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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SEVENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 26 September 1989, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. GARBA (Nigeria)
later: Mr. SALLAH (Gambia)
(Vice-President)

- Address by His Excellency Mr. Marco Vinicio Cerezo Arévalo, President of the Republic of Guatemala
- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements made by

Mr. Nakayama (Japan)
Mr. Adodo (Togo)
Mr. Paasio (Finland)
Mr. Clark (Canada)
Mr. Cordovez (Ecuador)
Mr. Andersson (Sweden)
Miss Chiepe (Botswana)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

ADDRESS BY MR. MARCO VINICIO CEREZO AREVALO, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF GUATEMALA

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will first hear an address by the President of the Republic of Guatemala.

Mr. Marco Vinicio Cerezo Arevalo, President of the Republic of Guatemala, 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 Guatemala, His Excellency Mr. Marco Vinicio Cerezo Arevalo, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President CEREZO AREVALO (interpretation from Spanish): I come here bearing a message of friendship and solidarity from the people and the Government of Guatemala, who are taking part in the work of this session of the General Assembly imbued with the spirit which exists in this and all nations at present as they work to seek peace, to halt armed conflicts, to contribute to balanced development for our peoples, and to foster multilateral efforts to resolve the problems which affect us all. Mankind has now become a whole and the fate of each nation is inevitably tied to that of its neighbours. Every day, every year, our interdependence increases. The tendency on the part of some nations to hegemony over others is gradually giving way to the need to co-operate for the benefit of all mankind. The future of the United Nations is assured.

Convinced of this, I am pleased to be able to say, Mr. Secretary-General, that your work has been consonant with the spirit of the times and has been carried out by you in a tireless fashion, working as you have been doing for détente, peace and general well-being. We are happy to note the success of the exercise of your good offices, which represent a decisive contribution to reducing tensions in various parts of the world.

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The current session of the General Assembly will bear the responsibility to continue efforts in this titantic struggle to construct a society of international solidarity. To do so with the efficiency we know and respect, representatives may call upon the solidarity and the support of the delegation of Guatemala, which, correctly interpreting the feelings of the people of Guatemala, will always be prepared to take part in dialogue and co-ordination among peoples.

I should like to recall that nearly half a century ago the end of a war was being celebrated and at that point, as peace became a necessary goal, the principles which inspired the Charter of our Organization formed the basis for a return to peaceful coexistence and civilized conduct. The people of Guatemala note with hope that the new international climate is helping to consolidate peace. We hope that peace will be a product of understanding and mutual respect and that it will not rest on force or the balance of terror. Understanding implies tolerance and it requires a recognition of the needs and difficulties we all face, together with the essential support which is necessary if those difficulties are to be overcome.

We must consolidate peace, where it has been achieved, through greater understanding and accords. The abandonment of rigid political models, the consolidation of democratic processes, détente among the greater Powers - which are now discussing disarmament and international security, recognizing that they cannot split up a world that does not belong to them - the negotiation of solutions to conflicts in various parts of the world and greater dialogue with respect to common problems affecting the well-being and security of nations and problems affecting our natural environment - those are all positive developments that are changing international relations. Confrontations must become aberrations - things of the past. The new leaders of the world will be those who seek to attain peace, not those who seek to prevail over others.

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We can say therefore that a renewed confidence in multilateralism is emerging. The United Nations, through its organs, through its Secretary-General, is playing an active role in the efforts to put an end to confrontations in various parts of the world and to foster discussions that might lead to resolving problems shared by all countries. The regional peace initiatives supported by international organizations have assumed an unaccustomed momentum.

The new calls for peace-keeping operations are further signs of confidence in the United Nations. We welcome the fact that over the last three years four peace-keeping operations have been established, and the possibility of three more is being reviewed, including one in Central America. We hope that many other opportunities for the peaceful settlement of disputes may emerge and that the United Nations will continue its efforts to encourage and strengthen mutual confidence-building measures and other measures that increase understanding, thus preventing armed conflicts and reducing the risk of war.

We agree with the Secretary-General that we must make maximum use of the United Nations capacity to set up peace-keeping operations pursuant to the Charter. We agree with the basic principles governing peace-keeping operations: a credible mandate, the full support of the Security Council, co-operation by the parties to the conflict, the willingness of Member States, including Guatemala, to contribute troops and resources, a geographically balanced and representative force, and an effective and integrated United Nations command with adequate logistical and financial support.

In the disarmament field the implementation of the agreements between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the reduction of intermediate and short-range nuclear missiles has been satisfactory. We trust that this process will continue and that further practical steps can be taken in the

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talks on the reduction of offensive strategic weapons and those on the reduction of conventional weapons.

An integral part of nuclear disarmament will be the forthcoming Review Conference of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Nuclear disarmament is not a Utopian objective. All the peoples of the world consider it as necessary for their survival and for the survival of all mankind. Guatemala will continue to support the revision of the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, with a view to achieving a complete halt to such testing.

We energetically reaffirm the unanimous call made by 149 States during the conference on chemical weapons held in Paris, in January of this year, for progress in the drafting of a convention on the prohibition of the development, production, storage, acquisition, transfer and use of chemical weapons together with the destruction of such devices. We note with interest the proposal made by President Bush in this respect. We feel that it is necessary to strengthen the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament. Disarmament is a fundamental component in the process of consolidating peace.

Notwithstanding those positive trends, however, some problems represent a grave threat not only to peace but to the stability of our institutions and societies. I refer to drug trafficking, terrorism and the perverse combination of those two factors that has occurred in our continent. To put an end to those destructive activities it will be necessary not only to have a firm political determination to combat them but also to co-ordinate joint measures in the field of security. It will also be necessary to make rapid progress in the development and codification of appropriate legal instruments.

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In Guatemala we have been deeply struck by the plight in which Colombia finds itself and we have expressed our solidarity with the people and the Government of that nation. We admire the decision and the determination of President Barco. We are aware that the symptoms which are causing a state of crisis in his country may be found in many of our own. That is why there must be concerted action to deal with the problem in its various ramifications, including production, trafficking and consumption.

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We are prepared to participate in a crusade aimed at protecting our societies.

From the outset, the democratic Government of Guatemala, over which I preside, has sought to foster coexistence among peoples, with respect for their sovereignty, the search for peace and the consolidation of democracy. We wish to share with other nations around the world the joy arising from the developments taking place in our nation in a climate of greater peace, participation and political stability.

Our contribution to this international climate, characterized by greater multilateral measures, has resulted in the following principles: support for action by our multilateral organizations in Latin America and around the world and acceptance of their active presence in the settlement of political, economic and human problems; the fostering of regional organizations which pursue greater integration around common objectives - I have in mind the Central American Parliament; active participation in the promotion of dialogue, the negotiated settlement of conflicts, and co-ordination for the establishment of consensus, as in the case of the peace plan known as Esquipulas II .

Furthermore, we support initiatives towards greater North-South dialogue. The social and political problems of balanced economic development should not be regarded as separate; they are the responsibility of the international community. I sincerely believe that this work and that of promoting co-ordinated action to protect the climate of our nation and of Central America represent a historic contribution to the future of mankind.

In that connection, domestically we have assumed the responsibility of fostering the development of our economy, making proper effective use of our own resources, channelling development inwards in order gradually to pay off a debt to society accumulated over the years and create more equitable living conditions for all the inhabitants of our nation.

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We wish to reach the year 2000 on track for development. But we know that the success of our measures requires adequate external conditions that have not existed over the past decade. Indebtedness and debt-servicing, and the reduction of financial resources for development are problems that continue to affect us. We can understand the problems that are affecting the developed countries, but their protectionist measures; the general proliferation of discriminatory practices notwithstanding trade principles and practices that have previously been encouraged; trade restrictions applied to exports from developing countries; monetary and financial instability; and high interest rates - to mention only a few problems - are all causing us a great deal of difficulty as we work to carry out the task we have set for ourselves.

The United Nations bears a fundamental responsibility for fostering social progress and the attainment of better living standards for all the peoples of the world.

In order to fulfil that responsibility effectively, the spirit of co-operation that has arisen in the political sphere must now extend to the economic and social spheres. It must be pointed out that progress made in the political climate can be consolidated only if we correct the economic climate that has been detrimental to most of the world's population.

We believe that multilateralism, which has been an effective instrument in the promotion of peace, must be used to rebuild international economic relations. The United Nations offers a suitable framework for resuming broad-based North-South dialogue on international economic co-operation. The special session of the General Assembly scheduled for next year represents an opportunity for such dialogue. For our part, we are prepared to take an active part in that process.

Guatemala is ready to promote development without jeopardizing our ecology and the well-being of the future generations of our country and of all mankind.

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That is why we must express our deepest concern at the deterioration of the environment. Today, we cannot disregard the cataclysmic risks of climate change and other consequences of damage to the environment. All countries, from the most industrialized nations to the least developed countries, recognize the gravity of the problem and the urgent need to find practical solutions. The responsibility must of course be shared by all as regards measures to be taken. We feel it is important to emphasize, however, the primary responsibility borne by the industrialized countries as regards controlling and repairing damage caused to the environment, and their obligation to assist the developing countries in achieving environmentally sound and sustainable development.

The Central American Presidents, inspired by genuine concern, have established a Central American commission for the environment and development. I consider that the international community must step up its efforts and contribute to the protection of the tropical jungles in our region. It is necessary to avoid the consequences arising from their destruction and to secure additional financial resources to protect such areas.

In a further effort in the search for appropriate solutions to economic and social development, five countries of the Central American region held a conference in October of last year, at which we agreed to promote the establishment of the "Mayan Trail". A large-scale enterprise which must be declared as a common heritage of mankind, it is consistent with the guidelines of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

The project is directly linked to the preservation of the environment, tropical forests, and their flora and fauna. Its aim is to encourage ecological tourism and to create sustained, non-destructive development that will not harm the environment and can generate employment and financial resources on a scale sufficient to preserve such areas. If the project is to become a reality, we need

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understanding and international co-operation. We need the determination to preserve the natural environment and to protect our indigenous communities of Mayan descent. The preservation of the environment is a legitimate concern of all, developed and developing alike, as is the elimination of poverty. Environmentally sound development must stress the elimination of poverty and the reduction of human suffering.

We do not desire economic development to the detriment of our neighbours. We desire political stability and a firm lasting peace that will benefit us all and permit co-existence. We wish to strengthen mutual trust among our nations and to foster a collective approach to our problems. We know that our policy of active neutrality makes us a factor of equilibrium necessary for peace, peace we wish to be permanent. But we are certain peace can endure only with the support of the international community.

Our Central American societies have gone through the most difficult and bloody periods of our history, but we have a common destiny and we must return to the path of concord and peaceful coexistence.

Our house has been destroyed, and we wish to rebuild it on more stable foundations, strengthening the ties that bind us. In Central America we have been examining, discussing, and agreeing upon steps to achieve peace, development and well-being for our peoples. We are rebuilding our house on democratic foundations through the exercise of our right to self-determination and a future of peace and development. We wish to strive to teach our peoples to live democratically. We wish to ensure the right of all human beings to freedom of thought. But it is necessary to learn to live in peace, to set our weapons aside and to work together. Let us work together to turn Central America into a great nation.

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We must co-operate to find a solution to our economic and social problems, to provide our children with a decent, dignified life. We must eradicate poverty, adjust income and the distribution of wealth. We need education to improve our housing, clothing, health and food.

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Since the Esquipulas meeting held in August 1987 Central American presidents have worked to bring peace to the region and have striven to fulfil the Esquipulas accords. In the course of this year we held two meetings which adopted new verification and monitoring decisions, as well as decisions with respect to the demobilization of certain irregular forces. We entrusted the Secretaries-General of the United Nations and the Organization of American States to implement the joint plan for the demobilization, repatriation or voluntary resettlement of members of the Nicaraguan resistance and their relatives. We have undertaken to facilitate the implementation of that plan, and we appreciate the international co-operation and humanitarian assistance to that end.

I would re-emphasize what was stated in this Assembly two years ago: that in our quest for peace and democracy in Central America the agreements reached by presidents in the region are not a reference point for discussion or rejection, but rather a starting point for finding solutions. Those agreements represent what we wish to see, and it is within the framework of those agreements, if they are respected, that discussions to attain a firm and lasting peace in Central America will be achieved.

We hope that the Security Council will, in due course, authorize the setting up of a visiting observer mission as well as other requirements of the Secretary-General to support the demobilization of irregular forces. These steps, which represent a new stage in the development of the peace process in our region will contribute to consolidating the positive results of our efforts.

In El Salvador and Nicaragua, there are encouraging signs of progress towards national reconciliation. We welcome that progress and hope it will continue. Serious talks designed to achieve a cessation of hostilities have begun in El Salvador as a first step towards substantive political negotiations to

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strengthen democracy. In Nicaragua a significant political event is being prepared that could represent the start of a fresh stage in the political life of that sister country, if the electoral conditions are consistent with the principles and commitments made in the presidential accords. We hope that the electoral observer mission of the United Nations and the Organization of American States will not merely verify the existence of such conditions but will also help to suggest ways of improving them.

Aware of the historic responsibility to face up to one of the problems that afflict us most we held an international conference on Central American refugees. Its basic purpose was a humanitarian one: to find a lasting, stable solution to the problem, whereby it would become possible to voluntarily repatriate and resettle in their place of origin thousands of refugees and displaced persons now housed in our countries. Essentially, we lack the financial and economic resources for this but there is the will and the commitment to find a permanent solution. Each Central American has the right to live in his country of origin and must be taken in and assisted.

The General Assembly has adopted the Special Plan for Economic Co-operation for Central America, and we welcome the efforts that have been made to implement it. We also took part in the first meeting between Central American Governments and the co-operating Governments and institutions. We hope that the meeting will bear fruit and strengthen economic and technical co-operation with Central America.

The Guatemalan Government is seriously concerned that the situation in Panama could threaten the general situation in the region. With other democratic nations we stand behind the Panamanian people in its determination to overcome these difficulties by peaceful means and to satisfy its aspiration to live in democracy.

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We reiterate the pressing need for us to channel our efforts into the restoration of institutional democracy, taking into account the spirit and aspirations of Latin Americans, while adopting an attitude of collective responsibility and accepting the initiatives to find peaceful solutions to the aspirations of the Panamanians.

With respect to Belize, we are prepared to work for a just, comprehensive and honourable peaceful settlement between the parties concerned. I would remind the Assembly that my Government initiated direct talks in a realistic and constructive fashion with representatives of Belize who visited Guatemala to take part in important international events. Nevertheless, if our efforts are to bear fruit, there must be a realistic, flexible and positive attitude shared by both parties.

Guatemala has gone through one of the longest periods of peace, stability and social development in its history. The climate of freedom and participation became clearer with the unprecedented growth, during the last 40 years of our history, of political, social and economic organizations which are fostering popular participation in the great decisions of the nation. Democracy in Guatemala is being constructed with the active participation of all sectors of society, but there are minority groups that are opposed to the consolidating of our endeavours.

Since institutional development and our operating capacity still limit our ability to guarantee the full measure of security due all our citizens and to achieve total control over those groups which are part of a past we would forget, our people welcomes and appreciates the assistance and advice of the international community. Our practical progress with respect to human rights and the establishment of the rule of law in our nation has been accepted by all, but we do so know that much still remains to be done.

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The support and confidence of our friends and of the international community as represented in this Organization will help us to make progress in this respect, and to consolidate our democracy which was and will be available to construct the society of international solidarity which we wish to bring about.

As one of the principal purposes of the United Nations, the task of fostering respect for human rights is a matter of legitimate international concern. Guatemala considers that United Nations efforts in this respect have been effective and we support the Secretary-General in his initiative to strengthen the Organization's role in providing advice and technical assistance to guarantee the protection of human rights.

Guatemala has benefited from that programme and appreciates the help received from the advisers assigned to our country. The United Nations has made an undeniable contribution to emphasizing the natural relationship between peace, justice, freedom, development and human rights. For this reason we joined in the energetic condemnation of any massive violation of such basic guarantees of the political development and freedom of peoples.

Guatemala vehemently condemns the shameful apartheid system, a flagrant violation of human rights. It is unconscionable that, despite two decades of United Nations struggle against racism and discrimination, this irrational practice should stubbornly persist.

Our principles lead us to feel an active part of the international community. Guatemala has followed with concern the various diplomatic endeavours in the Middle East. We recognize the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and independence on their own territory, which will not jeopardize the existence of the state of Israel within boundaries recognized by the United Nations. We supported the initiative to convene an international conference on the Middle East under the

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auspices of the United Nations since we feel that this would provide a suitable framework for defining, pursuant to Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), the basis for a lasting settlement that would enable the peoples of the region to live in peace. Until such an arrangement is achieved, however, the rights of the population in the occupied territories must be fully respected.

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Guatemala hopes that both in Afghanistan and in Cambodia the efforts to achieve a comprehensive political solution will continue. These must guarantee the independence and self-determination of the peoples in question. Above and beyond the withdrawal of foreign troops, we feel that a political settlement must be encouraged, and that there must be no activities incompatible with the principles contained in the United Nations Charter.

The attainment of independence by Namibia has over the years been one of the major concerns of the United Nations. Guatemala supports Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and the plan for the independence of Namibia within the whole of its recognized territory. We applaud what is being done by the Secretary-General and the staff of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG). We are following with the greatest interest the preparations being made to hold free and fair elections under United Nations supervision and control. We energetically appeal to all parties, particularly South Africa, to co-operate fully with UNTAG, respecting their obligations at all times and fully complying with the agreements and understandings to which they have subscribed.

I have referred in general terms to the matters which require urgent solution. I would end by reaffirming our faith and trust in the United Nations and in the capacity of the Secretary-General and of the present President of the General Assembly to continue to foster dialogue among nations, in order to fulfil our greatest aspirations: the establishment of a pluralistic society that can live in peace and harmony and ensure for the individual a decent, fitting life and the exercise of his fundamental rights and freedoms.

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

Mr. Marco Vinicio Cerezo Arevalo, President of the Republic of Guatemala, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. NAKAYAMA (Japan) (spoke in Japanese; English text furnished by the delegation): I should like first, on behalf of the Government and people of Japan, to express my heartfelt congratulations to you, Ambassador Garba, on your election as President of this forty-fourth session of the General Assembly. I am confident that your wealth of experience and keen insight will ensure that this will be a very productive session. You may be assured that the Japanese delegation will be unstinting in co-operating with you as you carry out your solemn responsibilities.

At the same time, I express my sincere respect for the many outstanding accomplishments of Mr. Caputo during his tenure as President of the forty-third session.

Founded with the maintenance of world peace as its most important objective, the United Nations has played a very positive role in resolving many issues that have confronted the international community. Most recently its efforts to effect Namibia's transition to independence and its quest for a peaceful solution to the Central American conflict have earned it world-wide praise and high expectations as to the success of its future endeavours. Indeed, success has restored the authority of the United Nations, a situation I sincerely welcome. Underlying the enhancement of these United Nations activities for world peace have been major changes in the state of international relations. Yet success would not have been possible without the tireless efforts of the United Nations Security Council and Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar and others concerned. On this occasion I convey to them my profound respect and appreciation.

(Mr. Nakayama, Japan)

The international community is today in the midst of a major transition from discord to dialogue, from conflict to co-operation. We are entering upon a new era, in which we must confront the global challenges of bringing about lasting solutions to regional conflicts, sustaining prosperity, preserving the environment, and building a society based solidly on respect for human rights.

Looking first at relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, we are pleased to see dialogue taking root and expanding in a diversity of realms. In particular, we welcome the latest round of talks that was held just last week and look forward to further progress in that dialogue. In Europe we see progress being made in talks on conventional forces and on confidence- and security-building measures. Sino-Soviet relations have been normalized. Determined efforts are being made for reform in many of the socialist countries. All of these are welcome developments. The positive changes in East-West relations have also given new impetus to the drive to negotiate peaceful solutions to regional issues and regional conflicts. In addition to the transition to independence in Namibia and the peaceful resolution of the conflict in Central America, the effort to achieve peace in Cambodia entered a new stage with the holding of the International Conference in Paris this summer.

However, while a start has been made in resolving regional conflicts and stabilizing these areas, the achievement of a comprehensive solution to any of these issues will not be easy. Although foreign troops have withdrawn from Afghanistan and a cease-fire has been implemented between Iran and Iraq, it cannot be said that these areas are truly at peace. Likewise, on the issue of peace in the Middle East, even though there have been some new developments, substantive progress has yet to be made. The situation in Lebanon is also very worrisome.

As for the Asian region, some developments in line with the new thinking in the Soviet Union are discernible in, for example, the Sino-Soviet relationship,

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the situation in Cambodia, and the Afghan problem. In the light of these developments, Japan hopes further to strengthen and expand the political dialogue being actively pursued with the Soviet Union and realize a genuine improvement in the bilateral relationship, including the resolution of the Northern Territories issue. I would stress that, beyond improving Japan-Soviet relations, this would constitute an important step towards enhancing peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region and improving East-West relations as a whole.

Recent events in China stunned the world and had a strong impact on the feelings of the Japanese people toward China. Nevertheless, Japan's expectations for China's policy of reform and opening up to the outside world remain unchanged, and I hope that the Chinese Government will pay due heed to world opinion and strive to regain the confidence of the international community.

A new era is also dawning in the quest for global prosperity. The world economy is generally experiencing satisfactory growth, and the newly industrializing economies are achieving remarkable levels of development. Further, all the countries concerned are making a determined effort to see that negotiations in the Uruguay Round achieve substantive results by the end of 1990.

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Japan will continue to strive to ensure that progress is made in these negotiations. Yet, when we look at the world economy as a whole, it is clear that there are still a number of problems standing in the way of sound world economic development, not the least of which are the persistent massive external imbalances and the threat of protectionist pressures, the deteriorating economic situation in the world's poorest countries, including those in Africa, and the enormous burden of debt in countries of Latin America and other parts of the world.

At the same time, we are faced with the stark reality of an accelerating threat to the global environment, the soundness of which is an absolute prerequisite for the prosperity of the world. Moreover, human rights continue to be abused and there are still massive exoduses of refugees in many parts of the world. All of these are international concerns that demand the attention of the entire international community.

In the context of these changes, as Japan interacts with the rest of the world more intensively and in a broader spectrum of fields, it realizes that it must play a more active role in international affairs. Early this year, we were honoured by the many envoys from all over the world who came to Japan to pay their condolences at the time of Emperor Showa's funeral. I wish on this occasion to express, on behalf of the Government of Japan, my profound gratitude. That experience has made us all the more keenly aware of the importance of Japan's international role. With the aim of contributing to a better world, Japan has launched an International Co-operation Initiative to foster world peace and prosperity. The three elements of the Initiative are: strengthening Japan's co-operation as it actively participates and co-operates in the effort to establish and sustain world peace; expanding its official development assistance to contribute to growth in developing countries; and strengthening international cultural exchange to encourage greater

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understanding among the different cultures of the world. Expanding upon this Initiative, Japan is also devoting its attention to the environment and other global issues. The Kaifu Administration, which was formed in August of this year, is developing an activist foreign policy stance as one of its major objectives, and is determined to do everything in its power to create a world of peace and prosperity, and an international community that is more just and more responsive to human needs.

I should like next to say a few words about the role of the United Nations and Japan's contribution to it in the light of its position as I have just outlined it.

If we are to achieve and maintain world peace and stability it is imperative that we find fundamental solutions to the regional conflicts and regional problems that even today are taking countless lives and causing immense suffering across the globe. Although first steps have been taken towards settling these conflicts, comprehensive solutions have yet to be achieved, and in many instances efforts are now at a crucial stage.

Looking at the decade-long conflict in Cambodia, the recent Paris conference offered an historic opportunity for the parties directly involved, and other interested countries, to assemble for intensive discussions and negotiations. While the conference did not result in a comprehensive political settlement, and no agreement was reached on the establishment of an international control mechanism, there were a number of significant developments, including the dispatch of a fact-finding team, as suggested by the Secretary-General of the United Nations. We believe it is imperative for everyone concerned to make an even greater effort to ensure that true peace is restored to Cambodia. I very much hope that this session of the General Assembly will provide added momentum towards peace in Cambodia.

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It should be noted that international control remains important at every stage of the peace process in Cambodia. The mechanism for international control should be truly universal and fair, should possess a wide range of experience and expertise, and should have the support of and access to a broad range of human and financial resources. To understand this is to realize that such a mechanism must be established within the framework of the United Nations.

As an Asian neighbour, Japan has stated clearly its intention seriously to consider providing necessary financial co-operation, personnel, refugee repatriation assistance, and other support for the establishment of an international control mechanism to help settle the Cambodian problem, the major cause of instability in the region. In addition, Japan has proposed that an international reconstruction committee be established to provide the international framework for Cambodia's recovery once peace has been restored. I am pleased that this proposal was accepted in principle at the recent international conference. Japan is determined to co-operate with the other countries concerned and to continue its steadfast efforts for the ultimate attainment of a comprehensive political settlement.

As regards the Angola-Namibian issue, I very much welcome the fact that, with last December's tripartite agreement, progress has been made towards resolving the problems in Angola, and genuine progress continues to be made in the process of Namibia's transition to independence. Namibian independence has great historical and symbolic significance as it marks the attainment of the objective of decolonization on the African continent. The United Nations is now making an Organization-wide effort to ensure that this transition goes smoothly, an effort that has won broad international acclaim. This is the sort of effort that only the United Nations can undertake, and is a further demonstration of the useful role it

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can play. Consistent with its desire to co-operate for peace, Japan is providing about 30 people to take part in the United Nations Transition Assistance Group monitoring the constituent assembly elections scheduled for this November.

In Afghanistan, civil war continues, and the situation remains a source of deep concern. Japan believes that the establishment of a broad-based government reflecting the popular will is absolutely essential to the attainment of true stability in that country. Japan is therefore co-operating actively by making contributions through the Office of the United Nations Co-ordinator for Afghanistan and by providing personnel needed for medical assistance and infrastructural improvements to facilitate the repatriation of Afghan refugees. It does so in the hope that peace will be restored to Afghanistan as soon as possible through the determined efforts of the Afghan people themselves to resolve their problems and that the refugees will soon be able to return to their country safely and with honour.

Turning to the Iran-Iraq conflict, Japan highly appreciates the maintenance of the cease-fire through the presence of the United Nations Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group. However, even one year after the implementation of the cease-fire, the peace negotiations have yet to bear fruit. I very much hope that both sides will approach these negotiations with determination and flexibility so that a comprehensive peace can be achieved in accordance with Security Council resolution 598 (1987). Japan will continue to give its full support to the Secretary-General's mediation efforts and will extend all possible co-operation for the settlement of this conflict.

Although there have been a number of noteworthy initiatives since the Congress of the Palestine National Council met late last year, including the proposal for elections in the occupied territories, I cannot but be concerned by the lack of

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substantive progress in the Middle East peace process. As the intifadah continues, the situation in the occupied territories deteriorates further. I wish to pay a high tribute to the ongoing and determined efforts of the parties concerned towards the prompt achievement of a just, lasting and comprehensive peace; I strongly hope that their efforts will result in a concrete plan. In support of the efforts of the parties concerned to achieve peace, Japan intends to step up its high-level political dialogue with the Arab countries concerned, the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel. At the same time, it is seeking to expand its assistance to the Palestinian people.

We must not turn our back on the situation in Lebanon. I very much hope that the parties concerned will exercise maximum restraint, and that a way will be found to end the fighting and to achieve national reconciliation. In this regard, I pay a high tribute to the activities of the League of Arab States and particularly to the Tripartite Committee. Resolutely opposed to all forms of terrorism, hostage-taking, and other inhumane acts, Japan strongly appeals for the immediate release of all hostages.

(Mr. Nakayama, Japan)

South Africa's system of racial discrimination is intolerable, and must be completely dismantled without delay. I sincerely hope that the new Government established in that country will take concrete and effective steps to abolish apartheid. For its part, Japan will continue to co-operate with the rest of the international community in pressing South Africa to lift the state of emergency, release Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, legalize the African National Congress and other anti-apartheid organizations, and promptly initiate dialogue with representatives of various sectors of the black population. At the same time, Japan is actively supporting the victims of South African apartheid and is extending assistance to the other countries of southern Africa.

In Central America, we welcome the progress that has been made in the peace process, with the United Nations playing a role in line with the agreement reached at the meeting of the presidents of the five Central American countries. As part of its support for the Organization's activities, Japan is prepared to provide personnel for the United Nations elections-monitoring commission for the general elections scheduled to take place in Nicaragua next February. Japan is also considering what form of co-operation it can extend in the security verification mechanism and other areas.

The issue of the Korean peninsula is primarily one to be settled peacefully through direct dialogue between the authorities of the South and of the North. Japan hopes that progress will be made in constructive and substantive South-North dialogue. It has a high regard for the vigorous efforts that the Republic of Korea has made towards that end since 7 July 1988, when President Roh Tae Woo issued the Special Declaration in the Interest of National Self-esteem, Unification and Prosperity. The exchanges between the Republic of Korea and various Socialist countries that are taking place in the wake of last year's Seoul Olympics are to be encouraged as a means of relaxing tensions on the peninsula.

(Mr. Nakayama, Japan)

In the light of this new situation, Japan is working to improve relations with North Korea, with due regard for maintaining the international political balance. Japan hopes to contribute to the creation of a climate conducive to dialogue between South Korea and North Korea. Moreover, we would welcome and support United Nations membership for South and North, whether simultaneous or separate, as an interim measure towards the goal of unification of the peninsula. This would also enhance the universality of the United Nations.

As we have seen, the United Nations has played an important role in settling regional conflicts around the globe, especially in the peace-keeping field. Yet the United Nations mission to prevent and eliminate the threat of conflicts is just as important as its peace-keeping operations are once conflict has broken out. Even when prevention proves impossible, efforts must be made to settle a conflict before it can escalate. Last year the Declaration on the prevention of disputes, which was jointly proposed by Japan and five other countries, was adopted by the General Assembly. While recognizing the roles to be played by Member States, the Security Council and the General Assembly, the Declaration calls on the Secretary-General to approach directly the countries concerned, when necessary, in an effort to prevent conflict and to consider sending fact-finding missions to regions where conflict is imminent.

Japan is determined to extend all possible co-operation to settle regional conflicts in all parts of the world and to the United Nations peace-making and peace-keeping activities. Very broadly speaking, Japan's co-operation for peace is grounded in the following four principles.

First, in addition to supporting fully the Secretary-General's peace-making initiatives, Japan focuses its diplomatic efforts on extending all possible co-operation for the settlement of regional conflicts.

(Mr. Nakayama, Japan)

Secondly, Japan is striving to extend as much financial support as possible to United Nations peace-keeping activities, and will strengthen its co-operation by providing personnel in areas where a Japanese role would be appropriate. Just as, in the past, it has extended voluntary contributions as circumstances demanded, Japan, this August, made a contribution towards the establishment of a fund to support and strengthen peace-keeping activities so that new peace-keeping operations may be initiated without delay once the settlement of a regional conflict is reached. I call upon other Member States to support this fund.

Thirdly, Japan is determined to strengthen its support for the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other forms of relief extended to people made refugees by regional conflicts in various parts of the world.

Fourthly, Japan provides all possible co-operation after a conflict has been resolved so that the land and economy of the country ravaged by war may be restored and the lives of the people stabilized and improved.

Arms control and disarmament is an issue critically important to the preservation of lasting world peace and stability. Japan is making ever greater efforts in this regard, in recognition of the fact that world peace is essential to its own security.

Japan welcomes the progress being made in the strategic arms reduction talks between the United States and the Soviet Union, and in the negotiations on conventional forces in Europe, and hopes that it will contribute to a further stabilization of East-West relations. In the United Nations, in the Conference on Disarmament, and in other multilateral disarmament efforts, significant progress has been made towards a chemical weapons ban. In an effort to conclude such a comprehensive ban promptly, the countries concerned continued to negotiate earnestly at the Paris Conference last January and, again, at the International Government-Industry Conference against Chemical Weapons held this month in

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Canberra. I express my high appreciation of the initiative towards the global elimination of chemical weapons outlined yesterday by President Bush. Encouraging, too, are the serious efforts that are continuing in the nuclear disarmament field in preparation for next year's review of the Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

Appropriate verification measures are essential to the attainment of effective arms control and disarmament, and in recent years greater ingenuity has been called for in this area. Pooling all of its technical capabilities, Japan is taking the initiative in the establishment of an international test verification network for the nuclear test ban. Also, it has drawn upon its position as a country having a sophisticated chemicals industry to make constructive proposals for the establishment of means of verification of a ban on chemical weapons.

Consistent with those disarmament efforts, Japan acted as host to the United Nations Conference on Disarmament Issues this April in Kyoto. The Conference was highly successful in contributing to an enhanced awareness of the need for an international nuclear test verification network and in reaffirming the complementary nature of United States-Soviet disarmament efforts and the multilateral disarmament efforts being made in the United Nations and other forums. Japan is second to none in the co-operation it extends to international efforts for arms control and disarmament in the United Nations and in the Geneva Conference on Disarmament.

To achieve the sustained prosperity of the international community, we must work for growth in developing countries. It is imperative that all countries co-operate by taking a global perspective. So far, Japan has systematically enhanced its overseas development assistance and contributed vigorously to supporting and strengthening the economic development and adjustment efforts of

(Mr. Nakayama, Japan)

developing countries. At present, Japan is making a determined effort to meet its fourth mid-term target. At the same time, Japan decided this July to expand its programme of recycling no less than \$US 30 billion over a three-year period starting in 1987, to become a programme of recycling at least \$US 65 billion over a five-year period starting in 1987. Seeking to support the new strategy on the debt of developing countries, Japan is working to earmark a total of at least \$US 10 billion of this enhanced capital recycling programme for untied capital support to countries eligible for this debt strategy.

Special consideration should be directed to the plight of the poorest countries in sub-Saharan Africa and elsewhere, given that they face increasingly harsh difficulties as a result, inter alia, of sluggish commodity markets, slow growth, trade deficits and snowballing debt. Japan has announced that, in addition to the total of approximately \$US 500 million in non-project grant capital assistance that it is currently disbursing, it is prepared to provide a total of about \$US 600 million in the three-year period starting in 1990, to support the efforts of these countries to restructure their economies. At the same time, starting this fiscal year, Japan is taking additional measures and is implementing grant assistance for debt relief, on past yen credits extended to the least developed countries, of approximately \$US 5.5 billion in principal.

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I should like to emphasize the important role the United Nations and related organizations play in the development of developing countries. In addition to continuing its support for United Nations operational activities such as the United Nations Development Programme, Japan intends to take an active part in the special session of the General Assembly devoted to international economic co-operation, the second United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries and the preparations for an international development strategy for the fourth United Nations development decade, all of which are scheduled for next year.

Mankind is today at an epochal turning point. The invention of the steam engine in the late eighteenth century completely transformed the social and economic structures that had been developed through the course of human history. From the nineteenth century to the middle of the present century, the pace of technological advance accelerated with the development of synthetic chemicals and progress in nuclear engineering, petrochemistry and materials and electronic engineering, and society rode an unbroken wave of development. Flushed with that success, we turned our gaze outward towards space, downward to develop the technology to explore the ocean floor and, finally, inward to biotechnology with its promise to unlock the secrets of life. At the same time, rapid advances in communications satellites have made possible the real-time exchange of information and image-reception everywhere, making the world a single informational global village.

These dramatic scientific and technological advances offer unlimited potential for the solution of the problems confronting mankind. If we are to realize that potential we must make constant progress in basic scientific fields. The promotion of joint international research through the exchange of scientists and the exchange and transfer of technology will be important in effectively mobilizing financial and human resources in those fields.

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On the other hand, it has been demonstrated that if the dramatic expansion of economic activity which is an outgrowth of scientific advance were to proceed in a way that would destroy the balance in the planet's ecosystem the global damage would be irrevocable. In just these past 30 years - the blink of an eye in the vast continuum of history - during which mankind has ventured to the far reaches of space and has sought to explore the oceans' depths, there has been an ominous acceleration in the pace of environmental destruction. The health of the planet is gravely threatened by global warming, the destruction of the ozone layer, the depletion of tropical rain forests, acid rain and desertification. The global environmental problems that confront us today must be dealt with by the entire international community working together. Our generation has a solemn responsibility to preserve the natural beauty around us and rebuild a healthy global environment so as to secure the future of coming generations.

The protection of the natural environment so as to enable all people, regardless of where they live, to lead a comfortable and healthy life is a prerequisite for the prosperity of the international community. The effects of such problems as environmental destruction, explosive population growth and natural disasters transcend national boundaries and, as problems common to all mankind, present a global challenge to the international community. This is an area where the United Nations, as the international community's most universal organization, must bring all its authority to bear.

Is it not incumbent upon the international community today to act quickly and in a concerted manner to take better care of our global environment so as to ensure the continued prosperity of our children and our children's children? Japan believes that should be done by adhering to the following four principles: first, preservation of the global environment while working to attain stable world

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economic growth; secondly, emphasis on the importance of scientific knowledge as fundamental to the protection of the global environment; thirdly, the imperative of a global response to problems; and, fourthly, due consideration of the situation of developing countries.

Japan has long focused its attention on environmental problems. In accordance with the principles I just outlined, and co-operating multilaterally and bilaterally, Japan intends to mobilize all its scientific and technical capabilities, its experience and its knowledge vigorously to address global environmental problems. As part of those efforts, Japan will continue to support the activities of such international organizations as the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and the International Tropical Timber Organization and will aim to increase the aggregate sum of its official development assistance for environmental efforts to approximately 300 billion yen over the next three years.

Further, earlier this month Japan, in co-operation with UNEP, was host in Tokyo to a conference on the global environment. Constructive scientific discussions were held, and recommendations were formulated on the question of what to do about such atmospheric changes as global warming and on the relationship between development and the environment in developing countries. Among the results were the suggestion, made for the first time, of a maximum permissible limit on carbon dioxide emissions and recommendations on measures that both developed and developing countries should take. I believe those recommendations will serve as important guidelines for discussions at this session of the General Assembly and for international efforts prior to the 1992 United Nations conference on the environment and development. Japan, for its part, intends to take part seriously in those endeavours.

(Mr. Nakayama, Japan)

A variety of measures must be taken to protect the global environment, and a number of organizations within the United Nations system are implementing meaningful programmes. I believe these international efforts should be further promoted in an efficient and well co-ordinated manner. Accordingly, I should like to propose that the General Assembly conduct in-depth discussions on measures to enable the United Nations to strengthen policy co-ordination on global environmental problems throughout the United Nations system.

Mitigating the impact of natural disasters is another important objective in the overall effort to preserve the environment for life on this planet. As a country which has taken initiatives in this area, Japan feels particularly gratified that the International Decade for Natural Disaster Reduction will commence next year. Japan intends to extend technical co-operation and to assist in strengthening activities which would enhance public awareness with respect to the reduction of natural disasters. I should like to take this opportunity to appeal for active participation by all countries in co-operating in this important area.

Along with the preservation of the natural environment, it is important that we create and maintain a social climate in which people everywhere can live without fear, in which their basic rights and freedoms are guaranteed, and in which they can live in health and dignity. Consequently, the international community cannot but be very concerned about the continuing abuses of human rights and the outflows of refugees in every part of the world. The drug problem and international terrorism are likewise very serious international problems. The resolution of global humanitarian problems, the creation of a society respectful of human rights, and the establishment of truly universal values are precisely the global challenges for which the United Nations should mobilize the co-operation of its Member States

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and international organizations so it can play a more effective role. In the conviction that international co-operation is essential for the solution of the drug and other problems, Japan intends to participate vigorously in United Nations activities in those areas.

There has recently been a succession of landings by boat people on the shores of Japan, and, while it very much hopes that the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, other international agencies and the countries concerned can do something to resolve this problem, Japan will make available, to the best of its ability, financial co-operation, resettlement accommodations and other assistance consistent with its long-standing practices.

International co-operation in the medical field is likewise important if we are to create a society in which all people enjoy a healthy and rewarding life. Thanks to the efforts of the World Health Organization (WHO), and with the co-operation of every country, smallpox, that scourge of mankind, has been eradicated. And now the world-wide spread of acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) clearly demonstrates once again that global co-operation is essential for the prevention and medical treatment of infectious diseases.

(Mr. Nakayama, Japan)

Japan has enriched the field of advanced medical technology, combining its knowledge of modern Western medicine with its experience with its own traditional medical science. It has also achieved a society whose members enjoy the greatest average longevity in the world. Japan intends to contribute its scientific know-how, information, technology and experience, both in the form of multilateral co-operation through WHO, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and other organizations, and in the form of co-operative bilateral efforts in order to enhance co-operation in such areas as public hygiene, the prevention of epidemics, health education and dissemination of primary health care, as well as clinical medicine and research.

As we enter this age of dramatic change, it is only right that the focus and priorities of United Nations activities should likewise change. The goal of the administrative and fiscal reforms now being pursued is to enable the United Nations to remake itself into a more effective Organization, one better able to respond to the changes in the international community, by moving away from issues that have lost their urgency and mobilizing its human and financial resources to meet the new global challenges. Thanks to the untiring efforts of the Secretary-General and everyone else concerned, the three-year programme for administrative and fiscal reform will be brought to a conclusion at the end of this year.

But this should not be the end of our longer-term efforts to make the United Nations more effective and flexible. Any organization that hopes to avoid stagnation and gain resilience must continually strive for self-renewal. I believe that all Member States should give these efforts to reinvigorate the United Nations their total support.

Japan has worked hard to build a country of peace and freedom, in keeping with the national goal of creating an international society in which people everywhere

(Mr. Nakayama, Japan)

can live in peace, free from fear and want. The United Nations, indispensable as the only truly universal organization we have, has shown the way by illuminating the ideals of such a society. Yet it must be noted that even the United Nations, despite the expansion of its activities and its many achievements in, for example, humanitarian relief and operational activities since its founding in 1945, has at times been forced to retreat from these lofty ideals, at times appearing disengaged or powerless in the face of a difficult international situation. Nevertheless, the true worth of any organization or agency is determined by the will and attitudes of its members.

In that sense the United Nations is an accurate reflection of the international community. It is the will and attitudes of its Member States that determine how the United Nations is utilized, whether it moves closer to its ideals of international peace and prosperity or is forced to lower its sights and retreat.

Emerging from a course of introspection and reforms upon which it embarked on the occasion of its fortieth anniversary, the United Nations today seems to be experiencing a renaissance as we approach the next half-century. As long as Member States make a determined effort through the United Nations, and strive to meet such urgent global challenges as attaining peace and making progress in disarmament, sustaining prosperity, resolving environmental problems and establishing a society in which human dignity is respected, then world-wide trust in the United Nations and expectations concerning its future role can only increase.

The United Nations has a major role to play and we, its Member States, have grave responsibilities to fulfil in ensuring the international community's stability and prosperity in the 1990s. Ever since becoming a Member, Japan has

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attached great importance to the United Nations. Its trust in the Organization is unwavering, and its expectations of the role it has to play remain undiminished. As a responsible member of the global community and as a staunch supporter of the international order, Japan is determined to do its utmost within the United Nations to create a world of peace and prosperity and an international community that is more just and more responsive to human needs.

Mr. ADODO (Togo) (interpretation from French): Mr. President, the Togolese delegation is particularly gratified at your unanimous election to preside over the work of the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly. Apart from your great qualities as a diplomat who is versed in the affairs of our Organization, the historical ties, marked by friendly co-operation and active solidarity, which link Nigeria with Togo are all reasons why the Togolese delegation will offer you its support and full and frank co-operation as you carry out your new duties.

Allow me to pay a tribute also to your predecessor, Mr. Dante Caputo, who directed the work of the forty-third session with remarkable skill and competence and to the entire satisfaction of the Togolese delegation. I once again warmly congratulate him.

Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, faithful to himself as well as to the principles and purposes of the United Nations, during the forty-third session took a number of timely initiatives that strengthened the chances for peace and restored the credibility as well as the effectiveness of our universal Organization. It is therefore a very pleasant duty for me once again to offer the Secretary-General the warm congratulations of the Government of Togo on the dynamic, effective and devoted way in which he has been discharging his responsibilities.

(Mr. Adodo, Togo)

In its activities designed to bring about general and complete disarmament with effective verification machinery, the international community has assigned the main responsibility to the two major Powers.

The implementation of the Treaty on medium-range nuclear weapons, the ongoing negotiations to reduce strategic arsenals by one half, the phased ban on nuclear-weapons tests, the stepping up of negotiations to conclude an international convention totally banning chemical weapons all provide further opportunities for action and for peace.

In this connection, the regional centres of the United Nations for peace and disarmament should be confirmed as the privileged purveyors of information and training to all those who, because of the responsibilities entrusted to them, may have some influence on the maintenance of international peace and security.

My country, Togo, which is honoured to be the host country for the United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa, hopes that that Centre will be able very soon to contribute, through its activities, to increasing confidence among the States of the continent and concerting their efforts to promote peace.

Peace, which our Organization holds so dear, remains precarious in many regions of Asia, America and Africa. With regard to Asia, the agreement which is being sought within the context of the International Conference on Cambodia must necessarily take account of all those concerns in order to ensure the unity and national reconciliation which is the best possible way of safeguarding the independence and integrity of that long-ravaged country.

In that connection, the recent informal ministerial meetings in Jakarta and the diplomatic meetings in Paris are positive contributions to the process of re-establishing peace in Cambodia.

(Mr. Adodo, Togo)

We also believe that the withdrawal of foreign troops and direct negotiation among the parties will be likely to pave the way to a peaceful solution.

A global and lasting settlement of the Afghan question requires that all parties to the conflict make sincere efforts towards creating conditions favouring the return of the refugees and bringing about national reconciliation. It is therefore incumbent upon the four signatory countries to the Geneva Agreements to act together to prevent any further foreign interference imperilling the efforts that have been made up till now to put an end to hostilities in that country.

The conflict between Iran and Iraq, because of its length, its breadth and the inherent risk of its spreading internationally, has created one of the deepest breaches in the activities of the United Nations to maintain international peace and security. It is therefore very gratifying that the joint initiatives of the Security Council and the Secretary-General led to the acceptance by the two States of Security Council resolution 598 (1987). The cessation of hostilities, beginning on 20 August 1988, should therefore be utilized to reach a negotiated settlement that is just and acceptable to all.

The same objective should be sought in the Korean peninsula. This is why we would encourage the leaders of the two States to pursue, without relenting, the dialogue they initiated to determine what measures should be taken to increase trust between them and to achieve the final objective of the peaceful reunification of their countries. This reunification, the modalities of which are to be determined by that negotiation, seems to us to be an essential component of political stability in that region.

In Central America the peace initiatives, in particular the Arias Plan, have confirmed the commitment of the States in that region to settle the crisis developing there themselves without any outside interference. The Esquipulas Agreements have laid the groundwork for such a situation. Those recently concluded

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at Costa del Sol and Tela by the five Central American Heads of State quite judiciously determined the context and conditions for peace in that region. All these initiatives deserve the active support of our Organization.

In Western Sahara, the Kingdom of Morocco and the Polisario Front, after having on 30 August 1988 stated their agreement to the referendum on the self-determination of the Sahraoui people presented by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, have in this connection established a dialogue of which we expect a great deal, above all that it will speed up the peace process. All efforts should therefore be focused to that end so as to avoid the widespread resumption of hostilities which would once more involve considerable loss of human life.

The crisis that has beset the Middle East for some decades now has in recent weeks witnessed developments which have caused us all concern and demonstrated that no viable solution is possible without a settlement of the Palestinian problem, which is its real crux.

The Togolese Government very early recognized the new Palestinian State. By so doing we wished to reaffirm our unflagging support for the right of peoples to self-determination, freedom and independence.

In this connection the establishment of a dialogue between the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the United States Government is a positive element in the process of a Middle East settlement. My country believes that everything should be done to convene an international peace conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations with the participation of all parties, including the PLO, so that a settlement could be reached as soon as possible that would guarantee the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people as well as the rights of all peoples in the region, including Israel, to live in peace within secure and internationally recognized boundaries.

(Mr. Adodo, Togo)

Today, more than ever before, we must reach out to one another through open and constructive dialogue. We have to avoid the pointless and absurd suffering that is being inflicted on peoples who are living every day in an atmosphere of fear, anguish and death in the Middle East.

Lebanon has until recently been the living embodiment of this daily tragedy and to a certain extent has constituted a denial of the purposes and principles of our Organization. Today the weapons have fallen silent. Hope has been reborn, thanks to the timely mediation of the Arab League and the co-operation of the parties to the conflict. The Togolese Government welcomes the cease-fire agreement and would like to express the hope that this initial step will in a non-violent way lead to peace and political stability, without which none of the problems facing this courageous people can be resolved in an appropriate way.

The recent development of the situation in southern Africa, particularly in connection with the coming independence of Namibia, warrants a certain degree of optimism.

First, it is becoming more and more obvious that peace and reconciliation in Angola are essential to stability throughout the region. They are likewise essential to strengthening the forthcoming independence of Namibia. Therefore it is essential that the efforts made by the African Heads of State at Gbadolité, Harare and elsewhere to promote peace and reconciliation in Angola as well as for the independence of Namibia be fully crowned with success.

In southern Africa the black majority, determined to write the glorious pages of its own history, has demanded, through powerful and peaceful demonstrations, that apartheid be dismantled, that the Exception Laws be revoked, and that Mandela be freed. All peace- and justice-loving nations must step up their economic, financial and political pressure on a régime that, since Mr. de Klerk came to power, has changed its speeches but not its policies. The ambiguity of

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language from the new leaders of Pretoria reveals the impossibility of reforming in any way this absurd system based on contempt and injustice.

Turning now to Namibia, no one can underestimate the dangers besetting the new State which, throughout the long history of decolonization, is the only one to have had a common frontier with its erstwhile colonizer. This is why no support should be denied the Secretary-General in order that he might take all the measures necessary to ensure free, regular and democratic elections for the genuine independence of that country.

International economic relations today remain profoundly inequitable and place upon the weaker economies numerous and increasingly untenable constraints. The developing countries, in their desire to broaden the North-South dialogue, had our General Assembly adopt two basic documents: first, the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order; and secondly, the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States.

These two texts were intended to serve as a framework and as guidance in international economic co-operation. Although these documents had been adopted by a double consensus in the General Assembly, that was not sufficient to impose the necessary reforms on the international economic system which they contained. Thus, in particular, the targets set for the Third United Nations Development Decade are today very far from having been reached.

During the 1980s the disruption of commodity prices, the steady deterioration in the terms of trade, the growth in protectionism, the inevitable rise of debt and the general shrinkage of financial flows to the developing countries have resulted in the latter's finding themselves in a vicious circle which they find it difficult to break out of.

In the middle of the present decade, average real commodity prices had reached the lowest level ever recorded since the great depression of the 1930s. The African

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countries, which are heavily dependent on their primary exports, have been particularly hard hit by the drop in world prices. In 1987-1988 the prices of cocoa, copper, wood, iron and so forth were more than 30 per cent lower than those in 1980. Earnings from these commodities correspondingly fell at a time when our countries, faced with ever increasing and more urgent social demands and economic constraints, continued to founder in a state of chronic and absurd indebtedness. Today this external debt has taken such a place in the concerns of States that it is concealing the real problems of development in the third world. Undoubtedly specific measures have recently been taken by States and institutions to alleviate the burden of debt of a number of countries in the third world, and here we should like to express our profound gratitude to those countries which, in an upsurge of solidarity, have waived either totally or partially the public credits they held in the case of Togo.

Nevertheless it must be emphasized that solution of the crisis of indebtedness necessarily involves raising the value of commodities. If the developing countries do not receive remunerative prices for their commodities they will very shortly reach a situation of profound disequilibrium that must lead to the crippling indebtedness which we deplore so much today.

(Mr. Adodo, Togo)

Indeed, as long as there is a reverse flow of resources and as long as external financial flows do not increase substantially towards the poor countries of the third world, those countries will be doomed to stagnation and to impoverishment.

The developed and the developing countries should mobilize their efforts both in thought and deed so that in a fresh spirit of solidarity new solutions can be found not only to the debt problem but, more generally, to ensure the specific implementation of the measures adopted, first by the General Assembly, such as the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development, and, secondly, by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the other agencies of the United Nations system.

It is very important now to rethink international economic co-operation in terms of a judicious restructuring of the world economic order. That is why my country attaches major importance to two forthcoming events, namely, the special session of the General Assembly to further economic growth and development, and the drawing up of a new international development strategy for the fourth United Nations development decade. Both events should provide an opportunity to remedy the inequities of the international economic system and to promote a just and equitable division of the heritage of mankind. The détente that we are now experiencing will be fragile and precarious if it does not have a specific economic content for the developing countries, that is to say, new and real possibilities for development and progress.

Similarly, international co-operation must be strengthened in the matter of the protection of the environment. Overt or covert attempts to bury toxic wastes in Africa could ultimately result in sowing death, desolation and squalor among our

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peoples. That is why we must join our efforts and bear in mind that the struggle to prevent the deterioration of the environment is an integral part of what should be done by the international community to promote economic growth and development.

In order to thwart these nefarious manoeuvres, the Government of Togo in the matter of the protection of the environment has drawn up a code that is stringent both in the standards it defines and the sanctions it lays down.

The same stringency and intransigence should be observed with regard to the production of, trafficking in, and consumption of drugs - a scourge whose effects will in the final analysis be lethal for all societies, whether rich or poor.

Likewise, the acts of terrorism perpetrated here and there, whether carried out by organized groups or isolated individuals, should be firmly condemned and fought against unflaggingly. Absolutely nothing can excuse the loss of innocent life for causes which would be better served by open and constructive dialogue, even if that dialogue is difficult to achieve.

The growing interdependence among the various participants on the international scene is today a reality none can evade.

In the same way that political tensions, poverty and squalor are becoming more generalized, economic and social difficulties and the unrelenting deterioration of the environment are threatening the capacity of States fully to enjoy their national and international sovereignty and thus to make an effective contribution to the advent of a world of peace.

Like conflicts, natural catastrophes and the depletion of financial resources that is linked to massive external indebtedness may seriously undermine the independence and sovereignty of States and, hence, their security and international peace.

(Mr. Adodo, Togo)

During the decade that is coming to an end, we have witnessed a number of grey areas in our joint efforts to promote the well-being of our peoples and to give concrete expression to the ideals of justice, freedom and solidarity. That is why it is important for us to work even harder to impart full vitality and urgency to the concept of solidarity, which is at the crossroads of the major moral and spiritual values that can give our world new reasons for living and making progress together.

It is in this way that the forthcoming decade can be one of renewal, that is, a time when we shall come to realize fully that we share a common destiny so that the twenty-first century may usher in a more peaceful world, a world that is more secure and more favourable to the further blossoming of mankind in every aspect.

Mr. PAASIO (Finland): May I begin by congratulating you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-fourth session. Your wide experience in the United Nations makes you especially qualified to guide the Assembly and its deliberations. You have my best wishes for the demanding task that lies ahead of you. May I also express my thanks to the outgoing President, Mr. Dante Caputo, who so ably fulfilled his role on behalf of the Assembly.

It gives me particular pleasure to pay tribute to the Secretary-General. We owe a great deal to his authority and leadership.

As we are assembled here for the annual general debate, every Member State needs to reflect on certain fundamental questions. Is the United Nations doing everything possible in order to meet its challenges? Are we making progress? Can we say that the United Nations enters the last decade of this century with determination and justified self-confidence? Is my own country doing everything it can in order to help the world Organization?

(Mr. Paasio, Finland)

The answers to these questions must be sought in the actual work of the Organization and of its Member States. For my part, I shall try to emphasize some of the challenges we in Finland regard as particularly important at the present time.

It seems to us that the main challenges can be expressed in two words - insecurity and poverty. Both produce fear and suffering. Neither can be dealt with by any single remedy.

The United Nations was created first and foremost in order to maintain international peace and security. In this respect, the past year represents a mixture of success and disappointment. We are encouraged by the high-level dialogues that have continued between the major Powers. We have witnessed with satisfaction such concrete achievements as the continuing progress in the verified dismantling and destruction of American and Soviet intermediate-range nuclear weapons. As one of the participating States in the process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, Finland follows closely and with much hope the new efforts to achieve substantive conventional disarmament in Europe.

At the same time we are concerned about the violence that has erupted and continues in many parts of the world. Most of the underlying problems are already on the agenda of the General Assembly, and we shall express our views on them in due course. Now I want to speak about the global challenges.

As regards the process of disarmament on the global level our hopes in Finland are fastened particularly on the preparation of a chemical weapons convention. The political will is there, as was demonstrated again at the conferences held in Paris and in Canberra this year. During this year, as before, Finnish experts have continued their research in order to help to develop appropriate methods that could meet the complex verification requirements of a global and comprehensive chemical weapons convention.

(Mr. Paasio, Finland)

We expect progress from the protracted negotiations with growing impatience. We welcome the impetus recently given them in the bilateral talks between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Security on the global level must take into account other factors in addition to armaments and military threats. Security requires confidence in the future. Such confidence must be felt both by Governments and by their peoples. Only a representative Government that respects human rights and that therefore enjoys the confidence of its own people can face the future with a sense of security and successfully maintain stable relations with other Governments. Some dramatic - in fact, tragic - events have recently illustrated the importance of respect for human rights. We hope that lessons have been learned.

Confidence in the future also requires that the other global challenge, that of poverty, be overcome. The sufferings of poverty may not be in evidence everywhere, but the challenge requires global co-operation for development. The Assembly will meet next year in a special session devoted to international economic co-operation. Soon thereafter a new international development strategy for the 1990s should be adopted. A successful special session and a new and realistic strategy should help to bring about a new spirit of international economic co-operation.

In the process of preparing both the development strategy and the special session emphasis should be on the development of human resources in all forms, including the recognition of a well-functioning private sector in balance with an effective public sector. In that context funding generated by national and international sources should be well co-ordinated. The necessary investments in developing countries require increasing domestic and external financing.

The debt overhang has resulted in the transfer of resources from developing countries, which exceeded \$US 50 billion last year, a trend that should be reversed.

(Mr. Paasio, Finland)

This requires that a political solution, including a functioning debt strategy, be found. The debt overhang cannot be overlooked by the international community at the upcoming special session of the General Assembly and in the new international development strategy. It would be important for the efforts to reverse the transfer of resources from the developing countries if the target of 0.7 per cent of gross national product as development-aid transfer were generally reached. For its part, Finland will this year reach that target set by the General Assembly.

The structure of the United Nations in the economic and social fields should respond to the tasks to be specified in the strategy for the 1990s, thus reconsolidating the role of the world Organization. The Finnish Government finds that the Secretary-General has a major catalytic role to play in putting forward concrete proposals to improve the Organization's effectiveness in those fields. That would also help Governments in agreeing on the areas where they are to concentrate the activities of the United Nations in the economic and social fields. Today I wish to emphasize two issues that must, in my opinion, have a prominent place in this respect. Development cannot be sustainable if the world population continues to grow at its present rate. Development cannot be sustainable if the natural resources of the Earth continue to be depleted at the present rate. There is a growing awareness of such problems in all parts of the world. That awareness is more and more strongly reflected in the work of the United Nations. It has prompted a number of positive measures. More is needed.

According to recent United Nations estimates the world population could stabilize in the twenty-first century at the level of 10 to 11 billion persons. An early stabilization of population growth would, of course, facilitate the fight against poverty. To reach that goal, determined population policies, translated

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into national population plans as spelled out in the World Population Plan of Action, should be pursued vigorously.

With regard to the protection of the environment, no problem has lately become so apparent and widely recognized as the problem of climate change. Both industrialized and developing countries are directly affected by the depletion of the ozone layer through increasing emissions of carbon dioxides, which produce the so-called greenhouse effect in the climate of the Earth, and by the increasing presence of substances in the atmosphere that cause acid rain and direct dangers to health.

It is therefore hardly a surprise that we have witnessed increasing international activity in this field. Several initiatives have been taken to launch concerted international action to combat atmospheric pollution in all its aspects, including climatic change. It is our view that effective strategies and policies should be developed by the international community as soon as possible in all fields relating to environment. That is a major undertaking that requires consolidated effort by the General Assembly and by the relevant United Nations specialized and other agencies. Environmental problems have a universal character. Any new activities should be streamlined with already ongoing action and well-established treaty-making procedures. The General Assembly must play a pivotal role in that effort.

Five months ago Finland hosted a Conference of the Parties to the Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer and the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer. Those instruments, of 1985 and 1987 respectively, have this year already been found inadequate in light of the latest advances in knowledge. At the Conference the representatives of the more than 80 States present agreed unanimously to the Helsinki Declaration on the Protection of

(Mr. Paasio, Finland)

the Ozone Layer, which contains an ambitious undertaking to phase out completely the use of ozone-depleting chlorofluorocarbons by the year 2000, or sooner if possible, and to phase out other ozone-depleting substances as soon as possible. We expect that undertaking to be converted into a legally binding decision at next year's meeting of the Parties to the Montreal Protocol. Appropriate measures should also be undertaken to make environmentally sound substitutes widely available to developing countries as soon as possible.

In the field of environment protection the problems that are typical in the industrialized countries are often also found in the big urban centres of the developing countries. The problems that are now typical in many developing countries - such as soil erosion and the destruction of forests - illustrate mistakes already committed by earlier generations, most of all in Europe.

(Mr. Paasio, Finland)

We can therefore all learn from each other. There is information available about the environment and its protection, and about earlier mistakes. The available knowledge needs to be applied and converted into practical programmes, not only on the level of global strategies, but also on the level of regional, national and local development.

In our own development co-operation programmes, we in Finland have emphasized such activities as afforestation, where we feel that we have some experience and expertise. We see afforestation as urgent in order to help stop soil erosion, counteract the greenhouse effect and counterbalance the continued cutting of trees for fuel and for other immediate human needs. In this respect, the development of new and renewable sources of energy is of crucial importance.

On a broader scale, we look forward to the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development. We see it as representing probably the most important joint effort required of mankind during the remaining part of this century. This session of the General Assembly is called upon to take important decisions for the preparation of the Conference. In that connection, as in all our activities to face up to environmental problems, we in Finland will strongly emphasize the need to support the developing countries in order to ensure that their development is environmentally sustainable.

A large part of the burden, particularly for financing research and the introduction of new environmentally sound technologies, will have to be borne by the industrialized countries. We accept our part of this burden, knowing of course that all States will have to share in the efforts according to their capabilities. Since concern for the environment is global, this concern should in our opinion give a further incentive to all States without exception to involve themselves actively in international co-operation for environmentally sound and sustainable development.

(Mr. Paasio, Finland)

We also think that the time is ripe for the preparation of structural reforms making the United Nations Organization more responsive to the problems of protecting the environment. My Government has an open mind regarding the various ideas that have been discussed. We would find it natural for this Assembly to take decisions ensuring environmental questions a permanent and prominent place in the structure of the Organization.

One of the activities of the United Nations which has rightly gained prominence during this year is peace-keeping. At the present time, Finland is the biggest contributor of personnel to the United Nations peace-keeping forces. Their total strength is close to 15,000, and the number of Finnish personnel is now almost 2,000. It is therefore with particular satisfaction that we in Finland share the pride felt in this house over the latest Nobel Peace Prize, which was awarded to the United Nations peace-keeping forces. In co-operation with the other Nordic countries, Finland has this year taken steps to share with other interested States its experiences concerning the training and preparation of national contingents for peace-keeping tasks.

We are also satisfied at the reactivation of the United Nations Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. The accumulated experiences in this field have already grown to such an extent that it is high time indeed to make a thorough review of all practical proposals that may help to strengthen the role of the United Nations in peace-keeping.

In this connection, I wish to emphasize the importance of finding a lasting solution to the financial difficulties that still affect current peace-keeping operations, thus indirectly undermining the financial basis of the whole Organization. The idea of having sufficient financial reserves for peacemaking and peace-keeping, particularly for the start-up phase of operations, which my

(Mr. Paasio, Finland)

predecessor put forward in his address to the General Assembly last year, has received support in a number of quarters. I note in particular that the Secretary-General, in his own report to the General Assembly, has referred to the possibility of establishing a special reserve fund for peace-keeping, to be supported by all Member States. We hope that this idea can soon be followed up in practice with full respect for the principle of collective responsibility. The first condition, in our view, is that Member States should accept the principle of financing all operations without exception through assessed contributions and that they should pay all their assessed contributions in full and on time.

The principal factor explaining the recent growth in the participation of Finnish personnel in United Nations peace-keeping is the deployment of an enlarged battalion within the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia. A sizable number of volunteer soldiers has thus been added to the two Finnish battalions and smaller units already serving in the Middle East and elsewhere.

Namibia is a major test for the United Nations. The beginnings of the UNTAG operations to implement Security Council resolution 435 on the independence of Namibia were unexpectedly rough and difficult. It is still too early to draw conclusions from the whole process of transition to independence, but we believe that the programme has been brought back on track thanks to the persistent efforts of the Secretary-General and the competent performance of the UNTAG personnel. Of course, many problems still remain to be solved and call for our unrelenting attention. We are looking forward with confidence to the moment when we can welcome independent Namibia into our midst as a Member State of the United Nations. For Finland, Namibia will be a major partner in our development co-operation.

(Mr. Paasio, Finland)

The situation in the Middle East continues to pose a persistent threat to international security. The dangers of the absence of peace in the area are demonstrated almost daily. Repressive measures continue in the territories illegally occupied by Israel. The cycle of violence has not been broken. The smouldering turmoil in Lebanon gives cause for deep concern. There must be a way to end the suffering of the Lebanese people by the common endeavours of the Lebanese themselves, the Arab League and the international community.

It is pressingly urgent that the way should be prepared towards an international peace conference and, further, to a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East. There is an almost universal recognition of the basic principles for such a settlement. The right of all States in the region to live within secure and recognized boundaries, as well as the right of the Palestinians to national self-determination, should be recognized. Democratic elections in the occupied territories could facilitate this process. If such elections are properly monitored and take place within the framework of a structured effort, they could become a link in a process leading to a comprehensive settlement. The momentum for achieving a solution to this long-standing conflict will be lost unless all possible avenues are pursued vigorously and with an open mind. In this respect, the proposals made by President Mubarak of Egypt are welcome and merit serious consideration.

(Mr. Paasio, Finland)

The United Nations has manifestly demonstrated its relevance and strengthened its role as a forum for co-ordinated international action. Yet the world Organization and its Member States can do more. Serious global problems call for urgent global solutions. Only a reinvigorated United Nations can answer the challenges the world will inevitably face in the 1990s and beyond. Let us unite our forces to make the United Nations capable of meeting those challenges.

The PRESIDENT: I would like to express my very deep and sincere appreciation to those Member States which decided to resist the temptation to give congratulations on the General Assembly floor. I hope I can continue to count on your understanding and co-operation in this regard and that of the rest of the members of the Assembly.

Mr. CLARK (Canada): In view of your remarks, Mr. President, I am a little embarrassed but I would like to extend to you my congratulations and best wishes as you assume your important duties as President of the current session of the General Assembly. The wisdom and the understanding that you bring to this position is well suited to these historic times. I am also confident you will do great honour to the legacy left by your predecessor and my good friend, Dante Caputo.

Before beginning my main remarks I want to comment on two particular developments of relevance to the United Nations. The first concerns the application of modern technology to the challenge of peace-keeping. In April of this year, Canada completed a comprehensive study the purpose of which was to explore the utility of all forms of aerial surveillance to the peace-keeping tasks now before the international community. The conclusion of this study was that these overhead technologies - satellite or airborne - could significantly increase the efficiency of peace-keeping operations and related verification endeavours. This study will be submitted to the United Nations for its consideration.

(Mr. Clark, Canada)

I believe this is an important development both symbolically and as an achievement in its own right. It is the sort of pragmatic, concrete work necessary to allow the United Nations to handle its ever-expanding peace-keeping responsibilities more effectively. It also symbolizes one of the fundamental purposes of this Organization: harmonizing the wonders of modern technology to the tasks of peace-making and not war-making.

The second development on which I would like to comment is the readiness by Canada, if asked, to supplement the United Nations presence in Namibia by sending trained and respected police forces. Canada enthusiastically supported the idea that nations should help meet the urgent requirements for skilled policing in Namibia. We are ready to send members of our national force, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, who have played such a decisive and constructive role in our own history.*

They were, in effect, Canada's first peace-keepers. In 1874, in one of the actions which made us a trans-continental nation, the North-West Mounted Police marched west across 1,000 miles to establish by their presence the rule of law in the Canadian west. They brought order, not force, and by their conduct established a respect that endures to this day and has made them one of the most admired police forces in the world. They would carry to Namibia not only their skills, but their reputation as keepers of the peace.

This would be the first time in Canadian history that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police has undertaken such a role and in order to be ready, their Commissioner has asked for 100 volunteers. So far, 2,000 members have responded to that call from a total force of over 14,000. We believe that Canadian Mounties,

*Mr. Sallah (Gambia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

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who, more than a century ago, brought a universal respect for law and order to our own West can extend that tradition to Namibia, as that new nation finally comes of age.

This is an unprecedented and challenging period in world affairs. On the one hand, there is real movement on problems that not long ago seemed intractable. That is true in southern Africa, in Indo-China, in parts of the Middle East and, most dramatically, in East-West relations.

At the same time, the sense of crisis becomes more acute. Our climate is changing, bringing drought or inundation or other threats to our very survival. New diseases develop. New technologies allow proliferation of the most deadly weapons. Terrorism becomes more widespread. What is common about these problems is that none of them can be solved by one nation acting alone, nor by one group of powerful nations combining their will.

In the past, we assumed the world could survive man's worst excesses. Now in an age of suitcase bombs, the AIDS pandemic, holes in the ozone layer, there is doubt about that elementary ability to survive. There is doubt, but not despair - indeed the opposite of despair. What marks this period in world affairs is an activism and a pragmatism which yield surprising results and they come together here in the United Nations.

We are entering an era where the words of the United Nations Charter must cease to be goals to which we aspire; they must become descriptions of our common actions. And the term "United Nations" cannot simply be the name of our institution; it must become a statement of our common purpose.

Who, today, can imagine a nuclear war in which there are winners and losers?
Who can envisage a conventional war in Europe which does not consume the prize?
Who can construct a solution to the debt crisis which does not involve compromise?

(Mr. Clark, Canada)

Who can foresee a cleaner global environment without international co-operation and joint action? And who can imagine a resolution of the many crises in the developing world without a reasoned and productive dialogue with the developed world?

In the past it was the adherents of unilateralism who were known as realists and the advocates of co-operation who were labelled idealists. I submit that the reverse is now the case. Co-operation is now the new realism and pragmatism is the path to progress.

Much has been accomplished in recent months and years; much more remains to be done. Within the East-West relationship there is a new willingness to abandon sterile linkages and to seek solutions to tractable problems even when other areas remain contentious. This welcome attitude has invigorated this institution and brought hope to many conflicts and regions of the world. We encourage its continuance.

Arms control is now characterized by real compromise and give and take. Problems which are truly acute are being addressed first. Areas where technology threatens to overtake politics are being given priority and the unnecessarily large and undesirably unstable balance in conventional forces is finally being dealt with head-on.

Canada warmly welcomes the significant progress made in recent days by the United States and the Soviet Union on a variety of fundamental issues. In particular, movement towards the abandonment of the linkage between research on strategic defence and progress on strategic nuclear arms control is a very positive development.

(Mr. Clark, Canada)

So too is the progress registered on eliminating chemical weapons, including the exchange of data on stocks. We strongly welcome President Bush's offer to reduce stockpiles to less than 20 per cent of current levels while efforts continue in Geneva to negotiate a chemical weapons convention.

Canada endorses also the United States and Soviet agreement to explore an open-skies arrangement between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Warsaw Pact. Such an arrangement would be daring in its simplicity, yet path-breaking in its consequences: an agreement that the aircraft of each member of both alliances could enter the airspace of the other alliance subject only to basic air-safety regulations. That would increase the assurance of every member that military activities were not becoming preparations for surprise attack.

From the beginning, we have urged the United States to move forward with this visionary proposal, and to make it an alliance-to-alliance arrangement. An open-skies agreement would be a compelling symbol of the new East-West relationship. It would build confidence and serve as a useful vehicle for the verification of other agreements, including an eventual agreement on conventional forces in Europe.

We are prepared to go beyond moral support. On Sunday, after consultations between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, Prime Minister Mulroney announced Canada's offer to act as host to an inter-alliance conference as early as November, in order to explore the possibilities of a formal agreement on open-skies.

It is of fundamental importance to deepen and widen East-West relations. A stable structure of peace cannot endure if its only component is concurrence on arms control, no matter how far-reaching that agreement might be. Enduring peace requires understanding, a sense of shared problems and a shared stake in the future. Above all, it demands a sense on each side that the survival of the other is in its own best interests. What is required is agreement not only on the

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avoidance of war but also on the advantages of peace. Therefore we welcome and encourage the broadening dialogue on regional, economic, social and environmental matters.

It is for that reason that Canada has strongly supported expanding the field of activity of NATO to pursue more energetically the alliance's mandate for political and social dialogue. In that connection, during NATO's most recent summit, a Canadian proposal was adopted to assist young political leaders in learning how to make democracy work. More initiatives of that type are required.

The progress in East-West relations owes much to the refreshing breezes of change sweeping Eastern Europe and the USSR. Ideology is giving way to compromise. Governments are recognizing that the old ways do not work, that new strategies are required, that lessons may be learned abroad, and that co-operation in the economic and social spheres does not constitute an acknowledgement of defeat but is rather a recipe for success.

Canada's support for the changes now underway in the East is unequivocal. There must be no turning back, and that requires imagination in the West as to practical ways to strengthen the remarkable process of reform and liberalization.

In the Eastern bloc and elsewhere around the world, the turning towards democracy and the expansion of the market-place is a welcome victory for pragmatism and realism. Totalitarianism is fading not because it is regarded by its subjects as wrong: it is being discredited because it does not work; it does not deliver.

Democracy is not only a set of values; it is also a statement that there is no monopoly on truth, that different groups at different times may have different solutions to different problems. It is the politics of pragmatism. It works. It delivers. A free market is not simply a particular means of ordering the economy. It is a framework that enables the individual to act on his or her own merits,

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efforts, and capacities. It conforms to human nature. It is the economics of pragmatism. It works. It delivers. It is for that reason that Canada welcomes the tide of democratization and the shift to the market-place evident around the globe. On that trend rests the hope for social stability. And such stability is a firm foundation for international peace.

The past months have seen remarkable progress in many regional conflicts that have posed serious threats to global stability and caused untold sorrow for their victims. The Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, the settlements in Angola and Namibia, the cease-fire in the Iran-Iraq war, and the progress evident in Central America: all are testimony to a new willingness to compromise. They are also testimony to the crucial role played by the Organization and by its Secretary-General in the search for global order. Much more needs to be done. There is a difference between the absence of war and the presence of peace. The international community must continue to do everything in its power to ensure that the processes now underway in those troubled regions move from truce to settlement, from stand-off to stand-down.

We believe it is particularly important to maintain the pressure against apartheid. There are real reasons for encouragement. President de Klerk has promised reform and has demonstrated both flexibility and imagination. The African National Congress has shown courage and foresight in preparing itself to participate in genuine negotiations. Popular demonstrations in South Africa, and their tolerance by the authorities, reflect a popular will that reaches across colour. International attention and the use and threat of sanctions have contributed to this climate of change, and they must not be relaxed until substantial reform is in place.

(Mr. Clark, Canada)

(spoke in French)

Even today, children starve and adults perish as old conflicts born of hatred and greed continue to fester, cheating future generations and defiling the honour of ancient civilizations.

In Lebanon, blood continues to be spilt in a tragic struggle for domination in that once noble land, which is now being destroyed by those who would be its ruler. We renew the call for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Lebanon and reiterate our strong support for the efforts of the Tripartite Committee of the Arab League.

In the Middle East, there is an urgent need for confidence and dialogue. We support Israel's proposals for direct elections in the occupied territories. We welcome the moderation evident in the positions of the Palestine Liberation Organization. But much more confidence-building is needed on both sides if these initial gestures are to be translated into a meaningful peace process for that troubled and war-ravaged region. Canada welcomes President Mubarak's imaginative 10-point plan as one avenue out of the current impasse.

And in Cambodia, the recent International Conference in Paris failed to produce an agreement, owing to many outstanding difference between the parties. It is to be hoped that the future will bring compromise before that land endures yet another bloody conflict. However, I believe the Paris Conference served a positive purpose: it has put the issue firmly on the international agenda and identified international control mechanisms and reconstruction processes that can be brought into play when a settlement is reached.

(continued in English)

As some regional conflicts have been brought under control, the unique and

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important United Nations instrument of peace-keeping has been brought to bear. At the same time, welcome and pragmatic suggestions are being made to improve operations and funding. Canada supports the Secretary-General's call to provide peace-keeping with a rational and secure funding base. Peace-keeping has become too important to the mission of the Organization to be subject to charity or whim.

(Mr. Clark, Canada)

One of the central tasks of this Organization has been to weave a new fabric of international law. This it has done assiduously, often without fanfare. The foundation is being laid for an international society governed by legal principles and codes of conduct. As with domestic society, stability is not possible without law, and law is powerless without consensus. The integration into domestic law of the rights codified by the United Nations in its Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the covenants on racial discrimination and the rights of women is testimony to a growing international consensus. We must build on this success by acting this year to approve the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

We are witnessing today a profound transformation in the substance of international discourse. Issues once thought intractable are now remarkably close to resolution. And issues once considered the province of domestic governments are now the focus of international activity. These are on the international agenda because they are pressing and because no State, no matter how powerful or well-intentioned, can resolve them on its own.

Thus the environment is emerging as the most important international challenge of the remainder of this century and the next. In a very few years, the environment will be seen as a threat to human existence in the same way as nuclear war has been regarded in the past. It is now a challenge to national survival. It is also an area where the distinction between the domestic and the international agenda is collapsing. Pollution knows no borders. In the end, we all share the same air and water; we all suffer from its corruption or its loss.

Let us agree during this session of the Assembly to hold the proposed Conference on the Environment and Development in 1992. Let us move forward towards a convention on climate change with regard to which Canada has played a leading

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role in the development of a United Nations draft. And let us start a realistic dialogue between the developed and the developing world on the environmental scourge which threatens all States, rich and poor.

I detect today a new and welcome change in the stale and unproductive state of relations between North and South which marked the 1970s and the first part of this decade. There is growing recognition that grand, vague visions must give way to pragmatic dialogue, and that attributing blame does little to solve problems.

In fact, without fanfare, without grand initiative, a new process of dialogue has already begun between the developed and the developing world. In the Cairns Group, diverse countries such as Canada and Thailand, Australia and Argentina have joined together on agricultural issues. In international financial institutions, the debt crisis is being approached with a new spirit of realism and a sense of shared risk. Economic prescriptions are now being married with political and social considerations. This sensitivity is required if fledgling democracies and fragile societies are not to collapse over the wrenching effect of debt repayments. In the Commonwealth, a multiracial and global membership has allowed for increasing pressure against apartheid. In La Francophonie, new programmes to preserve the French heritage and promote distance-learning are emerging, and human rights are now on the agenda for the first time. And within the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, there is a refreshing determination to put ideology aside and seek practical co-operation with the developed world.

I attended the Summit Conference of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in Belgrade as a guest. I did so in search of common ground on a variety of international issues. I was impressed by the new spirit of moderation shown by many members, as I was by the wise and deft chairmanship of Yugoslavia. I quote from their Final Declaration:

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"We are not to be burdened with prejudice or dogma."

I attended the Summit Conference not because Canada is questioning its alliances - we are a proud and permanent member of NATO and we are committed to a market economy and liberal democracy - rather, I attended because Canada happens to share a world with the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

At Belgarde, I took the opportunity to explore further the proposal made by India, Egypt, Senegal and Venezuela during the Paris economic summit for a serious and responsive dialogue on issues of concern to us all. Canada, along with France, supported that proposal in principle at Paris. I reiterate that support now, and suggest some variations that may make the concept more effective.

We should all learn from the mistakes of our past, set aside our differing world views, and come together, collectively and calmly, to discuss particular problems whose resolution we all seek.

Canada believes it is useful to encourage intensive consultations leading to a new conversation between the developed and the developing world, a conversation on focused issues, with a view to arriving at joint action for a common cause.

Conversation, not confrontation. We cannot remake the world. But we can - and we must - redress the errors of the past - methodically, pragmatically, realistically and collectively.

Discussions on the environment, on drugs, on investment, on trade, on debt, are all worthy of early pursuit. The agenda should be balanced, covering issues of interest to both the developed and developing world. We will be pursuing this question actively in the months ahead with our G-7 partners and the developing world. Soviet involvement in this effort would be welcome, giving them the opportunity to act further on their interest in contributing to the international order. It would also reflect the universal nature of this challenge.

(Mr. Clark, Canada)

In this connection, the coming year will provide two opportunities to encourage this new dialogue: the special session on the Revitalization of Growth and Development; and the elaboration of the fourth international development strategy. These two events can contribute to a new understanding of the basis for sustained economic growth and development, particularly for developing countries.

The challenge before us today is to alter our traditional behaviour at an unprecedented rate, faced as we are with a planet showing so many signs of use and abuse.

We know only too well the litany of global horrors before us: a burgeoning global population whose size will expand by almost 3.5 billion in 35 short years; an ailing environment whose forests are dying or disappearing, whose air is being poisoned, and whose oceans and rivers are becoming dump-sites and cesspools; 14 million children dying each year from common illness and poor nutrition; a generation debilitated by drugs, the world trade in which now exceeds the value of trade in oil and is second only to the arms trade; dozens of economies unable to pay simultaneously for past mistakes and develop a successful future; the proliferation of weapons - chemical and nuclear, as well as the spreading technology of weapon-delivery systems - creating a timebomb which threatens the relief we now feel at the new-found co-operation of the super-Powers.

This Organization, like other international assemblies, reflects the world from which it draws its Members and its mission.

There have been many successes: the quiet but spectacular victories of UNICEF, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the World Health Organization; the triumph of peace-keeping, 50,000 participants in which so deservedly received the Nobel Peace Prize; the mediation of disputes, so honourably presided over by the present Secretary-General.

(Mr. Clark, Canada)

But there have also been failures, opportunities lost to dated ideology and the lack of political will. The challenge posed by the future is not to invent new institutions but to make this United Nations family of institutions work more effectively and humanely.

We are in a new type of race, one in which we will either all be winners or we will all be losers. Let us lay to rest the worn out stereotypes of the past. Let us set aside our differences and work forthrightly for a secure global future. Let us consecrate ourselves anew as united Nations. And let us confront squarely the problems of our era as men and women aware of the challenges before us, mindful of the consequences of failure, and dedicated to solutions that will work, not to dreams that will die.

Mr. CORDOVEZ (Ecuador) (interpretation from Spanish): The Government of Ecuador would like to extend to Ambassador Joseph Garba its warmest congratulations on his election to the presidency of the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly. His country and mine have shared interests and shared aspirations, and we are confident of his skills in guiding the debates of this General Assembly.

I should also like to express our gratitude to Ambassador Dante Caputo for the efficient manner in which he presided over the proceedings of this Assembly's session last year.

It is now ten years since democracy was re-established in Ecuador and a year since President Rodrigo Borja assumed his constitutional mandate. During this period the Ecuadorian people have strengthened their political system and have made serious efforts to surmount the economic difficulties encountered.

The Administration has been forced to adopt stringent measures to streamline its economy, honour its international commitments and attempt to improve the social circumstances of its poorest citizens. So far it has managed to launch a sustained process of stabilization and economic recovery and to lay the foundations for social development in a climate of freedom, security, peace, respect and democratic discipline.

We have made special efforts to broaden our role in international affairs by strengthening our relations both with industrialized and with developing countries. We are convinced that co-operation and solidarity are essential to development and the harmonious coexistence of nations.

We are conscious also of the reality in which we live and of the regional commitments to give a new dimension to Latin American and Caribbean unity and in this context to work for Andean and Latin American integration and co-operation between Amazonia and the South Pacific. Ecuador shares problems and positions with the third world and with the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

(Mr. Cordovez, Ecuador)

We hope the twenty-first century will see Latin America united, enjoying solidarity, and truly integrated, with a system of collective security that will make confrontation between nations inconceivable and proscribe violence. It is our hope that mutual trust will set the region on a course which will allow all of the countries, individually and collectively, to have sound possibilities of development. In the Andean region we have taken significant steps to consolidate a process of integration, which will promote progress in trade, political, economic and social affairs, as well as in the technological, scientific and cultural areas.

We have given impetus to a good-neighbour policy aimed at improving links with the neighbouring countries of Colombia and Peru, through an effective, straight-forward mechanism which enables us to strengthen our affinities and take advantage of the possibilities of co-operation and complementation. The process that we have under way with Peru will create the climate and conditions necessary to enable our countries, in a spirit of brotherly collaboration, to make joint efforts to promote their people's development and solve their traditional difference on a renewed basis of justice, trust and friendship, in a new era of fruitful bilateral relations.

We have also strengthened our relations and intensified our action in multilateral forums because we believe that the discussions and activities of the international community will help significantly to solve our national problems. I would like here to reiterate my Government's tribute to the United Nations and its support for the Organization and to express our thanks to its specialized agencies, which are doing so much to help us surmount our development problems.

As a member of the international community we are undoubtedly living in hopeful times. However, the threat of confrontation has not been eliminated, nor has a solution been found to all regional conflicts. Nor can we claim victory in our fight against poverty or sickness. We cannot yet say that we are close to the

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time when all the peoples of the United Nations will have attained living standards consistent with human dignity. Nor can we claim that we have completely eliminated friction or dangerous misunderstandings or that violence has been eradicated.

There are still many serious problems, but there are also undoubtedly positive signs which we should reinforce. It is obvious that a new spirit of détente makes dialogue and co-operation easier. Several conflicts that only yesterday represented a serious threat to peace now appear to be giving way to constructive negotiations.

Thus, we welcome this rebirth of hope. We enthusiastically support the renewed spirit of peace, the steps taken towards the elimination or reduction of weapons of mass destruction and the perspectives for closer understanding within a framework that should lead to greater solidarity between nations and to the establishment of a fairer international order.

The United Nations has made an essential and extremely valuable contribution to all those efforts. In order to overcome the remaining pockets of tension, however, we will have to undertake more vigorous and dynamic action. The fundamental task of maintaining and strengthening peace is everybody's business; it has to be undertaken by the great Powers as well as the small countries, by Governments as well as individuals. Peace is the business of humanity as a whole.

Agreement, as a road to coexistence, is an urgent goal to be achieved at the international level. Thus, we welcome the rapprochement between the United States and the Soviet Union and we trust that its consolidation will strengthen the hopes of agreement and harmony, and thus reduce the tensions both between the super-Powers and at the level of regional conflicts.

We welcome also the progress made in our region towards a negotiated solution to the Central American crisis. With genuine political will, momentous political

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steps are being taken. We trust that all the Governments that are parties to the Esquipulas II and Tela Agreements will abide by the commitments they have assumed, and that all members of the inter-American community will do their best to facilitate the achievement of the goals of peace and the democratization process, and will refrain from anything that might hinder it. We also welcome the efforts to establish a dialogue aimed at bringing to an end the conflict in El Salvador, which has already cut short too many lives and severely undermined that country's development.

In Latin America we cannot be indifferent to what is happening to the political system of other countries in the region. We are quite aware that the persistence of totalitarian régimes, the temptation of military takeovers, the continued existence of guerrilla movements, irregular forces and different forms of terrorism ultimately affect the security of all. We are beginning to experience democratic interdependence in Latin America, which is thoroughly consistent with our deep respect for the principle of non-intervention.

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Hence, those of us who support and promote a negotiated political solution among all the sectors involved in the Panama crisis believe that the dialogue among the parties, which was interrupted by an artificially set date that had established an absurd time-limit, should be resumed so that Panamanians can arrive at a Panamanian formula that will bring about the beginning of a legitimate, fully democratic process leading to the establishment of a constitutional government.

Our desire for peace leads us to promote any process aimed at achieving and strengthening peace and points to the need to find negotiated solutions to all disputes. We have always given proof of this. We believe that all of us must make fairness a universal value so that the vital interests of each nation, be it big or small, will be equally valid and internationally respected.

The independence of Namibia will represent monumental progress on the part of the international community in its struggle to eradicate colonialism. The civilized world requires that some of the encouraging statements that have been heard lately find real expression in the eradication of the abhorrent apartheid system and other equally unacceptable discriminatory practices.

We also hope that the goals of negotiation and reconciliation set for the Middle East region will be achieved. This is a region with which we Latin Americans feel historically linked - as we do with all other areas of persistent conflict - although in the last year there have been significant steps towards a resolution.

This is, in any case, the time for us to realize that the risks are not merely military but have very tragic political, social and economic dimensions. We must look towards the establishment of a safer world for everyone.

The lack of security in the world at large, and in Latin America in particular, has many deep-rooted causes. Among them are the violence in the large urban centres; the difficult situation of the peasants; the deterioration of the

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environment and quality of life; poor working conditions and low pay; the stifling practices of those who wield financial power; food imbalances and unmet health needs; and the lack of opportunity for the young to use their imagination and energy. They are also to be found in the failure to make the unfair international order more democratic, and in lack of respect for human rights and the sovereignty of nations through unjustified interference.

An insecure society leads to frustration, conflict and violence. Our most urgent task and social obligation in Latin America is to make democracy a practical reality for the disadvantaged in our societies. Historically, the effectiveness of our democracy will be measured by its ability to bring tangible relief and benefits to more than 130 million human beings in Latin America living in really unacceptable conditions.

In some nations poverty has reached levels that were deemed impossible in Latin America. Forty per cent of the population of the region lives below the poverty line. Poverty is the single main cause of death on our continent. We need the kind of development that will eradicate the roots through permanent political solutions. Next year Ecuador will host the Second Regional Conference on Dire Poverty, and we believe that it is essential to reach genuine agreement and a firm commitment by all our countries and all their social sectors, as well as by the countries of the industrialized north and international agencies for technical co-operation.

President Borja has expressed throughout his political life - and certainly since he came into office - his deep concern for children. He has said that during his Administration the needs of children will be his main priority. Children are the silent victims of societies in crisis and of underdevelopment. Child mortality rates are tragically high and, although revolutionary methods have been devised to reduce them, too many children are dying of avoidable causes. Accordingly, my

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Government supports the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which is based on an international consensus and commitment. Ecuador also supports enthusiastically the convening of a meeting of Heads of State to mobilize at the highest level efforts aimed at safeguarding the lives and dignity of children.

Let us be clear: our developing countries, especially in Latin America, have seen during this decade their material, economic and social progress come to a halt. That is why Enrique Iglesias has called it the lost decade. Per capita income and production have fallen while inflation, unemployment and poverty have increased, giving rise to a protracted crisis that represents the main challenge to our democracy.

The situation in Latin America is mostly expressed in terms of economic deficits and debt-servicing difficulties. But these debts are not just the result of our mistakes and problems. They also reflect an unfair system of international economic relations. Clearly, there is a shared responsibility for their genesis and, hence, their solution requires an equal sharing of responsibilities and costs.

It is true that in recent months there has been an evolution of thought as to the origins of the problem, and it is now accepted that it is necessary to lighten the developing nations' debt burden in keeping with their needs for growth and social progress. The recognition of the joint responsibility of creditors and debtors has found pragmatic expression in the Brady plan. Its implementation, however, does not offset the accumulated damage of almost a decade and implies negotiations with international banks that seem to have hardened their positions based on earlier experience.

In this context, it is relevant to point out that during the recent visit of the President of Ecuador to Madrid, the Government of Spain, in a joint statement, indicated its willingness to consider a reduction of Ecuador's public debt. I believe this is the first time that a Government has formally expressed such an

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intention. I mention this because, in our view, this is an extremely important step in the efforts to bring about a change of attitude in the way this serious problem is being dealt with.

The elimination or sizeable reduction of financial flows and investment have led to increased stagnation and generated a vicious circle resulting in the maintenance of restrictions which hamper development and, consequently, undermine the ability to repay.

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In international trade - the other main source of economic recovery - it is necessary to abandon protectionist practices that continue to hamper the growth efforts of developing countries, as well as the possibility of their overcoming their vulnerability and dependence.

If we mention the international climate and its impact on the development of the debtor countries, this does not mean shirking our own responsibility to overcome our problems and achieve a better standard of living. Certainly we expect understanding and co-operation from the international community. And certainly it is urgent to reform an international order that impedes our progress and perpetuates injustice. But, equally, we know that it is our responsibility to build societies that can guarantee, at the domestic level, those conditions that we expect of the democratic course that we have chosen: justice with freedom, respect for man, and development.

Domestic efforts to achieve economic recovery have a political cost, but there has to be a limit to the sacrifice. Medicine is intended to cure the patient, not to kill him or compound his condition. That is why we raise our voices against protectionist measures that frustrate our chances of growth. We call for fresh investment, and we call on creditor banks to accept the reality prevailing in the debtor countries.

If the pressure of the external debt is relieved, and financial liquidity restored, progress will be made towards opening the economies of small countries without the risk of destabilization. Development options can be preserved in such a way that the State fulfils an adequate role by stimulating and guiding the forces of production. To that end, it is necessary to have well-defined rules of the game that protect national interests and instil confidence in all those who take part in the production process by supplying their work, capital or technology. Together,

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they will bring about harmony and efficiency in the process of economic revitalization, wealth-building and fair participation. That will also help to maintain social peace and to strengthen democratic institutions.

The protection of the environment is closely related to development and to the need to safeguard the future of humanity. In few areas are the unity of man and the interdependence of nations clearer than in this one. We must all co-operate to prevent the deterioration of the environment, since we all depend upon it.

Environmental protection and preservation are obligations of the international community, of those countries and enterprises with the technology to exploit natural resources, of the States in which those natural resources are found, and of those with the responsibility to use them for their peoples' development.

Ecuador has condemned all forms of terrorism because it considers terrorism to be a crime against mankind and believes that it must be fought internationally with the help of all States. The International Conference on Terrorism must be the starting-point in the elimination of this threat, which is often closely linked to the perverse activity of drug trafficking. In recent days there has evolved a vast world-wide movement of solidarity towards the elimination of drug trafficking.

Ecuador shares the determination to take whatever action may be necessary to combat the drug menace.

Terrorism and drug traffic, underdevelopment, injustice and the denial of freedoms are different ways of violating human rights, whose protection is one of the main concerns of the world Organization.

Can anybody doubt that peace is not merely the absence of war but also the rejection of all forms of violence? We are duty-bound to redress injustice and to guarantee freedoms, because the perpetuation of the former and the denial of the latter are a form of aggression against man, sometimes harsher than that inflicted by traditional warfare. Our fight must be ethical and consistent with the values

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we cherish. There is growing interdependence among States. If being a member of the human species is not enough to make people want to take common action, surely the fact that peace is indivisible and that problems, regardless of where they begin, affect all countries must be sufficient.

On the eve of the twenty-first century we have to rethink the role of international co-operation, which is of crucial importance. We have to examine realistically the circumstances in which we live and the urgent need to act in consonance with the diversity of the present world situation. We must go beyond formal relations and achieve real understandings on which to build a future of peace and security, equity and prosperity for all. To do otherwise would be tantamount to compromising the dignity of the weakest communities on the world scene.

For the last 44 years we have practised here the diplomacy of peace. Here was established in the 1960s the diplomacy for development. We cannot deny that we have experienced frustration. But we have also made historic progress towards eliminating and containing conflicts and reducing injustice among nations. Today we know better; we have more experience and a greater understanding of our realities. Our faith in the principles and purposes of the Organization has not wavered.

Let us then resort to the mechanisms available to us and let us, as united nations, give a clear answer to the challenges facing the international community at this time. Why not speak about international social justice, about a new diplomacy practised with insight and sincerity, which will define its goals and devise the international measures necessary to achieve them?

Let us make interdependence a reality that benefits all of us. This can be done only if, in our own interests, we all use our imagination and ingenuity in the

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search for peace. Violence, famine, illness, poverty and drug traffic are problems affecting each and every one of us. They are challenges that we must overcome together by attacking their origins, their root causes.

On the basis of long personal experience in the Organization I am convinced that all peoples and all Governments have now shown a willingness to be guided by clear thinking, and that the United Nations will make the necessary efforts to take, with a sense of universality and clear realism, the decision to build the new world order that we all hope for. That mission of justice will turn into a crusade of peace.

On the fortieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights the General Assembly paid posthumous homage to Monsignor Leonidas Proaño, an acknowledged defender of human rights in my country. To conclude this statement, I should like to express Ecuador's deep gratitude for this act by the international community, which has thus extolled a life devoted to the noblest causes of humanity and has given special encouragement to those who believe in man and who work throughout the world to solve the problems of the neediest in our midst. This is the kind of task to which only men and women of goodwill devote themselves.

Mr. ANDERSSON (Sweden): The recent successes of the United Nations towards the settlement of several regional conflicts have added new dimensions to the concept of collective responsibility and security. The general improvement in East-West relations paved the way for those positive developments. It is also clear that an important factor has been patient and quiet diplomacy under United Nations auspices.

Yet we must be aware of the dangers of complacency. So long as war and conflict are still a reality in many parts of the world, the United Nations has an obligation to continue to press for peaceful solutions based on the principles of international law.

Peace-keeping, peace-making and peace-building are the tools the United Nations uses in its task of serving peace: United Nations peace-keeping activities help conflicting parties avoid continued violence. United Nations peace-making efforts help conflicting parties reach lasting solutions. United Nations peace-building helps create conditions which may remove causes of war and conflict altogether.

The task of peace-building involves formidable challenges: we must take action to eradicate world poverty; we must tackle the debilitating debt problem; we must fight disease and rampant drug abuse; and we must rapidly reverse the trend of environmental destruction which fatally threatens our planet and the future of our children.

Together with preventing nuclear war, that is the most pressing challenge. Catastrophe is closing in on us as we cross environmental thresholds which should never have been approached. Unless we now act collectively and decisively we shall all march into a poisoned wasteland.

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Europe, the classic focus of great-Power confrontation, has started to move towards political dialogue, arms reduction and peaceful co-operation. Today we dare to believe that the long period known as the cold war is now history and that a new period has begun, offering new opportunities for mankind.

The changes we are witnessing in the Soviet Union and in some other East European countries, particularly Poland and Hungary, are truly promising. This is what so many Europeans have been waiting for, for so many years. Following the elections in Poland a new coalition Government headed by Solidarity has taken office. This is a milestone in European post-War history.

These changes constitute a main element in the improvement of relations between the super-Powers and among European States. Also, the new Soviet attitude towards the United Nations has invigorated the world Organization.

The improved East-West climate has had important positive effects in removing much of the sharp edge of great-Power rivalry from regional conflicts. It is in this situation that the United Nations has proved as never before its value as an instrument for peace-making as well as for peace-keeping.

Peace-keeping and peace-making are closely interrelated. The number and variety of United Nations peace-keeping activities have never been greater. The Nobel Peace Prize for 1988 was awarded to the thousands of men and women who have courageously and valiantly served in United Nations peace-keeping operations since the 1950s.

In peace-making the United Nations has taken a decisive role in regions long torn by armed conflict, but also more and more in preventing conflicts from erupting into open warfare.

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The critical factor for the success of such efforts is a Security Council capable of reaching operative decisions. Also, when the Council gives directives to the Secretary-General they must be backed by continued political and material support.

A large and complex United Nations operation is currently under way in Namibia. Sweden fully supports the Security Council, the Secretary-General and the Secretary-General's Special Representative in their efforts to ensure the independence of Namibia through free and fair elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations. We greatly look forward to welcoming Namibia into the community of sovereign nations.

The system of apartheid is at the root of conflicts not only in South Africa but in the region as a whole. Apartheid is a threat to international peace and security. It is also an affront to human dignity. Apartheid must go, and it will go. Until then international pressure on South Africa must be increased. We shall continue to work for effective sanctions against South Africa. The special session of the General Assembly on apartheid must lead to further pressure on South Africa to enter into real negotiations. The comprehensive peace plan adopted by the Organization of African Unity should be supported by all of us. Now is the time for the South African Government to free Nelson Mandela and to recognize the true representatives of the majority of the people of South Africa.

The Middle East is one region where peace not only has to be made and kept, but has to be built up from the ground. The United Nations is involved in peace-keeping through the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine, the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force and the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon, and in peace-making through the efforts of the

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Secretary-General and the Security Council. Peace-building is being attempted by various United Nations agencies.

Israel still defies the Palestinian people, its Arab neighbours, international law and world opinion by its continued occupation of Arab territories.

The intifadah has cleared away any remaining doubts about the will of the Palestinian people to shape their own future.

(Mr. Andersson, Sweden)

The PLO wishes to negotiate with Israel. At last year's General Assembly, I appealed to the Israeli Government to take the hand extended by the PLO and to show a similar willingness to negotiate. Both the Palestinians and Israel must recognize each other's rights. Both sides must renounce terror. And both sides must be willing to talk to each other. Openness and dialogue is the enemy of mistrust and fear, as President Bush stated yesterday. Now is the time to start a dialogue between Israel and the Palestinians. Through active and constructive efforts, in particular by Egypt, a crucial new step could now be taken on the road to a durable and comprehensive peace in the Middle East. Negotiations through an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations, with the participation of all parties directly concerned, including the PLO, remain the best avenue ahead. The negotiations should be based on resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) of the United Nations Security Council and on the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, full self-determination.

Sweden welcomes the cease-fire in Lebanon achieved through the efforts of the Arab League. All parties must now co-operate to reach a political solution. Withdrawal of foreign troops and an end to foreign interference is long overdue.

The United Nations played a key peace-making role when the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan were negotiated through the good offices of the world Organization. The agreements raised hopes for a political settlement, hopes which have yet to materialize. It is deeply tragic that the agreements and the improved East-West climate have not meant the end of the war in Afghanistan. Attempts to reach a military solution, sustained by continued arms deliveries, will only result in

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further suffering for the Afghan people. The Security Council now has to face up to its responsibilities and ensure a viable peace process.

The Security Council has demonstrated its capacity for effective leadership in bringing the fighting between Iran and Iraq to an end. But its resolution 598 (1987) needs to be fully implemented in order to avoid a new flare-up of violence and to bring peace and stability to the area. Sweden strongly supports the Secretary-General and his personal representative in their efforts to achieve these results.

Sweden welcomes the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from Cambodia. The deep-seated internal conflict must not, however, be allowed to lead to even more bloodshed. The international community has a responsibility to ensure that the reign of terror does not return. The difficulties demonstrated at the Paris Conference must be overcome and no effort spared to reach a negotiated solution.

The gradually increasing role of the United Nations in Central America through its three innovative missions opens new possibilities for a successful peace process. I am confident that all States outside Central America, and in particular those with special ties to the region, will solidly support the regional peace process and the Secretary-General in his efforts.

All these activities, directly related to the maintenance of peace and security, are the collective responsibility of the Member States. This means that the assessments for peace-keeping, decided on by this Assembly, have to be paid by all Member States, in full and on time. The costs of keeping peace are indeed marginal to those of waging war.

(Mr. Andersson, Sweden)

But making and keeping peace is not our only endeavour. Building peace goes beyond that. The roots of war and conflict are often to be found in unjust social and economic conditions. War and conflict always result in social and economic misery. War and conflict prevent the solution of social and economic problems. Social and economic conditions must be improved everywhere on a sound, sustainable basis.

A particularly pressing problem is the debt burden of the third world. Some progress has been made. But the third world debt still amounts to more than \$US 1,000 billion. This constitutes a destabilizing force not only in developing countries but also in the world economy.

Threats to the global environment are increasingly perceived to be no less serious than the threat of destruction by war. International co-operation to safeguard the environment and to promote sustainable developments in all countries must be central to the peace-building efforts of the United Nations.

Through the interaction of poverty and injustice with environmental stress, vast numbers of men, women and children have been forced to leave their degraded and destroyed home areas. Political instability, even international conflicts, could be the result as such migrations become more common and involve even greater numbers of environmental refugees. Concern for the environment must be integrated into our entire economic system in order to guarantee long-term survival and sustainable development. Therefore, the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development must lead to concrete action. With regard to the venue of the Conference, Sweden would find it most appropriate if this time it were held in a developing country. We welcome the consensus on Brazil's candidature reached

(Mr. Andersson, Sweden)

at the summit meeting in Belgrade of the Non-Aligned Movement. It is vital that we now join together in laying the foundations for a truly successful Conference. Sweden intends to take an active part in the important preparatory process leading up to the Conference.

The struggle to safeguard our environment must be pursued at many different levels. Like other countries in northern Europe, Sweden is threatened by the pollution of the Baltic Sea. When Sweden assists Poland in its fight against pollution, we do this also to secure our own environment. We would like to extend this co-operation to the entire Baltic Sea region.

(Mr. Andersson, Sweden)

Even if the risk of nuclear war appears less imminent than for many decades, the vast arsenals of nuclear weapons by their very existence constitute a threat to life on our planet.

The arms race increases the risk of war. The resources diverted from productive uses to military purposes are of staggering proportions.

There is a growing realization in the world that true peace and security cannot be based on deterrence and fear. The kind of security that depends on ever increasing armaments must be replaced by a concept of common security that is basically political and rests on mutual confidence.

Promoting common security is a central element in the peace-building role of the United Nations. The negotiations at the Conference on Disarmament for a chemical weapons convention are complex, but I am convinced that they have now reached a stage where they can be successfully concluded if there is political will.

The super-Powers have a special responsibility with regard to disarmament in general and nuclear disarmament in particular. For example, the practice of the nuclear Powers neither to confirm nor deny the existence of nuclear weapons on board their warships is out of date and confidence-blocking. We hope, and expect, that their new and better understanding in the field of security will soon put an end to this practice.

Concern for human rights all over the world is very much a part of peace-building. There is a wide discrepancy between the human rights standards subscribed to by Governments and the reality existing in many States. At the same time we are witnessing in many parts of the world the strength and vitality of popular faith in human rights and in democratic principles. This is true even when these rights and principles are violently suppressed, as they have sadly - not to use stronger words - have been in China and Burma this year.

(Mr. Andersson, Sweden)

The United Nations provides a forum and machinery for holding Governments accountable to the international community for human rights violations. This platform must be used and extended.

The Commission on Human Rights has transmitted to the General Assembly two important draft instruments on human rights. The first is the convention on the rights of the child. It would constitute an important step towards improving the situation of children all over the world. The second is the optional protocol on the abolition of the death penalty. Sweden fully supports the adoption of these two instruments at this session of the General Assembly.

Peace-building through the United Nations involves a wide diversity of co-operative efforts. In one such area the challenges have recently been dramatically demonstrated in recent months and weeks. I am referring to the global problem of narcotic drugs, and in particular to the events in Colombia. These developments have demonstrated how closely the fight against narcotic drugs and terrorism is linked to peace and security. It is now high time for an international offensive against the scourge of narcotic drugs. An offensive can be made effective only through multilateral co-operation. Only the United Nations can provide suitable machinery for this urgent peace-building task. Sweden will propose at this session of the General Assembly the realization of a global programme of action against narcotic drugs.

To meet new demands the United Nations must of course have adequate resources. The financial crisis of the United Nations is perhaps less acute, but it is not over. Budget reform has had positive effects and must be pursued. It is not acceptable that certain Member States owe the Organization a total exceeding half a billion dollars. Financial obligations under the Charter must be fully honoured, and when new or increased demands are placed on the United Nations we must all be prepared to accept the costs.

(Mr. Andersson, Sweden)

The Nobel Peace Prize laureate and veteran United Nations diplomat Ralph Bunche once said, "If we in the United Nations could be as successful at peace-making as we are at peace-keeping, then our problems would be greatly reduced". Today we have reason to be more optimistic about the United Nations peace-making role than Ralph Bunche could be.

The United Nations is the primary forum where together we can meet the challenges of the future, the challenges of peace-building. This makes tremendous demands on the world Organization, on its Member States and on our solidarity with each other.

We all know that in a happy and harmonious family all members show solidarity with each other. In the same way justice and progress in a nation cannot be achieved without solidarity among the citizens.

The same principle applies to the world. Peace-building demands solidarity among nations.

Miss CHIEPE (Botswana): Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation and on my own personal behalf, I wish to extend our felicitations to you, Sir, upon your unanimous election to the presidency of the forty-fourth session. Your great country, Nigeria, and my own enjoy the warmest of relations. It is our conviction that with your immense diplomatic skills you will ably guide our deliberations. Please be assured of my delegation's unwavering support. I take this opportunity also to convey our gratitude to your predecessor for a job well done during the last session.

(Miss Chiepe, Botswana)

The forty-fourth session has convened at a time when the mood in international relations is still characterized by the spirit of détente. Relations between the super-Powers have continued to improve. Some measure of co-operation has been clearly demonstrated in finding solutions to regional conflicts. We note in this regard that the independence process in Namibia is registering significant progress.

It is our earnest hope that the momentum will be maintained and infused into the outstanding political issues that confront us. The United Nations has played a key role, and the Secretary-General deserves our encouragement to carry on with this impressive work. Be that as it may, much still remains to be done mainly in the socio-economic sphere. The trade imbalances between the rich North and the poor South is as bad as it has been in the past, if not worse. The decline in the prices of commodities continues unabated. Hunger, poverty, disease and other social ills remain the order of the day in third world countries. With this background in mind it is for the Assembly at this session to revisit the issues, and to reorientate itself to proffer meaningful solutions. In this connection I believe that we can only succeed if we resolve to work together to find common solutions to world problems.

As I mentioned earlier, significant progress has been registered in international politics. The two super-Powers have moved ahead in the spirit of détente. Important steps such as the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles - INF Treaty - have raised new expectations that disarmament in both nuclear and conventional arms may be pursued earnestly and purposefully. It is our desire that more of such brave measures will be undertaken. Any positive development in international relations is bound to produce a snowball effect even in other areas. Such developments have our blessing and encouragement.

(Miss Chiepe, Botswana)

Regional conflicts whose escalation we have always feared to be a potential for another international conflict appear more on the decline, thanks to the atmosphere of rapprochement between the super-Powers and the very important role played by the United Nations. To date the loud and haunting guns of the Gulf have been silenced after spelling death, misery and disaster in that part of the globe. We are hopeful that peace will be allowed to prevail. As for the situation in Afghanistan, we regret that the Geneva Agreements which were concluded last year under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary-General have not been observed and carried to their logical conclusion.

We call upon all parties concerned to abide by these Accords. The Afghan people should be encouraged to lay down their arms and move to the negotiating table without fail to embark on national reconciliation and reconstruction of their country.

The situation in South-East Asia is hopefully moving in the right direction. The spirit of the recent international conference held in Paris on the question of Kampuchea, particularly the withdrawal of foreign troops, would, if honestly pursued, usher in a new phase in the long-drawn-out quest for peace. We trust that this initiative will not be lost, as the people of Kampuchea are yearning for peace and national reconciliation. There should be no return to the killing fields of the 1970s.

Similarly, we call upon all concerned to facilitate a peaceful resolution of the question of Korea. Both North and South Korea desire a peaceful reunification of their divided country. Let us help them to achieve that objective.

Botswana welcomes the peace process launched at Tela, Honduras, by the summit meeting of Heads of State or Government of the countries of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala and Nicaragua. These are indeed encouraging signs

(Miss Chiepe, Botswana)

towards the breaking of the stalemate in Central America. We call upon all concerned to assist in the promotion of this initiative.

We note with concern that the situation in the Middle East continues to deteriorate despite the peace initiatives taken by Palestine to accept Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which initiatives cleared the way for a peaceful resolution of the Middle East question. It is now for Israel to reciprocate if peace is to be achieved. What now stands in the way of peace is Israel's acts of aggression in the region, its human rights violations against the Palestinian people and its refusal to negotiate with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

Botswana still pins its hopes on the peaceful resolution of disputes. That is why we support the idea of convening an international conference on the question of the Middle East at which the PLO would be allowed to participate on an equal footing.

In Lebanon we continue to witness untold killings and counter-killings and the wanton destruction of property. Botswana holds the view that the people of Lebanon must be assisted to stop this fratricidal war and the destruction of their country. We call for the removal of all foreign troops and other occupationist elements. The Lebanese people should be allowed to resolve their differences without external interference.

Cyprus still remains a divided and unhappy island of people who desire peace and national unity. We call upon the two parties concerned to breathe life into the process of resolving differences through peaceful means. In this regard we encourage the holding of more purposeful consultations through inter-communal talks. Let no effort be spared to foster the noble goal of achieving peace and unity. In this vein Botswana stands by its conviction that all foreign troops must be removed from Cyprus.

(Miss Chiepe, Botswana)

Southern Africa continues to be in a state of war. While we can register some progress on the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), on the independence of Namibia, much remains at stake on all other fronts. Apartheid, which is the root cause of the problems in our subregion, remains intact. The front-line States and other neighbouring countries continue to endure South Africa's acts of aggression and destabilization. Our citizens live in fear for their lives and the destruction of their property. Bomb scares and actual bomb blasts continue to occur in Botswana. Refugees under our care remain targets for South African security forces or commando murder squads and ordinary civilians are victimized in the process. We do not expect much improvement in this situation until apartheid has been totally eradicated and replaced by a democratic system. That is our only hope for peace and stability in southern Africa.

As indicated earlier, some progress is being registered on the independence process in Namibia, but we remain concerned about a number of obstacles to the holding of free and fair elections. Instead of demobilizing all Koevoet members, the South African Administrator-General confined to base only 1,200 members. He has pledged to reactivate them if he feels there is a need for them.

Koevoet is notorious for its brutality during the independence war. It continues to be a symbol of harassment and intimidation and should not at this time be used for the maintenance of law and order. It is with the foregoing in mind that we condemn the recent cold-blooded murder of Anton Labowski as a dastardly act.

(Miss Chiepe, Botswana)

Another source of serious concern is the electoral proclamation, which has been described by many as "seriously flawed". The system proposed is complex and therefore subject to abuse. A more simple, universally used and time-tested procedure that can be understood by the people of Namibia should be adopted. There certainly should be a common voters' roll prepared region by region. Ballots should be counted at the centre where voting has taken place. That will ensure speedy announcement of results and reduce the risk of fraud and loss of or tampering with ballot boxes during transportation to Windhoek.

Namibians have waited for their independence for a long time, and they should be assisted to achieve it. The international community has worked hard to bring the process this far. Our efforts should not be in vain. We must, therefore, as individuals, as pressure groups and as Governments, do all in our power to ensure that free and fair elections are held in Namibia so that that country can proceed to independence.

In Angola there are promising signs that the civil war that has ravaged that country ever since its independence some 14 years ago may come to an end. The reconciliation talks under the mediation of President Mobuto Sese Seko of Zaire offer prospects for an end to the war. Violations of the cease-fire are a source of concern. We appeal to the parties concerned to rekindle the spirit of Gbadolite and undertake to rebuild mutual trust. We also believe that recriminations and acrimony will not help. Everything must be done to make the work of the mediator effective, and nothing should be done to tarnish the mediator's integrity. We call upon those in a position to do so to persuade UNITA to re-enter the negotiations with a sense of purpose. The people of Angola have suffered long enough as a result of the war. They want peace and development in their country.

(Miss Chiepe, Botswana)

The Mozambican Government also has agreed to negotiate the ending of the war with the RENAMO bandits. President Arap Moi of Kenya and President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe have agreed to act as mediators. Church leaders in Mozambique are trying to act as special envoys between the two sides. Their work is not being made easy by RENAMO, which continues to murder and maim innocent civilians even after the declaration of a cease-fire. The untold suffering imposed on the people of Mozambique by RENAMO should not be allowed to continue.

Mozambique is very important to us in the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC). Since Botswana is a member of that regional organization, whose objective is to forge regional economic integration and reduce dependence, especially on South Africa, I know how much the war is costing all of us.

Despite international assistance and support to the Maputo harbour and railway system, that corridor remains virtually closed to traffic because of RENAMO activities. The whole region is being denied the use of a deep-sea port, and Mozambique the revenue therefrom.

The situation in South Africa itself remains unchanged. The abhorrent and violent system of apartheid continues. The authentic leaders of the black majority remain incarcerated or in forced exile. The state of emergency remains in force. Peaceful demonstrations are met with brutal force. On the day of the white elections 23 innocent people were reported killed by the security forces and over 100 hurt. The situation remains very tense, particularly in and around Cape Town. Unfortunately, the full extent of the tension cannot be known because of official press censorship. Church buildings and church leaders are not being revered in a country that professes to be God-fearing.

Despite the violent repression unleashed against them by the security forces, the people of South Africa are still seeking ways and means of finding a peaceful

(Miss Chiepe, Botswana)

alternative to apartheid. Through the mass democratic movement they are organizing peaceful defiance campaigns to end apartheid. They are taking the Government at its word that apartheid is dead. Their demonstrations seem to be well organized, peaceful and dignified. They go out of their way to avoid provoking the trigger-happy State security forces, but the police always find some excuse to attack them. That two demonstrations recently received the presidential nod seems to signal a hesitant softening. The South African Government must be bold. The oppressed majority of black people have on those occasions demonstrated that they can be self-disciplined. On 21 August 1989 at Harare, Zimbabwe, the Organization of African Unity adopted a 24-point Declaration on measures to end apartheid. The Declaration had been formulated by the front-line States with the assistance and involvement of the people of South Africa through their liberation movements. That Declaration enjoys the popular support of the people of South Africa. It really demonstrates that the oppressed majority remain committed to the peaceful eradication of apartheid.

In his campaign statements Mr. F.W. de Klerk spoke about his desire to end apartheid. He requested to be given five years to address the South African situation, although he did not give any indication of what exactly his plans entail. His statements have attracted considerable attention and raised hopes in some quarters. His eagerness and his ability to meet foreign leaders have also attracted attention. In certain quarters he is seen as a reformer who must be given a chance. We hope he means what he says and that he will soon put South Africa on the road to civilization. Botswana would wish to encourage him to start the process of dialogue from within South Africa itself. He has to talk to the leaders of the oppressed majority. Charity begins at home.

(Miss Chiepe, Botswana)

In thanking the white electorate for having voted his party into power Mr. de Klerk said that he had been given a mandate for reform that he would use to give full political rights to all South Africans. Those are noble words that must be matched by concrete action. The oppressed majority has already declared its serious intention to negotiate. We urge him to take this challenge very seriously indeed.

In this regard, Mr. de Klerk should create a climate conducive to negotiations by releasing all political prisoners and detainees, by ending the ban on political parties and other anti-apartheid organizations, by lifting the state of emergency and by removing the army from the townships. The protection of the so-called group rights, for which Mr. de Klerk is calling, cannot be helpful to that process, as it is apartheid by another name. Universal human rights and adult suffrage are the hallmarks of true democracy. Until free and fair elections are conducted for all the people of that country, there should be no let-up in the quest for peace and democracy in South Africa. Apartheid must be abolished completely, not reformed. We must establish a democratic non-racial society in South Africa.

Vestiges of colonial domination still dot our globe, with painfully slow movement, if any, towards decolonization. We call for freedom and justice for all colonial peoples.

In that connection we call for the speedy implementation of United Nations resolutions relating to the question of Western Sahara, to the Comorian island of Mayotte and to New Caledonia. In each case we believe that dialogue rather than force should be used to settle any differences between the parties concerned. It is in the same spirit that we encourage Argentina and Britain to resolve their differences on the question of the Falklands/Malvinas through negotiations. We do not in any way prescribe what they should negotiate.

(Miss Chiepe, Botswana)

The world economic system shows little signs of improvement. The recently released report of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) indicates that international trade has registered some 8 per cent growth, owing in part to technological innovations. But the irony of it all is that the registered increase does not affect third world countries. They still suffer hardships owing to the continued decline in commodity prices and to protectionist practices of the industrialized countries. Efforts by developing countries to acquire capital, science and technology from the developed countries have been frustrated. Our economic dependence on the developed world has thus increased.

(Miss Chiepe, Botswana)

The debt crisis is of particular concern to developing countries. We have to service the immense external debt from the meagre resources which accrue from the sale of our primary products. Most of our economies have, ultimately, registered negative growth rates, while some have stagnated. Traumatized as we are, we have not been spared a moment to think of a way out of our predicament which would be consistent with our individual socio-political circumstances. Instead, prescriptive advice under the umbrella of structural adjustment programmes has been given us by some of the so-called experts within the circles of international financial institutions and donor countries. While structural adjustment programmes may be necessary at times, as we in Botswana have noted, they should not be regarded as a panacea for all our economic problems, as this attitude sometimes results in the "cure" being worse than the disease. In our view, there is a need to consult the countries concerned and take into account their socio-political condition, without imposing anything on them.

The critical economic situation prevailing in Africa should be viewed against this backdrop of an adverse international economic climate. The programmes envisaged under the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development (UNPAAERD) have so far not been implemented. African countries still face some degree of anguish. It is desirable, therefore, for the international donor agencies and financial institutions to redouble their efforts to help out in this pitiful situation. Failure to do so would mean a perpetuation of misery, hopelessness, at times death.

Botswana shares the hope that developing countries may be able to maximize their economic development by way of economic integration. For our part, we are working tirelessly within the ambit of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference to realize this lofty goal. We therefore call upon the international community to give us the necessary support in this endeavour.

(Miss Chiepe, Botswana)

On the social side, there is a need for all of us to pool our resources to combat the menace of drugs and drug trafficking. Our youth is being turned into a generation of addicts and social misfits. Similarly, joint efforts are desirable in our fight against the killer disease AIDS. We, the entire family of Man, need to rise above the level of our national boundaries and address with vigour these physical and social ills which threaten humanity.

Economic development cannot be separated from environmental issues. Our development plans must take full account of the possible consequences of our activities and be environmentally sound. We are concerned that the ozone layer is being depleted and that desertification continues unabated. Also, we deprecate the dumping of toxic and nuclear waste, particularly in the territory of developing countries. In that light, Botswana sees great value in mobilizing all our resources to combat this menace. We urge that there should be a common resolve to find more meaningful solutions to environmental problems.

In conclusion, I wish to make the observation that some measure of progress has been achieved in the political sphere, but that much remains to be done in the economic sphere. I believe that we can make meaningful progress in both areas if we all co-operate.

Finally, I wish to reiterate my delegation's best wishes to Mr. Garba in his presidency of this forty-fourth session.

The PRESIDENT: One representative has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply. 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 intervention and should be made by delegations from their seats.

I call on the representative of Peru, who wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

Mr. LUNA (Peru) (interpretation from Spanish): The reference made by the Foreign Minister of Ecuador to Peru in the context of his statement this afternoon confirms, in our opinion, the climate of convergence that exists between our countries, and the shared conviction we have of the need to stimulate even further co-operation directed towards the economic and social development of our countries. There are no differences between us here, rather a framework of friendship, mutual trust and co-operation.

The meeting rose at 7.15 p.m.