions have made it possible to return to the way of handling international affairs envisaged in the Charter. For this trend to continue, however, the international community must muster the will to make a sustained effort. It is particularly imperative for regional problems to be solved. Other pressing international problems must also be addressed with vigour. I mentioned the imminent dangers for the global environment. I could add others, such as the drug problem, which are threatening to undermine the very fabric of our societies; I could add international terrorism, which menaces the international community, its Member States and its citizens alike. A renewed effort by the Organization is urgently called for. I am fully confident that in unison the community of nations can bring a solution to these problems.

Mr. ALATAS (Indonesia): It is most gratifying to me and to my delegation that the stewardship of this forty-fourth session of the General Assembly has been entrusted to a seasoned diplomat intimately associated with the United Nations who is also an eminent representative of Nigeria, a country with which Indonesia has always enjoyed close, fraternal relations. The unanimous election of Ambassador Garba to this high office is both a tribute to his personal accomplishments and a reflection of the high esteem in which his great country is held within the international community. Our confidence in his abilities has long been established by his leadership of the Special Committee against Apartheid, where as its Chairman he has tirelessly devoted himself to carrying out its mandate. I take this opportunity to convey our warm congratulations to him and to pledge my delegation's full co-operation in the discharge of his responsibilities.

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I also wish to express the deep appreciation and gratitude of my Government to his predecessor, His Excellency Mr. Dante Caputo, for the dignified and skilful manner in which he directed the work of the forty-third session of the General Assembly.

At a moment when we are about to enter the last decade of the twentieth century, we are all very conscious that we are again facing a crucial turn in world developments. The global political climate is changing and we are witnessing a transition towards new patterns in international relationships portending greater opportunities as well as greater challenges in mankind's constant search for a better and more peaceful world.

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A growing disposition towards conciliation and mutual accommodation among States, especially between the major Powers, has led to a visible easing of international tensions and to more vigorous efforts in resolving regional conflicts through dialogue and negotiations. New ideas and new concepts, born out of deeper understanding and awareness, are emerging and offering fresh perspectives on the solution of old as well as new problems, such as the prevention of nuclear war, pervasive inequality in inter-State relations, the destruction of the environment, the menace of international terrorism and the evil of drug abuse and trafficking. At the same time, some fundamental trends are asserting themselves on the international economic scene, further propelling the progressive integration of the world economy.

While these developments are surely to be welcomed as hopeful auguries for greater global peace and generalized prosperity, we cannot be oblivious of the fact that the international situation is still plagued by unresolved tensions and contention, wanton violence and persistent insecurity. Moreover, the world economy remains caught in prolonged disarray, and relations between developed and developing countries continue to be afflicted by severe imbalances and inequities. Indeed, while it can be said that the political East-West relations have improved, the asymmetries and disparities in the North-South equation have, in fact, been aggravated.

If the current détente is to lead to stable peace and balanced progress for all, it has to become wider in geographical scope and more comprehensive in substantive content. Global harmony cannot be obtained without also eradicating world-wide poverty and injustice, deprivation and disease. Today, international security should be defined as much in economic as in military terms and take into account such non-military threats to security as sharply reduced prospects for

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economic growth and social advancement, large-scale unemployment, resource scarcity and severe environmental degradation.

Neither can our world become a safer place as long as international security remains precariously premised on such dated doctrines as mutual deterrence and nuclear superiority. Following the ratification of the landmark Treaty between the United States and the USSR on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles - the INF Treaty - momentum in the negotiations on strategic and space arms was disappointingly slow to develop. We therefore welcome the recent breakthrough achieved on this score and on some aspects of a chemical weapons ban. None the less, the arms race, especially in its qualitative aspects, is still far from abating and weapons of increasing sophistication and destructive potential continue to be added to the arsenals of the major military Powers. Consequently, the world's human, technological and material resources are being siphoned away from development purposes, resulting paradoxically in greater overall insecurity at ever increasing cost.

It is obvious that common security requires a comprehensive approach to disarmament, pursued through sustained, time-bound negotiations and on the basis of the collective responsibility of all nations. Extending the scope of the 1963 partial test-ban Treaty to encompass underground nuclear tests, ending the production of fissionable materials, concluding a comprehensive convention on the total prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons and preventing the expansion of the arms race into outer space must remain the priority items on our global disarmament agenda. These should necessarily be accompanied by other concrete measures of disarmament, inter alia, the abolition of all other weapons of mass destruction, balanced reductions in conventional arms and naval arms limitation and disarmament. Additional resources released as a result of disarmament should then

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be devoted to the socio-economic advancement of all peoples and especially to the development of the developing countries.

In various regions of the world, some major conflict situations, long regarded as intractable, are now being addressed with greater seriousness and receptivity towards peaceful negotiations. But the pace of progress in their comprehensive resolution, unfortunately, remains tenuous and uneven.

In Afghanistan, civil war continues to exact a heavy toll in human lives in spite of the 1988 Geneva Agreements and the completed withdrawal of Soviet forces. It should now be quite clear that it is only through a process of genuine national reconciliation and the faithful implementation of all the provisions of those Agreements, by all parties concerned, that an early end can be put to further bloodshed and strife.

For more than a year a fragile cease-fire has held and stopped the fighting between Iran and Iraq. But continuing differences in interpreting the implementation of Security Council resolution 598 (1987) have so far blocked further progress towards an overall resolution of the conflict. We remain hopeful that the direct talks between the two sides, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, will finally yield a just and honourable peace.

With the start of the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibian independence, one of the longest and most aggravating chapters in the annals of decolonization is drawing to a close. The imminent accession of Namibia to self-determination and independence represents the crowning victory of the national liberation struggle waged by the Namibian people under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and fills us with deep satisfaction. However, we are thoroughly disturbed at South Africa's pernicious reluctance to comply with some key aspects of the plan as contained in Security Council

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resolution 435 (1978) and re-emphasized in its resolutions 632 (1989) and 640 (1989). Utmost vigilance should therefore be maintained to ensure that the plan is being implemented in its original and definitive form and that conditions for free and fair elections are indeed achieved. Indonesia deems it a privilege to be able to contribute actively to this goal through the participation of its police contingent in the framework of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG).

Notwithstanding the progress made on Namibia, Africa's struggle to liberate itself from colonial domination and racist oppression cannot be considered over as long as the people of South Africa are still subjected to the universally condemned system of apartheid. It must remain the unremitting concern of civilized humanity to eradicate one of the most demeaning forms of human degradation which apartheid represents. Indonesia is fully committed to the dismantling of institutionalized racism in South Africa so that in its place a non-racial and democratic society can be built.

In the search for a solution to the Cyprus question, we were encouraged by the resumption of direct dialogue between the leaders of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities. But it is to be regretted that the sustained efforts needed to arrive at an overall and equitable settlement continue to be hampered by persistent divergences of view and clouded by mutual distrust.

We are heartened by the efforts of the Secretary-General to try to bring peace and reconciliation to other strife-torn regions, such as Central America and Western Sahara. The international community should continue rendering its active support to these efforts, thus reflecting our renewed commitment to multilateralism and to the strengthening and revitalization of the role of the United Nations as the indispensable and universal forum and instrument to that end.

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The Arab-Israeli conflict, with the struggle of the Palestinian people for justice and independence at its core, has rightly been an issue of central concern to the United Nations and to the entire international community. Over the past year, developments of far-reaching consequence have taken place, in Palestine itself and on the international diplomatic front.

Having withstood the merciless assaults by the Zionist régime to suppress it, the intifadah has conclusively demonstrated that the aspirations of the Palestine nation, and especially of its heroic youth in the occupied territories, to regain their inalienable national rights can no longer be denied. That fact and the bold peace initiative launched by the Palestine National Council last year, proclaiming the independent State of Palestine on Palestinian soil and indicating preparedness to pursue a comprehensive political settlement based on all relevant United Nations resolutions, including General Assembly resolution 181 (II) and Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), have introduced an entirely new dimension into the Arab-Israeli conflict. It is truly deplorable therefore that, despite these developments and the far-sighted follow-up actions undertaken by the Palestinian leadership, the road to the international peace conference on the Middle East remains blocked by the intransigence and sterility of the Israeli response.

My Government believes that the unprecedented opportunities that are opening up at this stage should not be wasted. It is now more urgent than ever before to press ahead towards the convening of the International Peace Conference as the only effective framework for negotiations on all the essential elements of a just solution. Israel should be made to realize that durable peace and a viable guarantee of its own security can be obtained only through a comprehensively negotiated and equitably conceived political solution. We also strongly urge Israel's supporters to recognize the new realities of the present situation and to

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evinced greater vision and foresight in their policies by co-operating with the Secretary-General in his endeavours to expedite the peace process. Indonesia reaffirms its unwavering commitment to extending all possible support to the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), in the realization of their sacred cause - the early exercise of their sovereignty in the newly proclaimed independent Palestinian State.

Indonesia is also deeply distressed over the continuing tragedy in Lebanon and the grievous loss of lives and material destruction resulting from the resurgence of sectarian and factional strife. We therefore fully support the Tripartite Committee of Arab Heads of State in their efforts to stop the violence, and we commend it for having achieved a cease-fire as a first step. But, lest we forget, let me say that the arduous task of restoring national harmony and of economic reconstruction in the country is being blatantly undermined by Israel's illegal occupation of Lebanese territory. Hence, Indonesia reiterates its full solidarity with Lebanon in that country's legitimate demand for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Israeli occupation forces.

For the past two decades Cambodia has been the scene of unending war, and its tribulations a source of continuing tension and division in South-East Asia. But since last year efforts to put an end to the protracted conflict in Cambodia and to the unspeakable suffering inflicted upon its people have moved into a more concrete and hopeful stage. The Jakarta Informal Meeting, which brought together all parties directly involved in the conflict, as well as other concerned countries of the region, provided a first opportunity to start an intensive dialogue aimed at clearing the way towards a comprehensive, just and durable settlement. However preliminary in nature, the two sessions of the Jakarta Informal Meeting, held in July last year and in February this year, did succeed in reaching common

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understandings as regards the objectives, the overall framework and the major component elements of such a political settlement.

Since then, a series of meetings, between the Cambodian parties themselves, as well as between other concerned countries, including the major Powers, have accelerated the pace of the negotiating process. A further impetus was injected by Viet Nam's announcement of its intention to withdraw its forces from Cambodia by the end of September 1989. That withdrawal has now taken place. While it is to be welcomed, we cannot fail to note that it did not proceed within the framework of, and in conjunction with, all the other key elements of a comprehensive settlement - an objective that we have jointly pursued from the outset.

With a view to enlarging upon the framework and the progress already achieved through the regional Jakarta Informal Meeting process, the International Conference on Cambodia was convened in Paris from 30 July to 30 August this year, at the initiative of France, and France and Indonesia served as co-Chairmen. Although at that Conference further progress was made in elaborating the detailed aspects of various elements of a comprehensive solution, it did not prove possible to get agreement on some issues of crucial importance to the total package - for example, on the essence of an interim administering authority; on the auspices under which an international control mechanism would operate; on the modalities of a cease-fire. Regrettably, the necessary conditions and political determination of the parties concerned appear still to be insufficient. It was therefore decided to suspend the Conference and to reconvene when conditions are more conducive to doing so. In the meantime, France and Indonesia, as co-Chairmen of the Conference, have been given a broad mandate to continue consulting all parties concerned, with a view to facilitating a comprehensive settlement, including the reconvening of the Conference and of the working committees, as appropriate.

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At this decisive stage, we urge all sides to exercise restraint and not to allow a recurrence of large-scale fighting to deal a set-back to the peace process. Indonesia remains convinced that a viable solution to the Cambodian conflict can be attained only through political means - not by force of arms - and that, to be durable and just, such a solution must be comprehensive in nature. Indeed, from the outset that has been one of the basic, common understandings agreed upon by all participants in the Jakarta Informal Meeting. Indonesia, for its part, will continue to exert all endeavours to contribute to the restoration of a just peace in Cambodia.

We are encouraged by the positive measures being pursued to determine the future political status of New Caledonia. The maintenance of dialogue, in a spirit of harmony, among the various factions would facilitate the peaceful progress of the Territory towards self-determination and independence, in accordance with the aspirations of the indigenous population, while taking into account the legitimate interests of all the inhabitants.

The situation in the Korean peninsula, which is a source of recurrent tensions in East Asia, calls for intensified efforts by both the North and the South to initiate a process of national reconciliation. We hope that the talks to resolve outstanding issues will be resumed soon, leading to the fulfilment of the parties' shared aspiration for peaceful reunification.

In South America, the agreement reached between Argentina and the United Kingdom to start negotiations on measures aimed at normalizing their relations augurs well for a peaceful and definitive settlement of the question of sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands.

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Change is pervading the international economic landscape also, with trends of far-reaching implications gaining increasing prominence. As in the political realm, these changes and trends contain new opportunities as well as new challenges. But, in contrast to the aura of détente in political relations, acute disparities and uncertainties still characterize the global economic situation.

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The rapid advances in science and technology that are drastically altering the patterns of production, consumption and international economic and financial interchange offer new possibilities for more generalized prosperity among nations in an increasingly integrated global economy. Yet at the same time they may well have a negative impact on the position of the developing countries in terms of comparative advantage, terms of trade, and the international division of labour. New poles of economic dynamism and power have emerged, but this is being accompanied by the creation of powerful economic blocs among developed countries. What is most disturbing is that the current upturn in world output and trade is still mostly to the profit of the developed economies while many developing countries continue to be locked in structural underdevelopment, stagnation and even regression.

The external debt crisis of the developing countries has intensified in magnitude and global impact and is being exacerbated by adverse exchange-rate fluctuations in the major currencies. In its wake has come the predictable social and political turmoil that has already erupted in violence in some countries. Financial flows for development, both official and private, have continued to contract, resulting in a net transfer of resources to the developed countries. Protectionism too, notwithstanding repeated commitments to reverse it, has worsened. Primary-commodity markets and prices, including those for oil and natural gas, have yet to recover fully from the long years of slump and disarray.

True, the international economic scene is not one of unremitting gloom. Despite adversity, a number of developing countries have still managed to make the necessary painful adjustments and to post continuing growth. Provided there is strict adherence to the Punta del Este commitments, the Uruguay round offers the

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prospect of a more open and equitable international trading system. With the Common Fund for commodities now fully operational, there is hope of greater stability in commodity markets at prices remunerative to producers and fair to consumers. And even on the debt issue signs of encouraging flexibility can be noted in the position of the major donor countries, although thus far this benefits only a limited and specific group of countries.

On the overall plane, however, it cannot be denied that the changing global economic setting still works largely against the basic interests of the developing countries.

It is in the light of that reality that Indonesia welcomes the convening next year of a special session of the General Assembly devoted to the revitalization of the economic growth and development of the developing countries. The formulation of a new international development strategy for the 1990s will likewise provide an opportunity to focus our attention and efforts on effective ways to enhance international co-operation for development.

My Government further believes that the reactivation of the global North-South dialogue has become an urgent necessity. Such a dialogue should not be cast in terms of demands on the part of the developing countries or of misperceived charity on the part of the industrialized countries. Rather it should be based on the imperative of genuine interdependence and mutuality of interests. Genuine interdependence implies equality, equity and mutual interest, and should not become a euphemism for new relationships of dependency or, worse, for barely disguised neo-colonialism. Indonesia remains convinced that irrespective of individual interests, all countries share a common interest in seeking more open, viable and equitable multilateral trading and monetary systems, in achieving more stable

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commodity markets and in obtaining a comprehensive and durable solution to the debt crisis based on a development-oriented approach providing both debt reduction and adequate flows of new financial resources.

The threat of irreversible environmental destruction, through escalating pollution and hazardous wastes, depletion of the ozone layer and climatic change, desertification, deforestation and other causes, has now become a major global preoccupation. As an issue affecting the well-being and indeed the very survival of humanity as a whole, it is vital that this be addressed on the basis of equitably shared responsibility among all nations and that it not become a new bone of contention between North and South. Neither should we attempt to make it an added factor of conditionality in the context of development assistance. This calls for effective multilateral co-operation, including the mobilization of additional financial resources in order to promote environmentally sound and sustainable development that would ensure continued economic and social progress without sacrificing our common future.

In the social field, a number of significant events have taken place during the past year. Perhaps the most visible is the ongoing war being waged against illicit narcotics trafficking and drug abuse, which continue to exact a heavy toll in terms of the destabilization of societies, resources wasted, and lives and futures lost. The international community, commonly threatened by this scourge, has united in more co-ordinated efforts to combat it. Based on the balanced approach called for by the recently concluded United Nations Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances, both consumption and production are now being targeted. The mechanisms and legal instruments already in place should now be fully utilized by Governments in order to eradicate this menace. I take this opportunity to reaffirm Indonesia's strong determination to contribute actively to that end.

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During the past year a number of international conferences were held to seek solutions to the ongoing flow of refugees, focusing global attention on that issue. The most recent of these was the International Conference on Indo-Chinese Refugees, which yielded a Declaration and a Comprehensive Plan of Action, reflecting a new consensus and a political commitment to bring about a definitive and durable solution to the prolonged exodus. We believe the Comprehensive Plan of Action, comprising a comprehensive set of balanced and mutually reinforcing national and multilateral undertakings, will, if implemented in its totality by all concerned, ensure such a solution.

In the area of human rights, one more step has been taken towards ensuring respect for the inherent dignity and worth of the human person and towards extending particular care to society's most precious resource, its children. The draft Convention on the Rights of the Child has been approved by the Commission on Human Rights and is being submitted to the General Assembly for consideration and adoption. Indonesia, holding the interests of the child to be of primary concern, hopes that this legal instrument will receive the requisite support and will soon enter into force. A world summit for children, proposed to be held next year, would not only promote the expeditious ratification of the Convention but would also provide additional momentum for child survival, protection and development programmes, making the 1990s a true decade of hope.

As we approach the dawn of a new century the problems and challenges posed by a rapidly changing global setting cannot be underrated. But neither can we overlook the inherent opportunities and bright prospects. Hence, the need of the moment is to strengthen the forces and trends towards global concordance and conciliation and collectively to steer the world on a more peaceful and equitable course.

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

In facing this critical juncture in world developments the Non-Aligned Movement at its recent ninth summit in Belgrade has shown a keen awareness of the new realities and has evinced its preparedness to respond and to contribute creatively to the ongoing processes of change in a forward-looking and realistic manner, unburdened by prejudice or dogma. In doing so, the Movement has reasserted its historical responsibility and active role in the building of a more peaceful, secure, just and humane world. As President Suharto stated at the non-aligned summit earlier this month:

"Constantly guided by its basic principles and objectives, imbued with its unique sense of unity and common destiny and enriched by its experiences, the Non-Aligned Movement stands ready to engage in this process and to contribute its share in building a new world order based on abiding peace, freedom and equitable progress for all".

Towards this lofty goal Indonesia will remain unswervingly committed.

Mr. TOTU (Romania): It gives me particular pleasure to congratulate Mr. Garba on the occasion of his election to the presidency of the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly and to address to him our best wishes for success in the accomplishment of this high assignment.

On the instructions of the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, I have the honour to present to the Assembly the views and the proposals of Romania on the current world situation and on lines of action to achieve a radical change in international life and the solution of the problems prevailing in the world.

(Mr. Totu, Romania)

The evolution of world events reveals two diametrically opposed trends. On the one hand, as a result of the common endeavours of peoples everywhere and of the powerful action of public opinion for peace and disarmament - which also includes progressive political quarters in various countries - as well as the action of the United Nations, a number of changes have taken place. A relative balance has emerged between the forces which stand for détente, understanding and co-operation and those who oppose them. Thus during recent years important steps have been taken in the direction of disarmament and to the solution through negotiations of some international conflicts.

On the other hand, one could witness the intensification of interference in the internal affairs of other States in some governmental quarters aiming at political destabilization in certain countries and the imposition of terms of co-operation in line with their hegemonic interests. The arms race has been going on, especially in the field of the development and modernization of nuclear arms and of other arms of mass destruction. The doctrine of "nuclear deterrence" continues to be pursued by some States, which in practical terms means pursuance of the threat of force in international life. The militarization of outer space has already started.

The international situation is gravely affected by the world economic crisis which in recent years has further widened the gap between rich and poor countries. Hotbeds of tension and conflicts in some parts of the world continue to persist and some of them have grown worse.

Against this background the promotion of a new mentality with regard to inter-State relations and of a new approach for the solution of international

(Mr. Totu, Romania)

problems has become an objective necessity. Both should be based on unabated respect for the principles of relations between States, especially the full equality of rights, national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs, non-use or threat of use of force, and mutual advantage.

In the light of these principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter and other international documents, Romania proposes that the General Assembly should consider and adopt concrete measures concerning the observance by all States of the principles of peaceful coexistence among States with different social and political systems and the elimination of all acts and forms of interference aimed at changing the social and political system of other countries.

In our day, when the right of each people freely to choose its own way of social and economic development is internationally recognized, one cannot accept any form of relations of subordination. Neither can one accept any action by governmental circles to differentiate in relations with socialist countries depending on internal changes to be made by them which would respond to the ideological and political interests of western countries.

At the same time one should act firmly against the neo-colonial policy of imperialist forces aimed at keeping the developing countries in the state of being suppliers of cheap primary commodities and sources of high profits for international financial capital. To this end Romania proposes that the current session should consider and adopt concrete measures concerning the elimination in international economic relations of policies making the development of trade and economic co-operation conditional on the adoption of measures to privatize the public sector or impose free-market and other structural changes proper to the capitalist economy.

(Mr. Totu, Romania)

In line with the provisions of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, the United Nations should call upon all Governments to respect the right of each people to economic and social development according to its own historic and social conditions and its sovereign options in organizing domestic life. This is reflected in the independent policy of each State.

At the same time, in view of the provisions of the United Nations Charter whereby States undertook to develop their relations in a spirit of friendship and mutual respect, Romania believes that the United Nations should endeavour to involve the mass media in a broad co-operative effort in this area. To that end one should oppose any manifestation of a biased, misleading presentation of the conditions in various countries. This world forum should consider and adopt concrete measures concerning the:

"responsibility of States, governmental and non-governmental organizations as well as of mass media in promoting relations of friendship and co-operation, rapprochement and mutual respect among governments and peoples. To that end the coverage of real life in each country, of efforts made by their peoples for economic and social development shall be correct and fair".

The events that took place 50 years ago are there to prove that the duplicity of the great Powers, their policies of appeasement and compromises with fascism and nazism, the lack of unity of peoples and of anti-fascist and anti-war forces have cleared the way for the outbreak of a gigantic world conflagration.

Today, mindful of the lessons drawn from history, one cannot but be deeply worried by the obvious rise in the activities of some right-wing and neo-fascist organizations, and by racist, nationalistic-chauvinist propaganda for the revision of borders. That is why it is imperative for all social and political forces to mobilize themselves in order to ensure peace and security, prevent and oppose any act of aggression or revanchist and neo-nazi manifestations.

(Mr. Totu, Romania)

In view of the fact that the fundamental challenge of our time is the cessation of the arms race and resolute action towards disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, as well as the strengthening of the role of the United Nations in matters pertaining to peace and disarmament, Romania submits for consideration the following proposals and lines of action:

- The General Assembly should call on all Member States to put an end to the modernization and to the development of nuclear weapons and to renounce the doctrine of nuclear deterrence.
- All nuclear tests should be halted and an international conference be convened on a possible extension of the 1963 Treaty banning nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water to cover also the discontinuance of underground nuclear tests.
- The General Assembly should reiterate the appeal addressed to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America to conclude, at the earliest possible date, a treaty on a 50-per-cent reduction of their strategic nuclear armaments.
- All States participating in the Geneva Conference on Disarmament should commit themselves to negotiate prohibition of the production and stockpiling of chemical weapons along with the negotiations aimed at the total elimination of nuclear armaments.
- The General Assembly should launch an appeal calling for effective agreements at the Vienna negotiations to ensure, under strict and effective international control, a substantial reduction - by at least 50 per cent by the end of the century - in troops, conventional armaments and military expenditures.
- The General Assembly should proclaim the 1990-1999 decade as the Third Disarmament Decade. The goals of that Decade should be as follows: reduction and ultimate elimination of nuclear weapons; cessation of nuclear tests; renunciation

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of the militarization of outer space; creation of zones free of nuclear and chemical weapons in various regions of the world; substantial reduction of troops, conventional armaments and military expenditures.

In order to improve the international political climate, achieve détente and ensure peace, Romania resolutely stands for the cessation of all conflicts in different parts of the world on the basis of equitable solutions that would take into account the need strictly to observe the legitimate interests of peoples of the region.

In line with this principled position, Romania proposes the following:

- The United Nations should reaffirm the obligation assumed by Member States to renounce the use of force in their relations and unabatedly to respect the right of each people freely to choose its way of development without any interference from outside.
- The United Nations should ensure that any action aimed at the solution of various conflicts does not lead to the elimination of the progressive achievements of the peoples in the respective regions.
- The United Nations should support the effective organization at the earliest possible date of an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of all interested States, including the new State of Palestine and Israel, as well as of the permanent members of the Security Council.
- The provisions of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) should be fully implemented in order to proclaim the independence of Namibia this year.

As to the further involvement of United Nations in the resolution of various conflicts it is necessary, in our view, to resort to United Nations peace-keeping forces only when such operations are absolutely required. Also, the expenses should be limited as much as possible and be borne on a voluntary basis, primarily by the countries involved in the conflict and by developed countries.

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We reaffirm at this session too our solidarity with, and active support for, the position and initiatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea aimed at a peaceful, democratic and independent reunification of Korea.

In view of the serious condition of the world economy caused by the imperialist policy of inequality and of exploitation by unfair monetary and financial policies, Romania considers that an essential imperative for ensuring world progress and peace is the urgent solution of the external debt crisis affecting developed countries, the elimination of under-development and the establishment of equitable economic relations among States.

As a developing country, Romania is fully aware of the consequences of the current state of affairs in the world economy and, especially, of the heavy burden represented by external debt, which is one of the most serious problems facing developing countries.

By fully mobilizing its entire material and human potential, Romania has succeeded in liberating herself from this burden as of March 1989. This achievement has a profound significance for securing the economic and political independence of the country. In order to reach this goal our option was to redouble the efforts of investments during the decade. This made it possible to pay off the external debt without hampering at the same time the programmes of economic development or the living standard and the income of the population.

(Mr. Totu, Romania)

Based on our own experience, with direct knowledge of the practices of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and other major international banks - the economic and political conditions imposed by them, which have destabilizing effects on developing countries and cause the transfer of wealth from these countries to the main developing countries - we consider that the radical improvement of the international credit and interest system has become a matter of top priority calling for urgent action. To this effect, Romania presents the following proposals.

First, a maximum fixed interest rate of four to five per cent should be set up for credits granted by the IMF, the World Bank and other major banks. The amount of existing credits should be recalculated on the basis of a maximum interest rate of two to three per cent.

Secondly, when providing new credits, the IMF and the World Bank should renounce so-called colonialist-type programmes of economic adjustment. Especially urgent is the need to put an end to those conditions which are aimed at privatizing economic sectors and units. Romania considers that the IMF and the World Bank should channel their credits primarily to the public and co-operative sectors, in order to ensure the economic and social development of the countries concerned, to accelerate their progress and to improve the living conditions of their peoples. At the same time, it should be mentioned that in all countries the public sector provides more secure conditions for the financial institutions themselves.

Thirdly, the World Bank and other creditor banks should put an end to their practices by which the provision of new financial credits is conditioned on the taking under control of the production of primary commodities in developing countries. Such practices applied by major international banks ensure high profits for the financial capital while exploiting the wealth of developing countries.

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And, fourthly, one should set reasonable and equitable prices for the primary commodities supplied by developing countries in order to bridge the gap between commodity prices and the prices paid for imported, manufactured products. This would put an end to the transfer of wealth from developing to developed countries. Only last year, as a result of the system of credit and high interest rates charged by the IMF, the World Bank and other banks, as well as of the existing price system, the transfer of financial resources from developing to developed countries amounted to over \$32 billion.

Romania presents these proposals also in its capacity as a member of the IMF and of the World Bank, since it cannot accept being an accomplice to the neo-colonial policies applied by those financial institutions.

The revitalization of international co-operation and economic development, particularly of the developing countries, calls for an appropriate preparation of the special session of the General Assembly to be held in 1990. The special session should provide a framework for negotiations between developed and developing countries with a view to agreeing on global solutions for the problems of underdevelopment, international financial and trade relations, and the external debt of developing countries.

In the present international conditions, marked by serious problems generated by the arms race, underdevelopment and the continuation of the policy of force and interference in internal affairs, there is more than ever before a compelling need for the participation of all States, on equal footing, in the search for solutions to those problems. In line with Romania's firm stand in favour of disarmament and peace and of the democratic solution of all the complex issues of our times, the Romanian delegation will resolutely act along with other delegations so that through joint efforts and in an atmosphere of understanding and mutual respect the

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current session may open up sound perspectives for a better world. As recently emphasized by President Nicolae Ceaușescu, the implementation of radical changes in international relations requires that all peoples and progressive and democratic forces everywhere do their utmost in order to ensure the triumph of reason, the achievement of general disarmament, the peaceful settlement of conflicts through negotiations and the development of co-operation on equal terms among all nations.

Mr. FERNANDEZ ORDÓÑEZ (Spain) (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to express my sincere congratulations to Mr. Joseph Garba on his unanimous election as President of the General Assembly at this session. His qualifications and outstanding activity in this Organization are of fundamental value for the success of our work. I also wish to express my thanks for the excellent work done by his predecessor, Mr. Dante Caputo, and to reiterate our full support and deep gratitude to Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar for his untiring work at the head of the Secretariat.

Since the founding of the United Nations, we have probably never witnessed as we do today so many efforts to improve the international climate or so many changes in the framework that has governed international relations for the past 40 years. Ideological intransigence, confrontation as a means of diplomacy and indifference to the overwhelming economic, social and political problems of a significant part of mankind have started to give way in the face of mankind's growing aspirations to broaden the scope of coexistence, to lay the foundations of true peace and to consolidate the notion that the individual is the direct and primary beneficiary of all government action. Although, unfortunately, many bloody conflicts persist in various parts of the globe, in recent times the use of force as an instrument in international relations has been shown to be futile. International co-operation, in which multilateralism must, in our opinion, be a key factor, has now to a large

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extent reduced the level of confrontation and the number of situations that could lead to war. Owing to the globalization of current problems, we must also judiciously consider other dimensions which are equally essential to peace, and in which this increasingly vital international co-operation has not progressed as much as we would have liked. I refer, for example, to issues such as the differences between rich and poor countries, economic development, man's relationship with nature and the progressive deterioration of the environment, and phenomena such as terrorism and drug trafficking - to which I shall refer later in my statement.

First, with regard to the changes in Europe, the new climate in East-West relations - which has been observed in this Assembly - is encouraging. This is true not only with regard to the reduction of tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union and between the military alliances and their members, but also in relation to domestic changes in many countries, with progress in democratization and respect for human rights. In this context, I wish to highlight the processes under way in Poland and Hungary and in the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, not all Eastern European countries are following these desirable paths.

The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), with all its dimensions, has played a fundamental role in this whole process of European détente between countries and within countries. Moreover, it has been imbued with fresh vigour with the adoption of the Final Document of the Vienna meeting.

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We welcome the significant role played by the United Nations in the present international context. Recognition by its Member States of the undeniable value of multilateralism has considerably broadened the Organization's scope for manoeuvre and has enabled its efforts to be more fruitful. The growing political realism of many countries which in the past were reluctant to accept solutions that were not extreme; the progress towards more pragmatism in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries; the resolute action of the Security Council, reinforced by the new co-operation among its permanent members; and the intelligent work of the Secretary-General are basic elements of that stimulating process.

Nevertheless, we are still a long way from an international society in which violence, poverty and the violation of fundamental human rights are absent. The United Nations can do and has done much to bring us closer to that objective, but its action cannot be successful if, at the same time, those engaged in these conflicts do not have the clear political will to terminate them.

Security Council resolution 598 (1987), adopted over two years ago, laid the foundations for negotiating a solution to the bloody war between Iran and Iraq. It is true that since then the guns have been silenced, but peace in the region is fragile and little progress has been made towards a just and lasting solution reached through the full implementation of resolution 598 (1987). Therefore the process of negotiation now under way under the auspices of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative must be intensified, and I assure them once again of the full backing of my Government for their delicate mission.

In Afghanistan, the signing in April last year of the Geneva Agreements opened the way to a solution. This year the final withdrawal of Soviet troops has been completed, making a peaceful settlement of the problem possible. Efforts must nevertheless be intensified to achieve a lasting settlement based on the Afghan

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people's exercise of the right to self-determination without outside interference. In order to achieve that goal, a broadly based Government representing all the parties to the conflict must be formed and any refugees wishing to do so must be allowed to return. The continued efforts of the Secretary-General to achieve that peaceful settlement should be supported, and the General Assembly should renew his mandate.

The evolution of the situation in southern Africa over the past year has shown hopeful signs on some fronts. Unfortunately, the intolerable system of apartheid persists in South Africa. We trust that the recent political changes in South Africa will lead to a more realistic and intelligent attitude when the time comes to undertake the necessary process leading to a truly democratic, pluralistic and non-racist society in that country. Once more we demand the lifting of the state of emergency, the legalization of all political parties and groups that oppose apartheid, and the immediate release of Nelson Mandela and the other political prisoners.

The historic process that started in Namibia last April has our unconditional support. We are confident that the process of independence will be completed within the agreed schedule and we reiterate our full confidence in and support for the Secretary-General and his Special Representative regarding their mission in Namibia. Spain is participating by means of a large contingent in the United Nations Transition Assistance Group. I should like to place on record here our determination to provide financial backing for the new country.

We welcomed with great satisfaction the Gbadolite agreements complementing those which, towards the end of last year, made it possible to start the gradual withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. We trust that there will be a total cessation of hostilities, which will lead that country to national reconciliation,

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free of foreign forces. At the same time, we support the contacts established in Mozambique with a view to ending the violence. We call for the immediate cessation of all outside attempts to destabilize that country. We also express our hope that the processes begun in Namibia and Angola will have a positive influence in Mozambique and the southern region as a whole, particularly in the front-line States.

The withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia constitutes a positive but insufficient step. We regret the suspension of the Paris Conference, where greater flexibility from the parties involved in the conflict could have been expected. Efforts must continue in pursuit of a settlement allowing for the establishment of a broadly based Government of national reconciliation that will enable the country to face its future reconstruction with optimism, with no possibility of a return to a recent past which inflicted so much suffering on the Cambodian people.

We have followed with interest the proposals by the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to engage in bilateral talks. President Roh's initiative submitted at this forum on 18 October of last year was particularly praiseworthy. However, tension on the peninsula still prevails. This can be overcome only through intensified dialogue and greater flexibility.

The tragic events that took place in China deeply moved large sectors of international public opinion. We are following the evolution of the situation with the greatest interest and we hope that the process of reform and openness in all its aspects, including the political, will gain strength shortly, in order to satisfy the Chinese people's legitimate aspirations to liberty and democracy.

The Maghreb is a region of special interest to Spain. My Government has already expressed its satisfaction at the historic agreement reached at the summit in Marrakesh, at which the Maghreb Arab Union was set up.

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We must increase the co-operation and efforts aimed at solving the Western Saharan problem. Spain is following developments in this respect with justifiable concern. The positive steps taken last year - and particularly the acceptance in principle by the parties involved of the Secretary-General's proposals for the holding of a referendum on self-determination in satisfactory conditions, under United Nations supervision - gave a great impetus to the process, which nevertheless has not yet finally crystallized. Spain, which is providing all the necessary technical co-operation, continues to support unreservedly the efforts aimed at unblocking the process. The pursuit of direct contacts between Morocco and the POLISARIO Front could contribute significantly to that.

The Cyprus problem has yet to be solved despite the renewed efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative. The interruption of the intercommunal dialogue is a cause for concern. We state once again that the solution must be based on respect for the unity, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus, pursuant to the relevant United Nations resolutions.

In the Middle East, prospects for achieving a just solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict remain uncertain. The situation in the occupied territories continues to deteriorate dramatically. We deplore the measures of collective punishment carried out by Israel, which have merely increased the already great suffering of the population. We appeal to the Israeli authorities to abide by the Security Council resolutions on the subject and to respect the provisions of the 1949 Fourth Geneva Convention, which is fully applicable to the occupied territories.

We believe that the permanent members of the Security Council have an important part to play in achieving a rapprochement between the parties to the conflict and facilitating the convening of the International Peace Conference. The

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Palestine Liberation Organization must participate in that Conference, which we still believe to be the appropriate framework for bringing about the opening of direct negotiations between the parties involved.

The guidelines of the policy of the Twelve are reflected in the Madrid Declaration referred to by the current Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mr. Dumas. We trust that the appeal that we made in Madrid to the parties involved lead to peace and will not be disregarded. President Mubarak's efforts to bring about talks between Israel and a Palestinian delegation deserve our support, with a view to an overall, just and lasting solution based on the principle of peace for territories.

In that context, our call for moderation and good sense in Lebanon is even more peremptory. There has been a tragic deterioration in the crisis. Violence has claimed thousands of innocent lives, including that of the Ambassador of Spain in Beirut, Mr. Pedro de Aristegui. We confirm our backing for the work of the Tripartite Committee. Once more we call upon all the parties to the conflict to co-operate unreservedly by immediately establishing and respecting a total cease-fire, which will enable the necessary internal reforms to be implemented and make peace possible in a sovereign, independent Lebanon, free of foreign forces.

Central America has continued to be the focus of the international community's special attention. The Security Council has given explicit backing to the Central American agreements. Over the course of recent months we have had clear evidence of the political will of those directly involved to overcome their differences and find solutions through dialogue. The El Salvador agreements reached last February and the recent Tela summit conference of Presidents outlined a very positive set of initiatives.

That progress also owes a great deal to the tenacious action of the Secretary-General and his collaborators.

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At the express wish of the Central American Presidents, the United Nations is playing an important role in this process. The time-limits foreseen in the Tela Agreements have been changed to speed up the process. We trust that the Security Council will adopt the necessary resolutions to ensure that this process will be set in motion as quickly as possible.

Spain is especially hopeful about this process, which it has encouraged from the beginning. It has given - and remains willing to give - all the necessary help within its power. Our will is clear. There is no alternative to this framework for peace. We will support with concrete actions, not just with words, all efforts in this direction. In this connection, I wish to remind you of the support provided by the European Community to the programme for Central American regional economic integration. In this respect, we welcome the discussions which have already begun between the Government of El Salvador and the FMLN, and we trust that these may lead to complete national reconciliation.

In this context I would like to discuss peace-keeping operations. The United Nations is playing an ever greater role in the search for solutions to regional conflicts. We are pleased that it is receiving the necessary backing from the Security Council. Spain has decided to participate in various operations. It has supplied military observers for the United Nations Angola Verification Mission and a significant part of the air component of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group. Spain is also willing to co-operate in the operations which will presumably be launched in Central America.

The United Nations has contributed decisively to the process of decolonization, which, with the forthcoming independence of Namibia, is approaching its conclusion. However, some cases are still pending. One of them is that of Western Sahara, to which I have already referred. East Timor is another. The

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start of talks between Portugal and Indonesia is a positive element towards a solution in conformity with the principles of the United Nations.

With respect to the Malvinas Islands, we have always supported direct negotiations between Argentina and the United Kingdom as a means of solving all outstanding problems between the two countries, including that of sovereignty. There have recently been new expectations of dialogue and we hope that the talks to be started by the two countries next month will lead to progress in this direction. We are pleased that both countries, with which we have friendly relations, have chosen Madrid as the place for the holding of these talks.

A particularly anachronistic colonial situation persists on the European continent, which affects the territorial integrity of my own country. No one is unaware of Spanish sensitivities in connection with the question of Gibraltar. We have chosen the path of negotiation as recommended by the General Assembly, with a view to concluding the process of decolonization through the restoration of our territorial integrity, while at the same time preserving the interests of the population of Gibraltar as well as those of the population of the "Campo de Gibraltar".

As regards disarmament, confidence and transparency are, and we hope, will continue to be crucial elements in the process of East-West détente. We must continue to seek the reduction of the existing imbalances in the various categories of weapons as confidence- and security-building measures. In this process of enhancing security through disarmament and the reduction of levels of armaments, verification must play a fundamental role in order to ensure that agreements are complied with and also to avoid arousing suspicions.

Spain welcomes the progress made in Europe in the field of arms control and disarmament since the last General Assembly. At our last summit meeting the countries members of the Atlantic alliance stated our intention to conclude the

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negotiations on conventional weapons by the mid-1990s, thus contributing to increasing the security not only of the European continent but also of the international community as a whole.

As regards nuclear weapons and the strategic arms reduction talks (START) we trust that by 1990 the negotiations, including the current ones, will be concluded. To that end, the results of the conversations held last week in Wyoming are encouraging.

The question of arms control and disarmament must not be limited, however, to the East-West dimension. The recent Paris Conference stressed the urgent need for the rapid conclusion of the treaty for the complete and global elimination of chemical weapons. The proposals made by President Bush at the current session and Mr. Shevardnadze's positive response to them are encouraging in this respect.

On the question of human rights we have seen undeniable progress made in some countries, although in many others there has been stagnation, if not regression. We must prevent the economic difficulties encountered in some democracies which tend to perpetuate certain violations of human rights. The task of international codification in relevant aspects of the protection of human rights has recently been considerable, and this gives us great satisfaction.

In particular, I should like to express Spain's support for the draft Convention on the Rights of the Child, which we hope will be adopted at the current session, and the draft Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights aimed at the abolition of the death penalty.

Nevertheless, we continue to think that rather than concentrating on creating new international instruments, we must emphasize the proper application of those already in existence. We must strengthen the United Nations mechanisms for the identification and eradication of violations of human rights. In particular, we

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consider highly desirable both the strengthening of the Commission on Human Rights and increased co-operation with it on the part of Member States.

I wish to refer to some items which continue to be on the United Nations agenda and which, unfortunately, will continue to be for some time. First, with reference to human rights - in regard to which there has been undeniable progress in many countries, although in others the matter has been at a standstill and in still others it has been retrograde - we must not allow the economic difficulties suffered by some democracies to perpetuate certain violations of human rights.

I wish to highlight our particular satisfaction with the strengthening of democracy and freedom taking place in Latin America. We are convinced that the forthcoming elections in Chile will lead to the full restoration of freedom in that country. However, the urgent economic problems, which in some countries coincide with the advancement of freedom, democracy and human rights, have given rise to a new phenomenon: economically poor democracies.

The latest report of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) points out that there are three problems that have been fueling one another and leading to a vicious circle: external debt, domestic financial instability, and social and economic stagnation. A number of Latin American countries have failed in their attempts to stabilize and revive their economies.

The burden of debt is strangling many countries. There can be little optimism about the expectations for growth and about inflation in the Latin American countries next year. Patience, tenacity and imagination will be required. We need to build a new global framework for the purpose of redesigning the debt strategy, while at the same time approaching each case individually. The objective is not merely to attain economic growth in those countries, but rather to sustain its development.

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Here we must work on two fronts. True, the debtor countries must continue to strive to increase the competitiveness and flexibility of their economies, without dissembling the cost to society. The international community must facilitate the obtaining of adequate external financing through a combination of three elements: repatriation of capital, the reduction of debt and of its servicing and new loans.

I should like to point out the important role of the Brady Plan concerning debt reduction. Here, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank must work together: designing and supervising the adjustment and growth programmes and also contributing to reinforcing debt reduction transactions through the channelling of new funds.

Spain has proposed that a European guarantee fund be set up in the European Community. This initiative was discussed in the Council at Madrid. The European Community has become even more aware of the magnitude and seriousness of the debt problem, as was seen at the meeting we had in Grenada with the Permanent Mechanism for Consultation and Political Co-operation, the Group of Eight.

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The main goal is balanced economic development for the less favoured countries. Price oscillations and problems affecting some commodities do not help to achieve this goal. These commodities are of great importance in the export earnings of a large proportion of developing countries. We must regulate the commodities market, bearing in mind the component of co-operation and development aid. We are pleased about the coming into force of the Common Commodities Fund, putting an end to the deadlock which has lasted for 10 years.

We are also pleased, within the context of international trade, by the unblocking of the Uruguay Round.

Finally, we should recall here that the high level of indebtedness and the fall of export earnings in commodity markets have in the case of sub-Saharan African countries been combined with the advance of desertification, cyclical droughts and natural disasters to create a tragic situation. We must support, and are doing so, the various financial initiatives that have been advanced by various international organs, at the same time reinforcing the policy of co-operation with the African continent by giving significant economic stimulus for co-operation with those countries.

I should now like to make a very specific reference to North-South relations within the context of the United Nations.

Next April the General Assembly will hold a special session on international economic co-operation and the revitalization of economic growth and development in the developing countries. We believe that this will be an ideal occasion to achieve, among ourselves, a realistic economic consensus on a world scale. Work in this direction must proceed along with the preparations for a new international development strategy for the fourth United Nations development decade, the launching of a new substantive programme of action for the less developed countries,

(Mr. Fernandez Ordoñez, Spain)

at the Paris Conference in September 1990, and, lastly, the International Conference on the Environment and Development, in 1992.

In referring to the environment, I should like to point out that international co-operation of a new kind is necessary in trying to solve another problem that affects nothing less than living conditions on our planet. The recent Hague Declaration, adopted at a conference at which countries all over the world were represented, states that as the problem is planetary, its solution can only be conceived at a world level and that it has three characteristics: it is vital, urgent and global.

The holding in 1992 of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development should be focused on an analysis of these problems, apart from co-operation between the North and the South, and hence on consideration of the environmental factor in programmes of development aid.

The Conference will of course deal with questions of world dimensions, such as the greenhouse effect, protection of the ozone layer, the trans-border movements of wastes, and other things. These affect all countries but have major implications for the developing countries, both economically and financially, as well as with respect to technological support and transfers. It is an enormously delicate subject, and any solution therefore must be based on mutual respect and co-operation in a joint effort.

Spain agrees with the Brundtland report recommendation that environmental problems be tackled while taking the different regional situations into account.

I would recall that the European Community has already taken some important steps in some respects for preservation of the global environment. Among these general problems I have referred to, which form part of the new agenda of the United Nations, as I put it, I would like to add a few words about terrorism and drug trafficking.

(Mr. Fernandez Ordoñez, Spain)

In spite of the efforts of the international community terrorism still gravely endangers the lives of countries and coexistence among nations. This threat manifests itself individually in each country, but it is a collective threat. Terrorist attacks are an act of aggression against the whole international community. We therefore have to strengthen international co-operation. Sensitive to this need, the General Assembly succeeded in achieving an important consensus against terrorism in resolution 40/61. Today, it is our task to consolidate and develop it.

We cannot talk of terrorism without talking about drug trafficking, they are so often connected. In his annual report the Secretary-General reminds us that "the monetary value of drug trafficking has recently surpassed that of international trade in oil and is second only to the arms trade". (A/44/1, p. 23)

We are, then, faced with a problem of tremendous ramifications. The way to fight this threat is through concrete international co-operation, accompanied by reinforcement of each country's domestic measures.

The International Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs is a far-reaching instrument. All Member States should adhere to it without delay.

We should also make progress in harmonizing and bringing national legislations closer to each other. There are matters that must be resolved urgently. We must activate this process. The 1988 Convention can serve as a framework of reference.

As a result of that Convention, the importance of the so-called precursors for drug synthesis has been made clear. Precursor-producing countries must make an effort to control their exports and thus co-operate in repression of the illegal drug trade.

Drug consuming countries also are responsible for the drug-trafficking phenomenon and must carry out programmes and action directed at decreasing domestic

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demand and thus reducing the traffic in drugs. For some years Spain has been developing educational and preventive measures to this end.

We should not forget, either, on this major theme of narcotic trafficking, actions designed to investigate large capitals, properties and the bank accounts of alleged drug traffickers, actions that have made possible a qualitative change in the fight against this scourge. The world banking system shares responsibility for the solution of this problem. We therefore ask for its co-operation. Similarly, it is necessary for the so-called tax havens to understand that hiding information related to business derived from drug trafficking is tantamount to collaborating in one of the most serious acts of aggression against mankind.

We have to continue pursuing action in support of and in co-operation with Governments and peoples of coca-producing countries, helping their economic development and generously promoting alternatives to cultivation of this substance.

The action taken by the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control has proved effective for this purpose.

I should like to stress that there has been exemplary action, which we support, by Colombia, which should receive an adequate response from international bodies in this cause. In Colombia what is at stake is the capacity of the State based on the rule of law to stand up to a group of criminals who are attempting to destroy its basic structures.

In conclusion, I should like to make a brief observation. As I have said throughout this statement, international co-operation must now go beyond the mere fundamental pursuit of peace. We must improve the quality of international life, so that we also improve the quality of national life, and above all the personal life of each individual. We must strive to achieve a new world in which all men

(Mr. Fernandez Ordoñez, Spain)

and women count. This Assembly and the United Nations as a whole, will face not fewer but more problems. I trust they will contribute significantly to their solution.

There are some old questions among these new problems, often urgent. We have spoken of poverty and marginalization, and of the threats of drug trafficking and terrorism, which threaten our whole planet and the environment. The time left to us before these problems become catastrophic is not without limits; it is, indeed, rather short. The solution lies in our own hands if we are willing to co-operate. Thus, Spain believes we are witnessing a new era in the history of the United Nations.

Mr. SOLANA (Mexico) (interpretation from Spanish): On behalf of the Government of Mexico, I congratulate the President on his election to preside over the work of this forty-fourth session of the General Assembly.

To the Secretary-General of our Organization, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, we again extend special thanks for his positive, judicious and persevering work at the head of the United Nations. Thanks to his diligence, no one can now question the Organization's decisive role in international relations, as the essential catalyst in the diplomatic activity of resolving through negotiation and dialogue the conflicts threatening our collective peace and security.

This is the first time the Government of Carlos Salinas de Gortari, President of Mexico, has taken part in the Assembly's general debate. On his behalf, I again express my country's commitment to the purposes and principles of our Organization. Mexico is a founding Member of the United Nations. We have invariably supported its activities. The principles embodied in its Charter and its guiding purposes are fully in accord with our firm belief in an international community of nations, equal before the law and committed in peace and solidarity to the goal of growth with justice. We believe in the United Nations, because it enshrines the need to ensure that reason prevails over force. In a world still marked by the inequality and despair of so many, the United Nations is a clear example that we as human beings are capable of working together for a better common future, regardless of ideologies and passing interests.

Over the past few months the international community has witnessed changes pointing to the end of an era of confrontation. For Mexico it is encouraging that the stereotypes of rivalry have been replaced by new concepts of co-operation and understanding. These advances teach us that solving the grave problems confronting international life is not an impossible objective.

(Mr. Solana, Mexico)

The Mexican Government warmly welcomes the conclusion of the Tela agreements, signed by the Presidents of Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador and Nicaragua. We unconditionally support the efforts made to find a lasting solution to a conflict which has bled white the Central American isthmus. Tela is the culmination of an arduous and complex negotiating process. We urge the international community to support the agreements and to ensure that they are not obstructed by interests from outside the area.

The responsibilities entrusted to the United Nations in the process of bringing peace to Central America are clearly of the utmost importance. The success of the United Nations elections observer mission in Central America and of the International Verification and Follow-Up Commission will largely depend on the co-operation they receive from Member States and on full respect for the wishes of the region's Heads of State.

Mexico will continue to extend its firm support for the efforts of the Central American Presidents to achieve peace, since peace is vital for the development of the peoples and the consolidation of democracy in the region.

The accomplishments on the political front have not meant parallel advances in the international economic arena. While States have committed their power and prestige to the solution of political conflicts, they are seeking to correct the profound economic imbalances by turning loose market forces, forgetting that those are the principal cause of the political tensions in many regions of the world.

The economic gap between North and South is wider than it was a decade ago, and we have done little to reverse the trend. For Latin America this has been a period of outright stagnation. The enormous transfer of resources to the developed world which we have made during this time has tested our peoples to the limit and threatens to destabilize our political institutions.

(Mr. Solana, Mexico)

We cannot be ambiguous in confronting the problems facing us. It is now necessary to apply the same dedication to correcting economic imbalances as we have applied to the correction of political imbalances. Notwithstanding some differences of approach, there is general agreement that we are now at a watershed in world history. The next century must be spared the agonies of war and the extreme poverty that still afflicts millions of human beings, if liberty is to flourish and democracy is to have a real chance to survive.

How can the United Nations contribute to shaping the twenty-first century? The decade of the 1990s will be a crucial stage in fashioning that new reality. The agenda for action is long and complex, but Mexico considers that there are four major themes around which our thoughts and actions may converge.

The first theme is the democratization of international society. The Organization's institutional structure will have adequately to reflect the profound changes and the multi-polarity which characterize current international society. We continue to be constrained by the system devised by the victors in the Second World War, in spite of the fact that we are living in a very different world, whose make-up has been radically changed by the widespread process of decolonization and the redistribution of economic and financial power at the international level.

We believe that we shall be able to entrust our Secretary-General with the task of closely examining the different proposals that have been formulated for reorganizing the Organization's structure and operation, as well as the distribution of authority between the Security Council and the General Assembly, in order to reach a consensus which will give a new thrust to the Organization so that it can efficiently carry out its future responsibilities.

(Mr. Solana, Mexico)

The United Nations urgently requires our effective support. Mexico urges every country with financial contributions outstanding to make them immediately. The financial crisis is so grave that it could bring down the United Nations at any moment. It is incomprehensible that day after day we ask the Organization to shoulder more responsibilities and yet we fail to provide it with the means to do so.

The second theme is the need for the United Nations to intervene in problems of economic co-operation and development. The Organization cannot be left out of this great effort to create a more equitable international economic situation.

(Mr. Solana, Mexico)

Mexico vigorously supports the holding of a special session of the General Assembly for economic co-operation and revitalization. The developing countries know that the solution to our problems depends fundamentally on ourselves. We have lost much time in talks trying to resolve these problems, with very tenuous results. It is certainly true that changing prices and financial fluctuations have been cruelly unfavourable for us in recent years, but there is no doubt that the internal effort of each country is the fundamental and determining factor in correcting our present situation. Let us begin by adjusting and modernizing our economies and making them efficient. Only in this way will we be able to increase our productivity and international competitiveness to the benefit of our peoples. Let us accept that the future of each of our nations depends precisely on what each one of them does.

By means of a wide range of concerted action and dialogue between the various sectors of our society, Mexico is resolutely making progress in an effort towards structural change, which entails sacrifice and discipline on the part of the Mexican people. The result has been encouraging; it has been reflected in a significant reduction in inflation and an economy confident of its future.

The correction of our economies is indispensable, but it is not a sufficient condition. There is no internal adjustment, however deep and lasting, which can bear fruit unless the country in question encounters a favourable international climate. The new international development strategy will have to put forward ambitious yet feasible and realistic objectives and goals. To this end, it will have to be designed in keeping with the efforts for co-operation and for maximization of the benefits of interdependence, which must in no case mean a loss of sovereignty.

The revitalization of international economic co-operation is urgent. It is the developed countries - those creditor nations benefiting from the net transfer

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of capital - which must take the necessary steps to correct the imbalances in this area. It is up to them to realize that when structural adjustments are made, they mean growth and prosperity, and not frustration as has been the case in many of our societies. Prescriptions for good economic management and financial discipline cannot be measured with one yardstick for the North and another for the South. It was encouraging to hear various representatives of the industrialized countries refer to this problem of the great economic difference between North and South. We are sure that these statements imply that a commitment on this will be made in this new era of the United Nations we are witnessing.

The third key issue for society today is the commitment to deal with the international critical problems of our times with a genuine sense of shared responsibility. At best, interdependence should mean our ability to turn international co-operation into an effective tool to encourage economic and social progress and take joint action to solve problems of interest to mankind. Shared responsibility is based on the recognition of the legal equality of States and on strict respect for their sovereign decisions. This is the only legitimate framework for North-South dialogue.

With this spirit of solidarity, we shall be able to cope successfully with the common defence of human rights, with environmental protection problems and the fight against drug addiction and trafficking.

For the Government of Mexico, the defence of fundamental freedoms is of particular importance. We will continue in our resolute support for the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Commission on Human Rights with a view to guaranteeing effective protection for the rights inherent in the human condition. The United Nations will also have to devote greater efforts to the consideration of women's rights and the protection of children, the most vulnerable victims of social violence and economic injustice.

(Mr. Solana, Mexico)

Ecological issues are obviously global in scale. The need for all nations to join efforts, every type of effort, make the United Nations the forum we need to deal with these urgent matters so vital to our future.

An understanding that revitalizing growth in the developing countries is indispensable for achieving adequate protection of the environment is crucial. It should not be overlooked that the principal cause of ecological imbalances and the solutions for them lie with those who have the most, with those who pollute the most and emit toxic substances, with those who consume the most fuel and have consumed the most fuel in the past. It is those very countries which have the most resources to combat environmental degradation.

The new dimension of the problem and its international nature require a wide-ranging and intense process of debate and discussion. The objective will be to achieve concrete commitments in keeping with the responsibilities and capabilities of each country. The International Conference on Environment and Development proposed for 1992 will be an extremely important exercise towards those ends.

The demand for narcotics and psychotropic substances and their production, traffic and illicit consumption threaten the physical health of peoples and the political, economic, social and cultural structures of States. This is another of the global and interdependent problems of our times, and eradicating it requires efficient and constructive action through international co-operation which unflinchingly respects the sovereignty and cultural identities of nations. We therefore welcome the signing of the United Nations Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances in Vienna in December last year. We hope that the signatories will immediately decide to ratify it, and we urge those countries which have not yet ratified it to do so now. We also view with admiration and great respect the very valiant efforts being deployed by the

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Government of Colombia to combat the drug traffic so resolutely in its country. The war in Colombia is not just a war involving Colombians; it should be a war waged by all countries of the world, as the problem is everyone's problem.

Mexico, for its part, is making a significant effort to combat drug trafficking. We know, though, that the struggle will be in vain unless there is a parallel campaign to combat consumption and against all the processes which finance and encourage drug abuse. To combat only drug production or traffic without at the same time resolutely tackling consumption will achieve only a shift in production sites and trafficking channels.

The fourth topic deserving of our attention is the reappraisal of the function of the State as a protagonist in economic processes and as agent of social well-being. Redirecting the function of the State to concentrate its efforts to serving the least protected sectors in our societies, which are undoubtedly in the majority, does not mean diminishing its power of governance and transformation. The demands for justice coming from developing societies must be channelled by the State and its legitimate representatives. The State must participate as a directing and an economic agent and should do so efficiently, productively and competitively. To consider the role of the State in these times in a more wide-ranging and realistic manner, in both North and South, is a fundamental task, and one which we think should be carried out by our Organization.

Whether on its own initiative or in response to express requests, the United Nations today is an indispensable part in negotiating and implementing agreements to put an end to protracted conflicts throughout the world. However, there is still no peace in various regions, and the threat these conflicts represent is a real danger.

(Mr. Solana, Mexico)

In the Middle East, Cambodia, Namibia and Central America our Organization takes the leadership in or supports delicate conciliation efforts at establishing peace. Mexico will continue to give its support to those efforts, upon the success of which lies the possibility of achieving a better world.

Mexico attaches the utmost importance to the question of general and complete disarmament. Activities undertaken by the Group of Six, an organization which at first was erroneously judged as utopian, have already achieved concrete results. The repeated appeals of the Group to the nuclear Powers to stop the arms race have been well received and have hastened the climate of détente in which we live today, as well as the agreements reached by the super-Powers.

I shall now refer to the question of general and complete disarmament. Mexico unequivocally supports the complete cessation of all nuclear weapons testing as demanded by the majority of mankind. Together with Peru, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Venezuela and Yugoslavia, we are taking the initiative in presenting an amendment to the agreement prohibiting nuclear-arms testing in the atmosphere, outer space and under water, which has received the general support of the international community. Encouraging progress has also been made towards eliminating the terrible threat of chemical weapons. It is very satisfying to note the consolidation of the negotiating process between the countries of the Warsaw Pact and those of the Atlantic Alliance concerning the reduction of conventional armed forces.

We are now living through one of the most promising times in the life of our Organization since it was founded in 1945. We are nearing the end of a period of mistrust and ill will which, for more than 40 years, blocked possibilities for agreement and negotiations.

(Mr. Solana, Mexico)

The artificial barriers of the cold war are crumbling on all sides. We are entering a more open world, one with better communications and more receptive to the need for human rights to be respected and for all to participate in the building of democratic government institutions. Myths that for years have served only to hide injustice are no longer acceptable. Peoples around the world have decided to take their destinies into their own hands.

This flourishing of determination must increase our spirit of tolerance and our concern for legality. Demands throughout the societies of the world that democratic institutions be increased and improved are being channelled through the existing structures of each country. Those voices can no longer be ignored. Each nation has the capacity to draw upon the lessons of its own history and experience, which will tell it how to modernize its institutions in order to strengthen its sovereignty.

This climate of change throughout the world has made us aware that the solutions to global problems cannot be left in the hands of only a few countries, however powerful they may be. Halting the deterioration of the environment, combatting drug addiction and trafficking and predicting natural disasters are tasks requiring multilateral action. The Assembly must move towards recognizing that the United Nations is more necessary than ever given the interdependence of the modern world.

We cannot take pride in what we have achieved if we do not accept that the growth of the developing countries is an issue that affects us all. This requires a fresh approach to international co-operation, since only social and economic progress in the developing world can guarantee security and stability in the twenty-first century. The persistence of stagnation and poverty in the world's most populous regions is the most serious challenge we face. Let us see to it that

(Mr. Solana, Mexico)

this session of the Assembly marks the beginning of a period in which the international community as a whole makes a clear commitment effectively and realistically to take up and meet this challenge.*

Mr. BOOH-BOOH (Cameroon) (interpretation from French): Mr. President, your country, Nigeria, shares a large number of common interests and affinities with Cameroon, which need no emphasizing now. Your presence in the President's seat at this late hour is clear evidence of the links between and the shared concerns of our two countries and peoples. Your personal interest in the problems of our continent, Africa, is shown by your dynamic action as Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid.

On behalf of Cameroon, I should like to congratulate you most warmly on your unanimous election to the presidency of the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly. Your qualities and experience guarantee the success of the work of this session. I should like to take this opportunity to assure you of the constant co-operation of the Cameroon delegation.

I should also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Dante Caputo, who, throughout his term of office, so skilfully discharged his responsibilities.

I should also like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, Javier Perez de Cuellar. We should like again to state our confidence in him and our support for his tireless and effective efforts on behalf of peace and international co-operation.

Our time is one of interdependence and solidarity, which are so indispensable between nations, regions and peoples. The common destiny of mankind in the face of the many dangers threatening all countries, large or small, rich or poor, has

* The President returned to the Chair.

(Mr. Booh-Booh, Cameroon)

become an inescapable reality of our time. Also inescapable are the fundamental aspirations of all nations and peoples concerning their own welfare. Thanks to the tremendous progress of science and technology, particularly communications, our planet has become a global village, as will the whole human community. We must therefore learn without delay the lessons of this common destiny of mankind.

The reduction of tension throughout the world in the search for solutions to the various local conflicts in various regions are all factors which can create an international environment that is stable and secure and that favours economic and social development. That is why bilateral and multilateral negotiations on disarmament, security and development, must be stepped up, as must be efforts to extinguish the various existing hot-beds of tension. In this regard, we continue to encourage the new climate of dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States. We hope to see this climate, which has already produced appreciable results, become even more marked in the interests of those two great nations and the world at large. We welcome the undertaking of the two super-Powers to continue to report to the international community, and particularly to the Conference on Disarmament, on the progress and results of their bilateral negotiations.

(Mr. Booh-Booh, Cameroon)

We note with satisfaction the willingness of all States to intensify their negotiations on the crucial questions of disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament. In this regard, the holding, in Paris this January, of the International Conference on the prohibition of chemical and bacteriological weapons and recent progress in the Conference on Disarmament on work on an international convention on this important question are encouraging elements in the process of disarmament, which Cameroon fully supports. This optimism is confirmed by the proposals made recently from this rostrum by the President of the United States and by the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union.

As representatives are aware, over the last few years my country has submitted a number of proposals on strengthening the role of the United Nations in the disarmament field, on rationalization of the work of the First Committee, and on consolidation of regional peace and security in Africa. We are encouraged by the Assembly's attentive reception of these proposals. We hope that they will contribute to concrete, action-oriented decisions.

In this context, we want to stress the decisive and fundamental role played by United Nations peace-keeping forces in the process of the settlement of various conflicts throughout the world, which earned them the Nobel Peace Prize last year. Indeed, the implementation and management of peace-keeping operations are among the central activities of this Organization. It is important, therefore, for Member States to provide the Secretary-General with the necessary administrative machinery for the centralization and following up of all questions relating to military forces and observer groups deployed by the Organization.

That is why my country proposes the creation, within the Secretariat, of an integrated administrative structure for the co-ordination and effective carrying out of the various missions and operations decided upon by the Security Council for the maintenance of peace. This is the appropriate place to express our

(Mr. Booh-Booh, Cameroon)

satisfaction at the consensus that has emerged as to the need to strengthen the role of the United Nations and international negotiating machinery.

The establishment of international dialogue, which is an essential element in the universal search for peace, has made it possible to take dynamic and concrete initiatives to facilitate the settlement of many regional problems.

In southern Africa, the process of Namibian independence, which was launched on 1 April 1989 by the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), is now under way. It is the duty of the United Nations to work tirelessly for the success of this process. We must make it impossible for South Africa - which has accustomed us to trickery, bad faith and all kinds of subterfuges - to interfere with the functioning or distort the results of this process.

At this crucial stage in the history of the Territory, Cameroon, which is a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, calls upon the international community to render all necessary assistance to the South West Africa People's Organization, which is the legitimate representative of the Namibian people. Above all, we should give thought to the provision of high-quality assistance to the young Namibian nation to enable it to bring about its independence and development in the best possible conditions. Cameroon wishes to announce its readiness to strengthen even further its aid to the Namibian people - to establish, consolidate and develop with that country, when it becomes independent, reciprocal and mutually advantageous co-operation of all kinds.

The new peace dynamic launched recently in Angola and in Mozambique, thanks to the efforts of Africa, should be strengthened in order to permit those two countries to preserve their sovereignty and to devote themselves wholly to the economic and social development they need so urgently.

(Mr. Booh-Booh, Cameroon)

In South Africa, the odious system of apartheid persists. The most elementary freedom of movement is denied to the majority black population simply because of their colour. The state of emergency is being stepped up. Nelson Mandela and many other leaders of the anti-apartheid movement are still in prison. Beyond the ostensibly conciliatory attitude that the racist régime authorities have been adopting for some time now, there are no grounds for assuming that Pretoria is ready to abandon its policy of apartheid and its acts of aggression against the front-line States.

We should not lose sight of the fact that this situation, which is explosive in the short term, could get out of control and become catastrophic for the world, in view of the nuclear capacity that has been acquired by the racist South African régime, as well as its arrogance and its thirst for power and blind domination. The international community should not hesitate to use the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter to prevail upon South Africa to co-operate with the United Nations - not to reform the system of apartheid but to eradicate it. We appeal urgently to all those whose complicity of all kinds has hitherto enabled South Africa to defy the international community with impunity to participate actively in dismantling apartheid and bringing about a new era of peace and security in that part of the world.

As to the other hot-beds of tension, we must commit ourselves to pragmatic and realistic solutions in accordance with the spirit and principles of our Charter.

On Western Sahara, we should spare no effort to make it possible for the initiatives that are under way to yield positive results under the aegis of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

On the conflict between Chad and Libya, we are happy about the observance of the cease-fire, which has now been in force for more than a year, and the

(Mr. Booh-Booh, Cameroon)

willingness of the two parties to continue their dialogue under the auspices of the ad hoc committee of the OAU, of which Cameroon is a member, with a view to normalizing their relations. The recent agreement between Algiers and the two countries is undoubtedly the decisive stage in the peaceful settlement of this dispute. It is our great hope that the terms of this agreement will be put into effect as soon as possible so that a new era of peace and co-operation may be established between these two sister nations of our continent.

In the horn of Africa, Ethiopia and Somalia have normalized their relations. Other mediation efforts to achieve peace are under way in the subregion.

With regard to the Middle East, we welcome the signs of positive developments and hope that they will soon bring about a restoration of peace in the region. We must gird ourselves to search, together, for peace there. Cameroon, which has excellent relations with both Israel and the Arab States, believes that this peace requires recognition of the fundamental right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to their own homeland, and also the equally fundamental right of the State of Israel to live in peace within internationally recognized frontiers. The time has come for the international community to take the necessary steps to convene the International Conference on this subject.

As to other parts of the world where hot-beds of tension persist, whether in Central America or in Asia, the principles of international law enshrined in our Charter - non-interference in the internal affairs of States; peaceful settlement of disputes; non-use of force in international relations - should be accepted by all as the basis for politically negotiated solutions. In this context, we support the Tela Agreements with a view to the normalization of relations between the countries of Central America. We also hope for continuation of peace negotiations on Cambodia within the framework and in the spirit of the recent international conference in Paris.

(Mr. Booh-Booh, Cameroon)

The world continues to face a grave economic crisis. The relative resumption of growth in the rich countries has not been accompanied by the hoped-for beneficial trickle-down effect in the countries of the third world. Those countries, which are living in the most wretched conditions ever known in this century, as well as conflicts of various kinds, constitute a serious threat to the peace, stability and security of all mankind and warrant our keenest attention. In this regard, the economic and financial situation of Africa has aroused the greatest possible concern.

(Mr. Booh-Booh, Cameroon)

The situation is exacerbated by such factors as the following: the deep structural imbalances that mark the world economy; trade restrictions and protectionist pressures; deteriorating terms of exchange following the brutal plunge in commodity prices and erratic exchange-rate fluctuations; the intolerable growth of the debt burden; the negative flow of capital; and the lack of political will for the establishment of a just and equitable new international economic order.

International economic co-operation as it is understood today is unlikely to promote the true development of our young nations. That certainly constitutes a serious threat to the very foundations of international peace and security. It is therefore urgent to review the machinery of international economic exchange in order to maintain commodity prices at a level that would guarantee fair remuneration to the producers. In that context, we await with considerable interest the first actions by the Common Fund for commodities, which has now become operational.

We welcome the international community's search for appropriate solutions to the debt problem. Measures taken by the two recent summits of the Seven, held at Toronto and at Paris, and by some developed countries are positive actions that deserves to be encouraged.

We should also encourage and strengthen the possibility of intervention by international development institutions, which should be given fresh impetus. Such action can be effective only in a broader framework of a resumed North-South dialogue and global negotiations making it possible to identify in the relations among the parties various aspects of the world economy with a view to promoting growth and development.

(Mr. Booh-Booh, Cameroon)

In that connection, Cameroon supports the convening next year of a special session of the General Assembly devoted to international economic co-operation. If such a session is to succeed, we must first of all learn the lessons of the present decade and ensure that the new development strategy takes advantage of opportunities before it. We must therefore stress the importance of a change in attitude by the principal world economic partners. On both sides, we must avoid ideological squabbling and focus pragmatically on the substantive questions that underlie our poverty and underdevelopment.

We also support holding an international conference on African debt, which would enable the parties concerned to find realistic solutions that would break the vicious cycle of indebtedness. We want objective and equitable solutions to that debt that could safeguard the development process in our countries and secure the welfare of our peoples. We need true international solidarity. As the President of the Republic of Cameroon, Mr. Paul Biya, has said,

"There can be true solidarity only with the strictest respect for the dignity and freedom of others".

For that reason, we call on all our partners to participate constructively in that international conference, giving expression to the solidarity that must unite all countries and nations. I stress that such a conference could gain impetus in the framework of the United Nations, which has already formulated a Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development.

Of course, our continent must be able to count first and foremost on itself. It is therefore determined to give fresh impetus to agricultural development, to make more rational use of its human resources, to improve the management of the economy through restructuring, and to strengthen co-operation within regional and sub-regional organizations.

(Mr. Booh-Booh, Cameroon)

Africa now expects the international community to show the extra political will by supporting its own efforts through the adoption of concrete measures both bilaterally and in the framework of international economic, financial and monetary institutions.

It is our difficult but lofty duty to preserve mankind and create a world of peace and prosperity. In that context, questions of the environment and human rights are of paramount importance. We welcome the 1992 convening of a United Nations conference on environment and development. The recent dangerous damage to the ozone layer, natural disasters, drought, desertification, the dumping of toxic waste in Africa and other parts of the world and many other ecological disasters point to the urgency of convening such a conference. We must work to reconcile the protection of the environment with the imperatives of growth for the developing countries. At stake is the very survival of mankind.

It has become the custom to speak much of human rights questions while stressing their civil and political aspects. Cameroon feels that human rights should be understood in their most complete and comprehensive sense, including economic, social and cultural rights and, above all, the right to development.

We feel too that greater importance should be attached to the protection of the child, whose rights to health, nutrition and education do not always get the priority attention they deserve. Cameroon warmly supports initiatives by the United Nations Children's Fund with respect to the declaration of a decade for the African child, the organization of a world summit on the child, and the formulation of a convention on the rights of the child. We hope the international community will give those initiatives the support they deserve.

We are here because we have faith in the ability of multilateralism to find global solutions to the problems of our day. We reaffirm that peace, disarmament and development are goals that can be reached.

(Mr. Boch-Booh, Cameroon)

Harsh economic conditions and the evils they spawn - poverty, misery, political instability and lack of security - are inextricably bound together. Recognition of those bonds gives all political leaders a new imperative reason to consider and work to improve everyone's access to well-being. Political wisdom dictates the search for a more stable, just and equitable new international order. It calls on us to work for a global, common search for viable solutions to the many problems arising from the extreme poverty in which three quarters of mankind lives. World stability must be our first concern in the search for the well-being of nations and the advent of a better world.

Such a world means the reversal of harmful trends that have long marked international relations. Above all, it means that all States must renew their faith and their commitment to the ideals, purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, which must truly guide the main trends of relations among States. In that context, the Organization must be able to play a larger, more active role in promoting international peace, security and co-operation. Its principal organs - the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the Office of the Secretary-General - should be strengthened and revitalized in order to increase their effectiveness and promote more democratic international relations.

We must give full support to the Secretary-General in that endeavour. We must not follow standard practice in asking too much of the Organization without giving it in return what it needs to play an effective role in regulating our higher common interests, of which peace, international security and co-operation are the decisive elements. We can do this only if, as States and regions, we display firm determination to promote policies leading to an international climate fostering trust among States, peace, the elimination of conflicts, disarmament and the promotion of justice and equity.

(Mr. Booh-Booh, Cameroon)

Within this process the major Powers, most of which are founding Members of this Organization and which have special responsibilities under the Charter, should set an example. It is up to them particularly to play a major role in accordance with the spirit of the Charter of San Francisco.

At this time of profound change we welcome the dynamic action taken by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which, as always, has made a major contribution to the positive development of international relations. At its recent ninth summit Conference, in Belgrade, our Movement once again presented to the world its ideas, priorities and vision, which, in the final analysis, sum up the aspirations of the whole of mankind to a safer, more just and equitable world.

The realism, wisdom and relevance of the consensus reflected in the final Declaration adopted at that summit Conference is eloquent testimony to the movement of this group in the right direction, and we should welcome that. This is a sign of the modernization, maturity and growing credibility of the non-aligned countries.

All the questions of the hour that are crucial for the future of mankind now have a world-wide dimension. That is why my country, Cameroon, remains convinced that the United Nations remains the best place for activating the various negotiations designed to make significant progress towards a new order. In the final analysis the United Nations constitutes an irreplaceable centre for harmonizing the positions of nations in order to preserve future generations from the scourge of war and to leave them a better and better world.

The PRESIDENT: I shall call on the representative of Pakistan, who wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

(The President)

May I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and to five minutes for the second and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. UMER (Pakistan): My delegation is conscious of the late hour and would not have impinged on the time and patience of the Assembly had not a statement made this morning left it no other choice.

In that statement the Kabul representative once again made the oft-repeated allegations against Pakistan. These wild allegations are nothing but fabrications and distortions which bear no relationship to reality. They represent yet another attempt by a discredited régime to malign Pakistan and shift attention from its total failure to win acceptance from the people of Afghanistan. We categorically and totally reject these accusations.

Pakistan is fully conscious of its responsibilities under the Geneva Agreements, which it continues to implement scrupulously and faithfully. The United Nations Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNGOMAP) has found no evidence whatsoever that arms and ammunition are being transported to Afghanistan from Pakistan. Furthermore, no training camps were found by UNGOMAP teams on Pakistan territory. Neither has any evidence been produced of violations of Afghan territory or airspace.

On the other hand, there have been numerous violations of Pakistan's territory. Since the signing of the Geneva Agreements there have been 175 incidents of air violations, 399 incidents of ground violations, Scud-missile attacks, and 265 incidents of sabotage resulting in the killing of 238 innocent civilians and injuries to 500 others. Evidence of these attacks is available in the debris of Afghan military aircraft and of the Scud missiles on our soil.

(Mr. Umer, Pakistan)

The régime in Kabul continues to terrorize its own people. Air bombardments of Afghan villages have intensified. They have also been made the targets of over 700 Scud missiles. These deadly missiles are instruments of sheer terror. They have no military significance in a guerilla situation. The charge that Pakistani troops are fighting alongside the Mujahidin is preposterous. The many foreign journalists who have visited the battlefield have found no signs of any Pakistani military presence. The brave Afghan people who have successfully overcome foreign intervention for centuries do not need Pakistan's assistance for the final phase of their heroic struggle for self-determination.

Pakistan was also accused of preventing the return of the refugees. Nothing could be further from the truth. The more than 5 million refugees are refusing to return to Afghanistan under a régime which was instrumental in the deaths of 1.5 million Afghans and the unprecedented destruction of their country's economic, social and cultural infrastructure.

The intensification of the acts of terror by the Kabul régime through continued bombing of and rocket attacks on defenceless towns and villages is indeed a strange inducement for the refugees to return. In fact the exodus of refugees to Pakistan has increased in the past few months. That has been verified by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees as well as other international organizations working in the field.

The Kabul representative also claimed that the people of Pakistan were tired of "the increasing domination of the Pakistani military" (A/44/PV.10, p. 57). I remind him that a democratically elected Government has been functioning in Pakistan since December 1988.

(Mr. Umer, Pakistan)

The so-called peace proposals referred to by the Kabul representative this morning are self-serving inasmuch as their sole purpose is to prolong the life of the régime. These proposals have been categorically rejected by the Afghan Mujahidin. International opinion cannot be manipulated through the sheer repetition of bankrupt and self-serving proposals presented under the garb of reasonableness.

The fundamental cause of the tragic continuation of the conflict in Afghanistan is the refusal of the régime in Kabul to accept the reality of the situation. This régime is not acceptable to any segment of the Afghan nation except the coterie of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) hard-liners. Peace and stability in Afghanistan can be restored only if power is transferred from this régime to a broad-based Government acceptable to the Afghan people. Resolution 43/20, adopted by consensus by the General Assembly last year, calls for the establishment of such a Government. That is the exclusive prerogative of the people of Afghanistan.

Pakistan has consistently supported the right of the Afghan people to determine their own future free from outside intervention, interference, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever. Pakistan's commitment to that principle is unflinching and abiding.

The meeting rose at 8.20 p.m.