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GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWENTY-FOURTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Monday, 9 October 1989, at 10 a.m.

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

- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements made by

Mr. Mbonimpa (Burundi)  
Mr. Ssemogerere (Uganda)  
Mr. Sedoc (Suriname)  
Mr. N'Golo Traore (Mali)  
Mr. Adoum (Chad)

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

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. MBONIMPA (Burundi) (interpretation from French): As I have the honour of speaking in this important forum of the United Nations, I am happy to convey to the Assembly a message of fraternity and best wishes for every success from Major Pierre Buyoya, Chairman of the Military Committee for National Salvation and President of the Republic of Burundi.

I am also pleased to express on behalf of the Burundi Government warm and heartfelt congratulations to you, Mr. President, and the other officers of the Assembly on the confidence shown in you by the Assembly in entrusting to you all the task of guiding our work. We pay a tribute to you, Mr. President, not only as a wise diplomat, experienced in dealing with the many current concerns of the international community, but also as a great defender of solidarity and co-operation between peoples in a spirit of harmony and mutual respect. Through you, Sir, first Nigeria, your country, and then Africa are honoured. I assure you, Sir, that my delegation is determined to give you all the support it can to bring about the success of your noble mandate.

We also join previous speakers in expressing our deep gratitude to Mr. Dante Caputo, who, as President of the forty-third session, guided the Assembly in its many activities with competence and dedication, thus doing honour both to the United Nations and to his country.

We also pay a tribute to Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, the Secretary-General, for his constant, highly commendable efforts in the service of the international community and for the outstanding successes he has achieved - to his own credit and to that of our Organization - since he assumed his high office.

(Mr. Mbonimpa, Burundi)

Exactly a year ago I reported here on the situation prevailing in Burundi following the events that had occurred in the north of the country in August 1988. I tried then to explain the origin of those events, their causes and the way in which the authorities of the Third Republic had managed the crisis. Today I wish to report solemnly that Burundi has regained its tranquillity and that its sons and daughters are now living in peace, reconciled and trusting one another.

Steps have been taken to organize the return of the refugees who left their motherland. Those steps have been taken in close co-operation with the other member countries of the Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries - Zaire and Rwanda - and with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. At the beginning the return to the fold was slow, because of fear and unhappy memories of what had happened, but it has now become spontaneous and massive. Over 98 per cent of the refugees had returned by the end of May this year, confounding all the forecasts and proving to the whole world that Burundi is always capable of doing its best. It is undoubtedly an example of success very rare in the voluntary repatriation of refugees anywhere in the world.

The repatriates, welcomed as Burundi citizens, have been resettled on the lands they left. As soon as they were resettled they were invited to be involved in our national unity and to live in the understanding and solidarity that have always characterized Burundi society.

The Chairman of the Military Committee for National Salvation and President of the Republic, Major Pierre Buyoya, has called on the refugees and all those who have not yet decided to return to their country, the Burundi citizens who have chosen domicile in the countries that have taken them in, to act as ambassadors of Burundi and not as destroyers, as was the case in the past.

At the physical level, it has not been easy to resettle the repatriates. The Governments has made every effort, resorting to the spontaneous generosity of its

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citizens, but also to the humanitarian, material and financial aid provided by friendly countries and agencies. I take this opportunity to express our thanks to all those who have come to our assistance in the operation to repatriate and resettle the refugees as well as in the socio-economic reconstruction of the stricken region.

We also thank those who continue to support us in our effort to attain our goal of the total and final reconciliation of the Burundi people.

While past régimes were content to evoke the concept of national unity in official statements and sterile debates, the authorities of the Third Republic have matched words with deeds, with the aim of establishing national unity and reconciliation.

National unity is the spearhead of all progress. It is a resource that must be exploited rationally. It has become the corner-stone of the policy of the Administration of the Third Republic, a gamble to be won and a challenge to be met at all costs. We are increasingly proud of our concrete achievements in that direction.

Concrete measures already taken by the authorities of the Third Republic include the formation of a government of national unity; the establishment of a National Commission charged with studying the question of national unity; and the massive repatriation of refugees in the good conditions I have already described. The aim of those measures is to achieve the fundamental objectives of national reconciliation, social justice and socio-economic development.

(Mr. Mbonimpa, Burundi)

Let me dwell on those achievements which undoubtedly will have the greatest effect on the future of the Burundi nation, that is, the work of the National Commission entrusted with studying the question of national unity.

As I had the honour of stating on 10 October 1988 during the General Assembly's forty-third session, that Commission is composed of persons chosen for their wisdom and integrity and representing all social and professional sectors and all ethnic groups of Burundi. Their task was to carry out a thorough analysis of the question of national unity and to make constructive recommendations based on research into the historical, social and cultural foundations of Burundi unity and its evolution, and the ways in which it had frequently been thwarted.

After thorough and painstaking work, the members of the Commission submitted a report to the President of the Republic. It has been distributed both within Burundi and abroad.

For its analysis, the Commission studied the historical and cultural foundations of national unity. It also gave careful consideration to the present situation in respect of the unity of Burundi. The report stressed that divisionists continued to use fallacious reasoning, such as ethnic, regional or clan origins. It revealed that more than 90 per cent of the people of Burundi are peasants who want to live in peace and that therefore the overwhelming majority of the population is not involved in the conflict.

The Commission suggested to the Government a series of clear recommendations to guide the people of Burundi in building the country. These recommendations pinpoint actions and a line of conduct for all partners in the Burundi nation and involve our citizens as well as the public administration. The Commission believes that it is necessary above all to condemn and combat all forms of exclusion as well

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as all phenomena that would back that type of ideology. These phenomena are mainly violence, globalization, extermination, a confusion between the political majority and the ethnic majority, and discriminatory practices.

Another recommendation concerns the ethic of national unity. It should be based on respect for the fundamental rights of citizens, the sense of the common good, truth and a love of work. The ethic of national unity should take concrete form in the equality of citizens' rights and duties.

The National Commission entrusted with the question of national unity recommended for adoption the establishment by Burundi of a charter of national unity, to be ready in December 1989, a pact to be ratified by the whole population of Burundi, a proclamation of faith and a solemn commitment to justice, peace and democracy.

The charter of national unity will define the duties and responsibilities of each citizen regarding unity, the rights of citizens, and, in particular, the security and equality of all. The charter of unity will therefore be a code of conduct and a guideline for living.

The other recommendations involve the essential areas of national life, and concern in particular the management of public affairs, education, the training of youth, economic development and information. More specifically, at the political level we shall work for the democratization of institutions, giving priority to the strengthening of a sound political climate. In fact, it is essential that the population be guaranteed an atmosphere of confidence and security, without which no policy of democratization can succeed.

The democratization of national political life must be accompanied by the democratic functioning of institutions. This process should provide the country with a Constitution that takes into account Burundi realities and provides for specific machinery to regulate the democratic functioning of the institutions.

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When he officially received the report of the National Commission entrusted to study the question of national unity, the President of the Republic pledged to follow its recommendations. The Head of State immediately announced practical provisions to be taken by the Government in order to ensure transparency and fairness in the essential areas of life, such as education, employment, security, democratic institutions and the question of refugees.

I am pleased to inform the Assembly that most of those provisions have already been implemented and are being carried out successfully.

As regards education, appropriate regulations have been drawn up and adopted to guarantee transparency and fairness at all levels of instruction. In the field of employment, access of workers to higher posts in all sectors will be based solely on competence.

In pursuance of this endeavour of national reconciliation, on 24 July 1989, the President of the Republic published the results of various provincial colloquia on national unity. The guiding principle of these colloquia, which brought together a large number of our citizens from all social and professional sectors, was that the report of the National Commission on national unity should not be considered as a conclusion but rather as a starting-point for deep reflection by all the citizens of Burundi on the question of national unity.

The recommendations made by these colloquia will make it possible to complete the constructive analyses and proposals of the Commission, particularly by drawing up the charter of national unity, which must emerge from the whole Burundi people as a shared vision of a future of unity.

Since the establishment of the Third Republic fundamental choices have been made to ensure that institutions are as democratic as possible, even though at one point these developments were curbed by the events of August 1988. Since democracy

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means participation by all citizens in managing the affairs of the country, all the people of Burundi are participating in the life of the country through dialogue and harmonization, which have become a real mode of government in our country.

The Party of Unity for National Progress - which had long been the crucible of national unity - has been restructured in order to serve as the ideal framework for the exercise of this democracy in Burundi. Elections by universal suffrage and secret balloting have already been successfully organized with the aim of establishing the basic organs of the Party. This democratic process will continue up to the highest levels of the Party and the Administration.

This process should lead to the establishment of social justice - another concern of the Government of the Third Republic.

There is a constant struggle to establish social justice. Measures are taken every day in the health, employment and education sectors so that all citizens of Burundi can participate in the construction of their country, to make it a State of law and peace. Only on that condition will our country be able to focus on its social and economic development.

In regard to the latter, the Third Republic has given priority to the development of the rural areas, where 90 per cent of the people of Burundi live. In this context, the fifth five-year plan for social and economic development gives priority to the sectors of agriculture and rural development, and concerted and sustained efforts are being made to develop the social infrastructure, such as schools, health centres and supplies of drinking water.



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Furthermore, economic management has been improved through a relentless struggle declared by the President of the Republic against corruption, misappropriation of public funds, fraud and other misuse of funds. The establishment of a Board of Auditors is part of the same concern.

In spite of the priority given to the search for solutions to the internal problems of our country, Burundi is also closely following developments in the international economic and political climate, threatened as it is by hazards of all kinds.

Convinced that peace and security are the prerequisites for lasting development, the authorities of Burundi have made them the central objectives of their foreign policy. To this end, we focus our efforts on maintaining a calm atmosphere with all of our neighbours, near or far.

At the international level, we are indeed pleased at the progress achieved in respect of peace and disarmament. The international community is particularly encouraged by the détente which now characterizes international relations. The improvement in Soviet-American relations gives the entire world hope for international stability, since it is seen as a possibility for lasting peace and fruitful co-operation.

We also note with great satisfaction the fact that statesmen from all continents are increasingly demonstrating their will and their readiness to do all in their power to search for just, peaceful and lasting solutions to armed conflicts or potential conflicts everywhere in the world. This leads one to hope that peace will become a continuing concern throughout the world.

In the field of disarmament, Burundi is of the opinion that the narrowing in the American and Soviet positions is creating favourable conditions for the completion of negotiations under way in the bilateral framework, at the Conference on Disarmament, or within the framework of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization

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(NATO) and the Warsaw Pact. We are also confident that long disappointed hopes that some military expenditures could be released for development activities may at last become a reality. We are pleased at the encouraging and reassuring words expressed from this very rostrum by Mr. George Bush, President of the United States of America, and by Mr. Shevardnadze, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, concerning the progressive elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons, and the reduction of conventional weapons.

The international community is now paying particular attention to the evolution of regional conflicts. The peace process in Angola seems today to be at an impasse, after the announcement of UNITA of the suspension of talks following the Gbadolite agreement. We know that that agreement, in which 20 African Heads of State, including my own, were involved, is the result of patient and courageous work. I should like to pay well deserved tribute to President Mobutu of Zaire, for his mediation efforts for peace. I also hope that his recent meeting in Washington with the United States President George Bush will impart new momentum to the peace process begun in Angola. We also urge the parties to the conflict rapidly to resume their negotiations and to comply with the commitments that emerged from the Gbadolite agreement.

In South Africa, the Government of the country of apartheid unceasingly proclaims its intention of beginning a new era in that country; but to this day so-called reforms do not have much credibility and remain insignificant because they are not aimed at the foundations of that ignoble system.

The international community must therefore remain vigilant, because those so-called reforms may very well be aimed only at diverting public opinion. We can lend credibility to statements made by the South African authorities only if those authorities resolutely decide to raise the state of emergency now in force, to free

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all political prisoners including Nelson Mandela, and to put an end to their reign of terror against anti-apartheid fighters.

As regards the question of Namibia, the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) - the very basis of the independence process of Namibia - is under way with some difficulty. None the less, the organization of free elections planned for November this year constitutes for the international community a glimmer of hope that Namibia will be independent in 1990 and that we shall be able to welcome it into the community of sovereign nations at the next session of the General Assembly.

To the thousands of Namibians who have returned to their motherland we extend fraternal greetings and our wishes for a better life in a free and prosperous Namibia.

Still on our own continent, acceptance by the parties to the conflict in Western Sahara of the peace plan of the United Nations and of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) is an important step in the settlement of the Sahraoui question. That approach will allow the development of the Sahraoui people, which will thus be able freely to decide on its future. Burundi urges Morocco and the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic to persevere in their efforts at dialogue and at the peaceful settlement of the conflict.

Likewise, the recent conflict between two neighbouring fraternal countries, Senegal and Mauritania, has been given great attention by the authorities of my country. We earnestly hope that the peace efforts made by the President of Mali on behalf of the OAU, and the efforts resumed in May by the President of Egypt, current Chairman of our continental Organization, will soon be successful. We also recognize the peace efforts that President Mubarak is making in southern Africa and in particular in Namibia. That great statesman has had an impact beyond the borders of our continent, and this augurs well for the success of his initiatives.

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In the Middle East, we support and encourage the initiatives to restore peace between the Palestinian and Israeli peoples, and in particular the 10-point peace plan proposed by President Mubarak. That plan - which kindled hope - has been seriously considered by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), but we regret that it has just been rejected by the other party to the conflict, Israel. Burundi, which saw in that plan a glimmer of hope for the solution to the problem of Palestine, still hopes that the rejection is only temporary and that Palestinians and Israelis will soon meet at the negotiating table to discuss their long-awaited peace.

Elsewhere in the world, the situation in Lebanon has become explosive once again. It is our most ardent wish that the various factions will reach an understanding that will preserve human lives and spare suffering in Lebanon. Our country supports and encourages the mediation efforts of the Arab Tripartite Committee.

The International Conference on Cambodia, which has just been held in Paris last August, was aimed at finding a political solution to a crisis that dates back almost 20 years. The global settlement plan for the Cambodian question, which has not yet been accepted by all the parties involved in the conflict, should make it possible to speed the restoration of peace in Cambodia and the subregion. Burundi supports these direct talks and urges the parties to the conflict to choose to strengthen the spirit of dialogue and reconciliation instead of to continue armed fratricidal confrontation.

Concerning the question of Korea, my country supports the principle of peaceful reunification. In this framework we urge the leaders of the two fraternal countries to continue their dialogue so that the peace process can soon come to a successful conclusion.

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Regarding the Iran-Iraq conflict, the peace process, already reflected in a cease-fire, should be strengthened by the implementation of the other elements of the peace plan recommended by the United Nations and accepted by the two parties.

In Cyprus, the dialogue begun by the two communities, and the process of reconciliation, should continue, for the preservation of the Cypriot nation and in the higher interests of its people.

We are sincerely pleased at the atmosphere of understanding and harmony that is developing in Central America. In this context, we are pleased at the conclusion of the Tela accords, and we are glad to welcome the prospects for normalization of relations between the countries in the region.

The delegation of Burundi wishes to express its great pleasure at the ever-widening role played by the United Nations in the peaceful settlement of regional conflicts, and to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Secretary-General for his zeal, dedication and effectiveness in the accomplishment of that noble mission.

Together with this somewhat troubled political situation - which does have some encouraging prospects - the developing countries are confronted increasingly by grave economic and environmental constraints. The debt problem, the worsening economic situation and climatic disturbances are all concerns that increasingly affect the neediest sectors of our populations.

In the framework of their efforts to confront the debt problem and the related economic difficulties, many developing countries are implementing economic adjustment programmes. In this respect, the failure of negotiations on the renewal of the International Coffee Agreement has placed the producer countries - especially the smallest among them, including my own - in an extremely delicate situation. In fact, these countries, most of which had just undertaken structural adjustment programmes in their economies - programmes that had begun to

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generate results - will see their hopes crumble if the countries responsible for the failure of negotiations do not review their position. We therefore appeal to the latter to adopt a responsible and united attitude towards the producer countries that are so seriously stricken.

Recently a number of countries announced measures to alleviate or write off the debt of the developing countries. We want to take this opportunity to extend our most sincere thanks for these gestures, which reassure us and encourage us to persevere in our programmes for economic recovery. However, these efforts of the developed countries should be accompanied by consideration of measures that would involve the net transfer of resources to the developing countries, as well as the prices of commodities. The strategy of a case-by-case debt resolution, supported by the seven most industrialized countries, seems to us insufficient as a solution to the debt problem. Therefore my country supports firmly the proposal to convene an international conference on debt. We believe that the holding of such a conference could lead to a global approach to the thorny question of indebtedness.

Since the problem of the environment began to be studied the international community has become aware of the danger involved in the pollution of the atmosphere, deforestation, desertification and other scourges by which nature is damaged. It has also undertaken intensive activity to mobilize State and specialized agencies involved in these fields in order that appropriate international regulations may be established. Burundi is confident that, thanks to this understanding and co-operation by all, the world will be spared this danger.

We cannot gloss over criminal actions of certain industrialized societies in the northern hemisphere that are with impunity transferring toxic wastes to third-world regions. The dangers that this poses to human, animal and vegetable life, present and future, has been denounced many times by the international community.

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The drug problem constitutes another grave threat to the survival of mankind. We encourage the American and other States that have decided resolutely to combat this scourge, and we urge other nations to follow their example.

Today, on the eve of the next century, conditions seem conducive for achieving milestones towards building a world in which peace, justice and security will prevail. Within States dialogue and reconciliation are winning out over confrontation, and in inter-State relations respect for international law is increasing. Considerable progress has been achieved in disarmament. That is why the Burundi delegation urges all Members of the United Nations to do all in their power to safeguard these important achievements and to strengthen this movement for peace and solidarity among nations and peoples.

Mr. SSEMOGERERE (Uganda): Allow me, Sir, on behalf of the Ugandan delegation, to congratulate you most warmly on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly. As Foreign Minister of your country, and as Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, you have demonstrated your commitment to the liberation struggle in Africa and to the struggle against racism, of which apartheid is the worst manifestation. Given your diplomatic skills and your long association with the United Nations, I am confident that you will steer our deliberations successfully.

To your predecessor, Mr. Dante Caputo, the former Foreign Minister of Argentina, we owe a debt of gratitude for a job well done. He presided over the forty-third session with consummate skill, remarkable wisdom and tireless devotion.

(Mr. Ssemogerere, Uganda)

To the Secretary-General, together with his dedicated soldiers of peace in the Secretariat, we express profound appreciation for steadfastly continuing to meet the challenges facing the Organization in the pursuit of his mandate - to promote international peace and harmony and to uphold the principles of the Charter. The success of the Secretary-General's efforts in this respect is best reflected in his own report:

"Today, at diverse points of the globe, representatives of the United Nations and its Secretary-General are engaged in the arduous tasks of peace and my own visits to different areas of conflict have vividly impressed on me the great degree of trust and responsibility placed in the Organization." (A/44/1, p. 3)

The fiftieth anniversary of the outbreak of the Second World War is an opportune time to remind ourselves that the United Nations is a unique edifice of peace and justice. Born out of the ashes and ruins of that war, its Charter accordingly aims at saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war. The 44 years of the existence of the Organization, compared to the history of a number of countries, may seem a short time. It is a period that has ushered in changes of great magnitude in science and technology - changes that have greatly affected the lifestyles of various peoples and nations.



(Mr. Ssemogerere, Uganda)

It also ushered in the nuclear age and the escalation of the development of armaments, the danger of which was heightened by a cold war. In the last decade there was a marked retreat from multilateralism and a pervasive fear that the United Nations might suffer the same fate as that of its predecessor - the League of Nations. Currently, however, there is a renewal of faith in the United Nations.

Uganda welcomes this renewal of faith in the United Nations. This should strengthen the capacity of the Organization to meet the challenges of the next decade and beyond. New patterns of international relationship are emerging, pregnant with new opportunities but also with new challenges. There is a better disposition towards the resolution of conflict through peaceful means and a better appreciation of the global problems which transcend the boundaries of individual States and affect us all.

As the world has become more interdependent, it should be appreciated that there is an inescapable link between world peace, disarmament, economic and social development, environment and the full enjoyment of human rights as understood in the wider context. The challenge confronting the international community is the management of this interdependence so as to find co-operative solutions in the interests of us all. Peace and security must be viewed in a comprehensive perspective encompassing a wider substantive content and geographical scope.

No doubt the dramatic improvement of relations between the two super-Powers and their willingness to work in concert has had a positive impact on a number of regional problems. There is now renewed hope that the long-delayed independence of Namibia may finally be near. We, however, still harbour a great deal of scepticism about South Africa's intentions and plans for Namibia, especially with respect to

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the forthcoming electoral exercise and the future Namibian constitution. To ensure that the necessary conditions exist for free and fair elections in Namibia, there must be security for all and a just electoral law.

The danger posed by the Koevoets, recognized by the adoption of the United Nations settlement plan, must be removed. The United Nations plan required that the unit be disarmed and disbanded and its command-structure dismantled. As the Secretary-General correctly observed in his statement to the summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in July 1989, the Koevoets in the South West Africa Police (SWAPOL) harass and intimidate the civilian population. The recent assassination of the legal adviser of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) is a grim reminder that these elements, together with other South African agents, clearly pose a serious security threat to SWAPO leadership and their supporters. We have noted the reports that some of these elements have been disarmed and disbanded. It is however imperative that all - and not only some - of these elements be disarmed and disbanded and their command structure totally dismantled. We must guard against the possibility of this dangerous unit being reassembled either before, during or after the elections with a view to frustrating the independence of Namibia. In order to create appropriate conditions, it is essential to have the police arm of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group strengthened. In this connection we welcome the offer by Canada and others to make a contribution to this end; and we urge that the offer be accepted.

With respect to the electoral process we are concerned about a number of things. We take strong exception to the Administrator-General usurping the role of supervising and controlling the electoral process as he is not impartial in this exercise. There are real suspicions that his role is designed to pre-empt the outcome of the elections and to make the independence of Namibia a mere sham.

(Mr. Ssemogerere, Uganda)

Loopholes that would allow rigging at any stage of the electoral process must be removed. Under the voter-registration law, non-Namibians, especially South Africans and other foreigners, must not, as has been reported, be allowed and enabled to register to vote; and legitimate Namibians must not be disenfranchised. The modalities for the transportation of ballot boxes and the counting of votes must not be subject to manipulation and abuse.

Under the constituent Assembly Proclamation, the Administrator-General has given himself veto powers with regard to the requests and recommendations of the constituent Assembly. This state of affairs is totally unacceptable.

We appreciate the Secretary-General's efforts to remove these impediments. Both resolution 435 (1978) and resolution 640 (1989) of the Security Council place the responsibility for supervising and controlling the electoral process in the hands of the Secretary-General. It is therefore imperative for the General Assembly to send a clear message to South Africa that the Organization and the international community will not countenance any manoeuvres aimed at defrauding the electoral process or reducing the role of the Secretary-General to that of an observer or of merely being reactive.

In South Africa itself the situation remains one of continued grave concern. For three years South Africa has been in a state of emergency under which the most draconian laws are invoked to silence those protesting and struggling against the oppressive régime. The notorious notion of "common purpose" has frequently been used in court decisions to convict South African patriots and to sentence them to death or long-term imprisonments.

Apartheid cannot be reformed; it must be dismantled. It is self-delusion to believe that this objective can be attained through an evolutionary process. Mr. de Klerk, the new leader of South Africa, has been giving confusing signals

(Mr. Ssemogerere, Uganda)

about the changes he plans to introduce regarding apartheid. The experience we have had in the past gives us cause to be sceptical. Both Vorster and Botha at one time or another held themselves out as reformers in South Africa and as peacemakers in the region. The kind of reforms they had in mind were cosmetic changes intended to disguise apartheid. These included the introduction of the infamous Bantustan states and the discredited tricameral constitution, which was designed to co-opt a small section of the oppressed majority into the system while leaving the apartheid system more entrenched. We have yet to see concrete steps being taken by Mr. de Klerk that can give us confidence that he has embarked on the path to the dismantling of apartheid. The state of emergency still continues. African leaders are incarcerated, and legitimate African liberation movements are still banned. Judicial murders are being carried out. Indeed, one of the first actions of Mr. de Klerk as the new State President was to authorize the execution of Mangena Jeffrey Boesman, a South African patriot, despite the appeal from this Assembly. Mr. de Klerk has still a long way to go before he can be accepted as an apostle of change in South Africa. He cannot escape the fundamental questions of equal basic political rights for all regardless of colour and race, of democratic rule, and of the central role of genuine African leaders. These are the questions Mr. de Klerk should address.

It ought to be appreciated that the leaders of South African liberation movements are not men of violence any more than the Allies were during the Second World War. The liberation movements took up armed struggle because all peaceful avenues for change were closed. The liberation movements, with the support of Africa, have always been willing to negotiate a transition from apartheid to democracy. This is clearly spelt out in the Lusaka Manifesto of 1969 and the recent Harare Declaration of the OAU Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa. The

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events in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and now Namibia have proved that Africa is able to meet both the challenges of armed struggle and those of negotiations. The efforts of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group to establish a basis for negotiations were scuttled by Pretoria. It is, therefore, Pretoria which must commit itself to negotiations rather than the other way round.

Economic sanctions, internal unrest and the casualties suffered as a result of war, coupled with international isolation, are undermining the Afrikaners' sense of solidarity and support for white racist power. More and more Afrikaners are becoming part of a consensus against apartheid. The liberation movements have responded positively and have given them the necessary reassurances. This is not the time to retreat from sanctions when they are beginning to bear fruit. As regards apartheid, there is no room for equivocation and equally no room for a fence, because there is no fence to sit on.

(Mr. Ssemogerere, Uganda)

Apartheid must be isolated. Uganda has never been persuaded by self-serving arguments that sanctions should not be imposed because they would harm the black majority. Legitimate spokesmen for the masses in South Africa support such measures. Thus we call for their imposition under Chapter VII of the Charter.

The root cause of the instability and the threat to peace and security throughout the southern African region is apartheid. Despite pronouncements to the contrary, the Pretoria régime has continued to carry out, directly and through its surrogates, acts of destabilization against the front-line States. Our appreciation goes to the front-line States for the support they have given to the struggle despite the enormous costs, in both human and material terms to which they have been subjected. The international community should increase assistance to them. They are in the front line in the struggle for the emancipation of peoples and against violations of human rights, of which apartheid is the most gross.

Elsewhere in Africa, we welcome the prevailing spirit of reconciliation aimed at solving ongoing conflicts, notably in Angola, Mozambique, the Sudan and Ethiopia. We are equally encouraged by the peace treaty signed between Libya and Chad on 31 August 1989. We hope that the Secretary-General's efforts and those of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) with regard to the peace agreement between Morocco and the POLISARIO Front will result in the full implementation of that agreement.

The acceptance by Iran and Iraq of Security Council resolution 598 (1987) on the termination of the war gave satisfaction to us all. It is our sincere hope that the negotiations between the two countries, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, on an overall settlement will be successful.

With regard to Afghanistan, Uganda welcomed the signing of the Geneva Agreements intended to put an end to the years of bloody and brutal war. All

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parties to the Agreements have an obligation to honour them. In this regard we note with appreciation that the withdrawal of Soviet forces was completed within the agreed time frame.

The Middle East region remains embroiled in a state of violence owing to Israel's intransigence and refusal to accept the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. The core of the Middle East conflict has always been and remains the question of Palestine. Last year there was hope that there would be movement ahead when the Palestine National Council proclaimed a State of Palestine and indicated its willingness to accept General Assembly resolution 181 (II) and Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), and therefore the existence of Israel. Rather than grasp the olive branch, Israel has continued to obstruct all meaningful proposals meant to bring about a durable and just settlement. Israel continues to build more settlements in the occupied territories and carry out violations of the human rights of the Palestinian people.

The Secretary-General in his report states that he is

"troubled by recent declarations that, in effect, question the applicability of Security Council resolution 242 (1967). Since its unanimous adoption, the resolution has been regarded as the corner-stone of any comprehensive settlement to be reached." (A/44/1, p. 7)

My delegation agrees with the Secretary-General. Israel must not be allowed to scuttle this long-standing international consensus.

In this connection we reiterate the call for the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East in which all the parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), should participate. I wish to take this opportunity to commend the Secretary-General and President Mubarak of Egypt for the

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efforts they have made to this end. Such a conference would promote a just, durable and comprehensive solution.

The situation in Lebanon continues to be a source of anguish to my delegation. The fratricidal conflict has resulted in a heavy toll in both human and material terms. Uganda urges all the parties to come together and place the interests of their country above group considerations in order to resolve the crisis. We support the efforts of the Tripartite Committee of the Arab Heads of State to this end and welcome the cease-fire thus achieved.

With regard to the problem in Cyprus, we are encouraged by the progress of the intercommunal talks being carried out under the auspices of the Secretary-General. In his report he states that they are now at a critical juncture where an overall settlement that will safeguard the legitimate interests and meet the concerns of both communities seems possible. Uganda continues to support the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus.

The people of Kampuchea have long been victims of war. It was our hope that the Paris International Conference on Cambodia, held in August this year, would lead to a comprehensive settlement and a free and independent Cambodia. It is a matter for regret that this was not possible despite the progress achieved in elaborating the detailed aspects of elements for a comprehensive solution. We appeal to all parties to co-operate with the Secretary-General.

For much of this decade the situation in Central America has been tense and volatile. Uganda's position has always remained unequivocal: namely, that the people of the region should be left to solve their problems without external interference. We have always supported the process of constructive dialogue initiated by the Contadora Group, which eventually culminated in the Esquipulas II Agreement by Central American Presidents. This Agreement, arrived at after an



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intensive series of negotiations, has eased tensions and created an atmosphere of trust, reconciliation and peaceful coexistence.

Uganda has been following the developments in the Korean peninsula and welcomes and encourages the current efforts towards reconciliation by the two Koreas. Our position remains the same: we support the peaceful reunification of Korea without external interference.

As a member of the Non-Aligned Movement Uganda welcomes the improving relations between East and West, and especially between the two super-Powers. We are happy to observe that their intense and bitter rivalry, which we have always deplored, is being replaced by a spirit of constructive co-operation. The signing of the Treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles by the United States and the Soviet Union was a historic landmark which marked a turning-point. Uganda is encouraged by the declared intentions of the two countries to reduce their strategic offensive weapons by 50 per cent. We shall, however, continue to live under the threat posed by those weapons as long as there is no large-scale dismantling of armaments and forces. We shall continue to warn against the danger of the reduction in weapons being compensated for by the introduction of new and more sophisticated ones, which might be equally devastating and destabilizing. There is an urgent necessity to conclude a comprehensive test-ban treaty. The process that has already begun towards the convening of a conference to amend the partial test-ban Treaty of 1963, should be used to achieve a comprehensive nuclear-weapon-test ban.

Next year there will be a review conference of the non-proliferation Treaty, to which Uganda is a State party and which is due for renewal in 1995. Article VI imposes an obligation on nuclear-weapon States to negotiate in good faith towards nuclear disarmament. Failure by the nuclear Powers to comply with their obligations undermines confidence in and the efficacy of the non-proliferation Treaty.

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The commitment given in the bilateral talks between the United States and the Soviet Union drastically to reduce the stockpiles of chemical weapons is a very welcome development. It is our hope, however, that this will soon be followed by a total ban on chemical weapons, thus completing the work begun in 1984 by the Conference on Disarmament.

Uganda has always maintained that nuclear and conventional weapons are complementary aspects of the objective of complete and general disarmament and that they equally require urgent action. Regional conflicts are very often encouraged by outside Powers and the merchants of those deadly weapons. A number of third world countries have fallen prey and have become engaged in an arms race, thus diverting valuable resources from the productive sectors. The human toll of those conflicts since the Second World War has been very high. There is a need to give effect to measures that promote resources for development. Uganda strongly believes in good-neighbourliness and has, through joint commissions and dialogue with our neighbours, endeavoured to enhance mutual confidence and increase regional co-operation.

The linkage between disarmament and development is now well appreciated. The world spends a trillion dollars annually on armaments. This is equivalent to the debt burden which hangs like a sword of Damocles over the third world countries. Needless to say, in many cases a large part of this debt is accounted for by the procurement of armaments. The importance of the release of resources from disarmament to development, therefore, need not be overemphasized.

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Global security cannot be achieved without eradicating world-wide poverty, disease and injustice. Lack of economic and social advancement, large-scale unemployment and underemployment, scarcity of resources, degradation of the environment and trafficking in drugs threaten international peace and security as much as do military threats. The world economic is in disarray and afflicted by severe imbalances and inequities. The improvement in relations between East and West contrasts poignantly with the widening gap between North and South in economic relations. While the industrialized countries have continued to register growth, the standard of living in many developing countries has declined. The reality in many of the developing countries is one of unmet basic needs, of child mortality, of illiteracy, disease and hunger.

A critical problem facing the developing countries has been the weakening and collapse of primary-commodity prices. This has been extremely damaging to our export earnings and growth. In 1986, for example, Africa's earnings from commodity exports fell by \$19 billion. Since then the situation has become worse. In the case of Uganda the collapse of coffee prices this year has meant a loss of almost half our expected export earnings. There is need to ensure fair and predictable prices for the primary commodities of developing countries. We are, therefore, encouraged by the coming into force of the agreement establishing the common fund for commodities and hope that Member States will give it all necessary support.

Deteriorating terms of trade have been compounded by the debt burden, the volatile exchange rates, high interest rates and the decline in official development assistance. All those factors account for the scandalous net transfer of resources from developing countries to developed countries. According to the World Bank those net transfers increased from \$38 billion in 1987 to \$50 billion in 1988. The least-developed countries, especially those in sub-Saharan Africa, have

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been the most affected. For instance, the Economic Commission for Africa estimates that in 1987 Africa transferred more than \$1 billion net to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) alone.

Equally critical for those countries are the structural-adjustment programmes of the IMF/World Bank. In their present format those programmes, however well intentioned, have tended to address the short-term economic disequilibrium of the economies of those countries. Long-term economic problems remain unresolved and pose serious threats to their future growth and development. In addition, the impact of those measures on the social sector, notably education and health, which are critical factors for long-term development and transformation, has been most depressing.

There is urgent need for increased efforts in the search for a viable, conceptual and practical framework for economic structural-adjustment programmes, in keeping with their long-term development objectives and strategies, as called for in General Assembly resolution 43/27. It is in that context that, based on their own experience of the 1980s, the African Heads of State have adopted the African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programmes, which we commend to the Assembly.

We are currently witnessing a trend towards deeper regional economic integration and the formation of bigger trading blocs in Europe and North America. Last year I had occasion to warn from this rostrum that the present international economic and social structure perpetuates the oasis of privilege and affluence in a desert of dearth and deprivation. It is our hope that the emergence of those blocs will not aggravate that tendency. This is both a challenge and an example for the developing countries concerning the nature of the factors that will govern international economic relations in the twenty-first century. We believe that

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long-term structural and economic transformation in Africa will depend on the success of the current efforts towards economic integration in our region. That is why we in Uganda take our participation in the Preferential Trade Area of Eastern and Southern Africa, the Organization of African Unity and other regional organizations as a priority.

The urgency of restructuring the existing world economic system cannot be overemphasized. The Uruguay Round on multilateral trade negotiations, the forthcoming United Nations Conference on Least-Developed Countries and the special session of the General Assembly devoted to the revitalization of economic growth should provide useful input for the elaboration of the new international development strategy for the 1990s. The strategy should be aimed at providing for long-term growth, economic transformation and sustainable development.

The problems of the environment vividly bring out the inescapable fact of our interdependence. Uganda welcomes the proposed 1992 international conference on the environment and development. That conference must provide an opportunity and a challenge for all to agree on practical measures necessary to protect the environment for the future based on the concept of environmentally sound and sustainable development. The Kampala Declaration on Sustainable Development adopted by the African Regional Conference on Environment and Development held at Kampala from 12 to 16 June 1989 identified 7 key priority areas that should be addressed, namely, managing demographic changes and pressures; achieving food self-sufficiency and food security; ensuring efficient and equitable use of water resources; securing greater energy self-sufficiency; optimizing industrial production; maintaining species and ecosystems and halting and reversing desertification.

In the social fields the war against transnational crime, including narcotic drug-trafficking and abuse, has appropriately been the focus of many speakers.

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Uganda is committed to fighting this war and is party to various international instruments in that regard. We are in the process of ratifying the 1988 United Nations Convention against Illicit Trafficking in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances. Drugs encourage corruption, undermine the rule of law and result in moral and physical degeneration. Institutions such as the United Nations Institute for Crime Prevention in Uganda, which is still in its infancy, should be helped to do research that can lead to crime prevention, including drug-trafficking. The prevalence of drugs should also be looked at in the wider context of primary-commodity exports. Here there is also an inescapable linkage between increased drug-trafficking to affluent countries and the collapse of primary-commodity prices. It is no accident that the countries most involved in drug production are also dependent on primary commodities, especially coffee. Putting the international coffee agreement in jeopardy could not, therefore, have been helpful in the fight against drug trafficking.

The observance of human rights remains a crucial objective of the Uganda Government, both in its domestic and in its foreign policy. We believe that human rights encompass the right to an adequate standard of living. We are committed to the investigation of all human-rights violations and to the punishment of the culprits. It is for that reason that Uganda established a commission to investigate violations of human rights in the past. With the institution of the office of Inspector General of Government, respect for human rights in Uganda has been very much enhanced.

Uganda believes that the right of the child is paramount. We therefore support the draft convention on the rights of the child adopted by the Human Rights Commission, which is before the General Assembly. We also support the proposal for a world summit meeting on children.

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As we approach the dawn of the new century, the problems which face the international community cannot be underrated. The United Nations has a critical role in the management of our interdependence and in fashioning the appropriate global response to our common problems. Hence, the need of the moment is to strengthen and enhance its capability. Uganda has been following closely the reform process, which is now at its advanced stage. In accordance with General Assembly resolution 41/213, the reform process, should maintain its characteristic of being a comprehensive whole. Its implementation, therefore, must be carried out in an integrated, balanced and timely manner. No consensus has yet been reached on the reforms in the economic and social fields in spite of their vital importance. That is unfortunate. It is our hope that this will soon be rectified.

As the twentieth century draws to a close we must cast our eyes across the wide horizon and reform the present international system in such a way that our legacy to future generations becomes a framework in which interdependence is beneficial to all the people in developed and developing countries alike.

Mr. SEDOC (Suriname): Like many other countries in the developing world, Suriname has been confronted in this decade with falling prices of our main commodities, with difficulties in penetrating the markets of the industrialized nations, with obstacles to creating a solid democratic society, and, moreover, with the benign but distant interest of some of our developed sister nations in the difficult process of underpinning the political changes taking place in our country with the security of provision for the basic needs of the people.

We must admit, however, that while these experiences have had a negative impact on the steady pursuance of our development objectives, they have at the same time strengthened our determination to meet the challenges that face us and to redouble our efforts to achieve the goals we set for ourselves years ago.

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For that reason we have once again come to New York with great pleasure, to share with you our experiences and be part of the new, emerging political understanding between and within independent nations.

Before doing so, however, I wish to associate myself with the sentiments expressed by previous speakers and congratulate you, Sir, on your election as President of the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly. I am pleased to see a representative of the African continent, with its ongoing historical political development, in the presidency of this session of the General Assembly. Africa, with its great diversity and economic possibilities, can play a decisive role in shaping the new, emerging political relations and co-operation in our world. It is also fitting, indeed, that a son of our brother country Nigeria, with which Suriname has historical ties, has been chosen, since that country has served as an example because of its contribution to unity and integration in Africa, and to international co-operation and peaceful coexistence. Your experience and diplomatic skills, demonstrated as Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, justify our sincere expectation that under your leadership this session of the General Assembly will come to a successful conclusion.

We should also like to express our profound appreciation to the former Minister for Foreign Affairs of Argentina, Mr. Dante Caputo, for the distinctive and able manner in which he guided the affairs of the forty-third session of the General Assembly. We wish him well in his future endeavours.\*

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



(Mr. Sedoc, Suriname)

Likewise, we should like to pay tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his personal contributions to the search for peace, security and stability in the world. His tireless efforts to strengthen the Organization and to achieve solutions to the numerous conflicts threatening international peace and security, as well as his dedication to the cause of sustained development in the developing countries, is well known and deserves our gratitude.

Concerning Suriname, it is with a feeling of pride and satisfaction that I can announce that our Government has succeeded in gratifying the cherished wish of the majority of the people of Suriname by actively starting the termination of the internal armed conflict. This fight in which brother took up arms against brother had been going on for years. Convinced that combating violence by violence would not bring peace and prosperity to our people, we opted for the road of dialogue and consensus. This road recently led to the conclusion of the peace agreement of Kourou, which in turn set off a genuine peace process and brought an end to the meaningless bloodshed, the victims of which were mostly innocent people.

We are aware that we have only just begun and that we shall certainly encounter many obstacles on our path. But, armed with reason, humanity, friendship and solidarity - qualities for which our people are noted - we shall overcome those impediments.

Today, a new, important step forward is being taken in the peace process and the process of dialogue and consensus. The peace agreement has already resulted in the abolition of the state of emergency in the eastern part of the country. Because of this, real prospects for the safe and speedy return of thousands of

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refugees to their homelands have been created. To that end, the contributions of international agencies such as the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees are indispensable, and we are indeed grateful for the assistance they are rendering.

At this juncture, I should like to express my Government's appreciation for the activities of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees with regard to the problems of refugees, and uprooted and displaced persons in general. We therefore applaud the Guatemala Declaration and the Complementary Plan of Concerted Action, which were adopted at the first International Conference on Central American Refugees, as important steps in the right direction.

Now we, the Government and people of Suriname, are once again in a position to fulfil our internationally agreed obligations towards our countrymen in the eastern part of our country. Once again these fellow-citizens of ours will be able to make use of the political, social and economic rights they are entitled to.

The last phase of our democratization process has thus started and, hopefully, peace and stability will soon once more characterize our Surinamese society. With our united efforts, we shall then be able to work for the economic, social and political reconstruction of the country as a whole. Because of the peace agreement, our people are able to dream again, to dream of a new horizon, of a future of genuine peace and prosperity which they can make come true through their own efforts.

I am also happy to be able to observe that positive developments have taken place in the formerly strained relations between the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the Republic of Suriname. We express the fervent hope that these developments will be expanded, strengthened and consolidated, to the mutual benefit of both nations.

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Allow me at this time to present in brief our position on a selected number of international issues. After years of effort and persistence, and through the tireless and patient exercise of the good offices of the Secretary-General, significant progress may be observed in the field of international relations.

It is indeed with satisfaction that we are witnessing that the practice of détente has been reborn and that a new style and new attitude have emerged in the conduct of international relations; that new approach, whereby confrontation has been replaced by dialogue and understanding, has already resulted in negotiated solutions to some regional conflicts which had hitherto seemed unsolvable.

The Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles - INF Treaty - and their ongoing discussions regarding other matters of great importance to international peace and security; the agreement between Iran and Iraq; the Geneva Agreements with regard to Afghanistan and Pakistan; the scheduled independence of Namibia; and the recent agreement on the Central American conflict are all good examples of the lessening of political tensions in the world.

These developments augur well for the future of our planet and although we should not expect that conflicts which have lasted for years and have deep-rooted causes will immediately be settled, I feel obliged to urge the parties concerned to respect the agreements and to refrain from tactics and measures which could delay or even stifle the peace process.

I especially refer to the recalcitrant attitude of the apartheid régime of South Africa, which continues with killings and harassment of the Namibian people notwithstanding the peace agreements signed in December 1988. My Government condemns the involvement of both the military and civilian authorities of the

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apartheid régime, which intimidates and victimizes the Namibians, obstructing them in the exercise of their legitimate right to elect a Government of their own choice.

At the same time it is encouraging to note that the countries of Central America have demonstrated their firm political will to reject the use of force and to restore a climate of trust and tranquillity in their region. The agreement recently reached has highlighted the profound desire for peace of the Central American peoples and their commitment to negotiation and to dialogue to resolve long-existing conflicts, and thus deserves the full support of the international community.

In spite of the positive trends of accommodation and détente, some hard cores of suppression and conflict still persist. In spite of continuous condemnation by the international community the apartheid régime of South Africa continues its policies of discrimination, detention and suppression of the majority of its people.

Events of recent months have brought no comfort to those who hoped to see the apartheid system dismantled. Only when this institutionalized racism is totally eradicated will peace and security be assured in this part of the world.

The situation in the Middle East continues to be unstable and dangerous. The question of Palestine remains the core of the Middle East problem and the prime example of disregard of United Nations resolutions and of the will of the international community. My Government deplores the deterioration of the situation in the occupied territories and the constant increase in the number of Palestinians slain or wounded. We believe that only an international peace conference under the auspices of the United Nations, and with the participation of all parties concerned, will be able to establish a viable, negotiated framework to address all the dimensions of the conflict and bring hope for restoring peace and security to the region. In this respect we welcome the efforts of President Hosni Mubarak of

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Egypt as an opportunity to break the deadlock in the Middle East peace process. I sincerely hope that mankind will soon witness progress and tangible results in the form of a lessening of tension and confrontation in regional conflicts.

Regarding the Kampuchean problem, my delegation is of the view that a just and durable peace in Kampuchea can be reached only through a comprehensive political settlement, one which takes into account the interests and aspirations of the people of that nation.

As I said before, my Government believes in dialogue and in this sense we welcome the resumption of contacts in the Korean peninsula. Even though no concrete advance has as yet been noted, we hope that the dialogue with a view to the reunification of the two Koreas will be intensified and that the proposals of 11 September 1989 by President Roh Tae Woo may serve as a basis.

Although we have made optimistic observations with regard to changes in the international political arena we note with disappointment that international economic prospects remain uncertain. Slow or negative growth and the persisting debt problem are causing further deterioration of the quality of life in the developing countries. Never has the situation of the developing countries been more adversely affected than during the past decade.

Governments of developing countries have instituted courageous reforms in order to revitalize their economies, but their experience has been that economic adjustment programmes have been disproportionately heavy and have had very severe social and political consequences for them. Their experience has been that without massive external support the successful and positive influence of economic growth and development will remain illusory. As a consequence of these developments the economic disparities between industrialized and developing countries have widened.

About 40 years ago it seemed as though the international community had learned a valuable lesson from the enormous tragedies of the 1930s. Much to our regret,

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however, we must observe that the present outlook is proof to the contrary. The style of dialogue and the understanding which have characterized international political relations during the last few years and which have resulted in many negotiated agreements, have unfortunately not yet trickled through to international economic relations. On the contrary, we notice an approach which does not recognize the needs of developing countries and does not assist them to lift themselves out of their poverty and underdevelopment.

There is a lack of political will to consider comprehensive measures which take into account the new realities and changing circumstances in the international economic environment. These measures should include development objectives such as poverty reduction, long-term solutions to foreign debt, development financing, and reactivation of the international economy. Such comprehensive measures should also include redefining international economic relations, removing the structural imbalances in the international economic system and preventing the further widening of the economic and technological gap between industrialized and developing countries.

I should like to stress that the lofty goal of a more just and equitable distribution of the world's riches can be reached only if multilateral co-operation for economic and social development is revitalized and strengthened. We are not asking for pity or mere sympathy but for new economic conditions which recognize our needs and help to ensure that we, the developing countries, can lift ourselves out of our poverty and underdevelopment. We therefore urge our developed partners to show their political readiness to widen the field of multilateral economic understanding during the preparations for the fourth international development strategy and during the special session on international economic co-operation.

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Shortly after the independence of Suriname the Surinamese Government participated actively, as a member of the Ad Hoc Committee, in the preparation of the International Convention against the Taking of Hostages, which was adopted by the General Assembly in 1979 and which has been in force since June 1983.

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Despite the setbacks of recent years, in which hostage killing was added to the chapter of human suffering, my Government remains confident that the convention against the taking of hostages and other relevant instruments will serve the purpose for which they were created. My delegation is of the view that murder and terrorism cannot be condoned under any circumstances.

Suriname has since its inception been a member of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against the Recruitment, Use, Financing and Training of Mercenaries. Ten years ago, this matter was placed on the agenda of the General Assembly for the first time. The Ad Hoc Committee has made tangible progress since then, as reflected in its successive reports, but, because of certain conflicts of interest, the badly needed convention is still pending. Meanwhile, the activities of mercenaries continue to create a devastating atmosphere in many developing countries. The Special Rapporteur on Mercenaries has repeatedly drawn the attention of the world community to the subversive practices of mercenaries. An adequate convention, together with concerted international actions directed towards combating the phenomenon of mercenaries, will have a tremendous impact on the eradication of this evil. It is for these reasons that our Government expresses the hope that the General Assembly will be in a position to finalize the drafting of the desired international convention at the earliest possible date.

During the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, it was recognized that the cessation of nuclear-weapon testing would be an important contribution to the goal of ending the qualitative improvement of these weapons and the development of new types, and prevention of their proliferation. Despite the General Assembly's insistence in later years, this goal has not been reached, although we have to admit that recently some progress has been made.



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In this light, we welcome the reduction of tensions in East-West relations, since this provides the basis for more effective action in freezing nuclear-weapon production and subsequently dismantling nuclear weapons. However, given the importance of such action for the survival of mankind, we feel that discussions aimed at achieving complete nuclear disarmament should not be merely bilateral, but a multilateral undertaking. A multilateral approach will more successfully guarantee that the interests of the whole of mankind are served, and that the resources derived from disarmament will be used for economic and social development.

My Government shares the view that nuclear-weapon-free zones are an essential contribution to the promotion of peace and stability. We therefore call upon all States to co-operate in the establishment of such zones. As a party to the Treaty of Tlatelolco, we appeal to the States which have not yet done so to join ranks and try to keep the Latin American and Caribbean region nuclear-weapon free.

Furthermore we wish to stress that disarmament in the field of conventional and chemical weapons should not be neglected. It has been reported, at the Conference on Disarmament during its Geneva session in the summer of this year, that about 20 countries still have arsenals full of chemical weapons. These horrific means of mass destruction should undoubtedly be eliminated. It is high time that a chemical weapons ban treaty with a very tight verification system be concluded under the auspices of the United Nations.

The drug problem is doubtless one of the most serious universal concerns of today. It is not merely a problem that undermines our economies and endangers the physical health of our peoples; recent developments in our region demonstrate that the abuse of and illicit traffic in drugs and psychotropic substances also increasingly threaten the social and political stability of our countries. We have witnessed the developments in this context in one of our sister countries in the Western Hemisphere. We firmly support that country's Government in its efforts to

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combat the organized drugs mafia and its severe negative social, economic and political impact. Because of the international dimensions of this problem, my Government underlines the need for intensive regional, interregional and international co-operation in order effectively to deal with this plague of mankind. In this connexion, we welcome the recent initiatives of Governments in our region. We are of the opinion that these initiatives deserve the fullest support of the international community. We furthermore believe that the relevant United Nations agencies and the other international and regional institutions involved should be encouraged in their endeavours, and that financial resources must be committed to assist them in their battle to eradicate the scourge of narcotic drugs.

As time goes by, we notice that our planet is no longer the same safe haven for mankind it used to be. The international community recognizes more and more that environmental issues such as climate changes, the conversion of fertile land into desert, the depletion of freshwater resources and the disposal of hazardous chemicals are jeopardizing our ecological systems as well as the most vital interests of mankind. Although environmental problems have grave effects on the development of third world countries in particular, these problems should have the attention of the international community as a whole. Given the vital and urgent global character of our environment, a multilateral approach is required to tackle these environmental problems in all their aspects, and the contributions and co-operation of the industrialized nations are indispensable and of major importance. My delegation therefore looks forward to the convening in 1992 of the United Nations conference on environment and development, which we hope will be held on our continent.

It is essential that measures in this context take note of the necessity of eliminating or reducing the imbalance in international production and consumption

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patterns. One of the major malpractices against the environment that should strongly be rejected is the dumping of nuclear waste and hazardous chemicals by industrialized countries in developing countries, a practice experienced by the latter as abuse of their unfavourable economic situation.

The Amazon countries, to which Suriname belongs, have adopted a declaration in which, inter alia, they express their firm intention to widen and strengthen the mechanisms for co-operation committed to the protection of the environment in the Amazon region. We are fully aware of the region's importance to the world, and we are capable and responsible enough to protect it.

I have tried to stand up in plain view and make what I hope has been a clear, forthright statement of our position, because I wanted the Assembly to know exactly where our country stands, what it advocates, and what it believes. It is true that in our efforts to obtain our cherished goals, we, the United Nations, have lost some ground. We have not been spared certain disappointments and unpleasant surprises. At the same time, however, we have learned by experience. We have learned that peace, development and prosperity are not to be had by merely asking. Like other great ideals, they can only be obtained through hard and consistent effort.

As we stand on the threshold of the 1990s, I am pleased to observe that today's developments in world affairs give us cause for a certain optimism for the future, a future in which our ever more indivisible and interdependent world beholds a new horizon, a horizon holding out the promise of peace, development and prosperity for all. Let us, then, proceed to examine specific ways and means to make the goals and end results we seek possible. It is our profound hope and expectation that our Organization will have a vital role to play in this coming new era.

Mr. N'Golo TRAORE (Mali) (interpretation from French): The Mali delegation, which I have the honour to lead, extends its warmest congratulations to Ambassador Garba on his election to preside over the forty-fourth session. His election honours all of Africa, and we are all the more pleased since his country, the Federal Republic of Nigeria, maintains excellent relations of friendship and co-operation with the Republic of Mali. My delegation is convinced that his personal qualities and his rich diplomatic experience, which have won him the confidence of the General Assembly, guarantee that our work will be successful.

I take this opportunity to pay a well-deserved tribute to his predecessor, Mr. Dante Caputo, for the effective and wise way in which he directed the work of the forty-third session.

I also wish to express my delegation's appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his constant efforts to realize the ideals of the United Nations.

The fruitful co-operation that existed during the term in office that President Moussa Traore has just ended at the head of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) enabled us to appreciate his great devotion to the cause of peace and co-operation between peoples. I extend to him the sincere thanks of the Republic of Mali for his constant understanding and willingness to help in the quest for solutions to African problems.

Since the last session the international political situation has continued to develop favourably, and there has been a political relaxation in the relations between the two major Powers. However, for the nations that constitute the third world there remain many uncertainties and subjects of concern which form an obstacle to a positive evolution of the world climate and provide challenges to be met. They include natural disasters; economic and financial constraints and the debt crisis; unsuitable remedies put forward by international financial and

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monetary institutions; the persistence of the apartheid régime and of the grave situation in the Middle East and the intifadah; and many hotbeds of tension that continue in many parts of the world in spite of the increasingly expressed resolve to eliminate them.

In a few weeks there will be a self-determination referendum in Namibia that will set the Namibian people on the noble and lofty course of independence and freedom.

Being well aware of the strategy of the Pretoria racists, which is constantly to resort to delaying tactics, the Organization of African Unity and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries have deplored the reduction in the number of those making up the United Nations Transition Assistance Group, because they know the real dangers of such reductions.

Our fears have been confirmed by the massacres of Namibian fighters that darkened the initial days of the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), the recent assassination of Anton Lubowski, the incorporation into the South African security forces in Namibia of elements of the Koevoet, which is a veritable death squad, and the intimidation of Namibians by the South African security forces - in a word, by all the sordid plots hatched by the Pretoria racists.

The intentions of the Pretoria racists always remain the same: to perpetuate their colonial domination in Namibia and to establish in the Territory a Government that does their bidding. In the past the goal was to destroy the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the authentic representative of the Namibian people; today it is to prevent, by all sorts of fraudulent manoeuvres, SWAPO's winning the elections.

In this context, we urge the Security Council to take the appropriate measures to control the situation in Namibia effectively and completely, in order

(Mr. N'Golo Traore, Mali)

to ensure that the independence process proceeds correctly. In that regard, we welcome the recent measures taken by the Security Council to increase the number of police officers attached to the United Nations Transition Assistance Group.

In any event, the November elections must result in genuine independence for Namibia. A perverted independence and a failed decolonization would betray all the sacrifices made by the heroic Namibian people and the commendable efforts of the international community to assert the inalienable rights of peoples and to protect international peace and security.

In South Africa itself, the lot of the black majority has not improved since our last session. The black population is still denied its most basic rights. The state of emergency is still in force, despite the repeated appeals of the international community. Arrests, arbitrary judgements and summary executions continue at a frenzied pace.

The Pretoria racists must yield to the evidence that repression, however fierce, will never succeed in stifling a people's aspirations to freedom nor in overcoming their desire for liberation. The continuation of the people's revolt, which is broadening in South Africa, in spite of violent repression, bears eloquent witness to that.

What is needed in South Africa is the establishment of a democratic, multiracial and egalitarian régime, installed by free elections. For that to be achieved, it is essential that the state of emergency be lifted, that Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners be unconditionally freed, that discriminatory laws be repealed and that all South Africans, without distinction as to race, enjoy the right to vote.

The Declaration on South Africa adopted by the OAU's Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State and Government on Southern Africa in Harare on 21 August should be the basis of any negotiations to that end.

(Mr. N'Golo Traore, Mali)

Much is being said about changes that have occurred in the leadership of the political party in power in South Africa and about the new spirit of openness of the new President and of his desire for a change in policy in South Africa. Let us not harbour any illusions: apartheid cannot be reformed; it must be totally dismantled and it is only if actions by the new leaders of the racist régime of South Africa are taken along this path that we will appreciate them.

My country is convinced that the international community must remain vigilant in view of the manoeuvres of the racist régime of Pretoria, and at the special session of the General Assembly on the policy of apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa, planned for next December, we shall express our complete solidarity with the valiant people of South Africa.

In Angola, we are pleased with the establishment of dialogue between the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and UNITA, a dialogue we fervently hope will lead to genuine peace in that country. We therefore urge all parties to abide by the Gbadolite agreements and take specific steps in keeping with the aspirations of the Angolan people to unity, peace and social and economic development.

In Western Sahara, the joint efforts of the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Secretary-General have led to the development of a settlement plan for this question in accordance with resolutions 104 (XIX) of the OAU and 40/50 of the General Assembly. Acceptance of the plan in August 1988 by the two parties - the Kingdom of Morocco and the POLISARIO Front - is an important step in the process towards the organization of a free and general referendum on self-determination. It is true that obstacles remain, but the establishment last June of the Technical Commission for the Implementation of the Plan will certainly make it possible to overcome them.

(Mr. N' Golo Traore, Mali)

Aware of the seriousness of the situation, my delegation urges the Kingdom of Morocco and the POLISARIO Front to embark on a dialogue with a view to a just and definitive solution to that painful conflict. As a country of the region, the Republic of Mali, will continue, as in the past, to work towards a settlement of the conflict.

In another area, there have been positive developments in the Chad-Libya conflict since July 1989, thanks to the summit meeting held at the initiative of the Head of State of Mali, General Moussa Traore, which convened in Bamako his peers from Algeria, Gabon, Nigeria, Libya and Chad. The signing of a framework agreement between the two countries on 31 August in Algiers offers good prospects for a definitive solution to that dispute.

In the Middle East, the Palestinian people is still waging its heroic struggle to recover its inalienable national rights. The most heroic expression of that struggle is the intifadah - that revolt of the people in the occupied territories which has mobilized Palestinians into the streets, including a large number of women and children, who are standing up unarmed to the Israeli occupation forces which, in violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949, are committing acts of torture and carrying out massacres.

The current generation of stone throwers is a new category of martyrs of the Palestinian people whose sacrifice invites the international community to undertake firm and resolute action to compel Israel to recognize the inalienable national rights of that people.

My delegation is convinced that the problem of the Middle East, at the core of which is the question of Palestine, requires a comprehensive settlement. In this regard it supports the idea of convening an international peace conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations and with the participation of



(Mr. N'Golo Traore, Mali)

the five permanent members of the Security Council and of all parties to the conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, on an equal footing.

The persistent upheaval in Lebanon and the present tragedy of the Lebanese people are direct consequences of the Middle East problem. The Malian people deplore these tragic events. We appeal to the international community at large to do more to restore peace to that country, by preserving its independence and its territorial integrity, in accordance with the relevant Security Council resolution calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon and the deployment of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon. My delegation supports and encourages the mediation efforts now being made by the Tripartite Committee of the Arab League to find a solution to that tragedy.

In agreeing to observe a cease-fire, Iran-Iraq have contributed to restoring calm to the Gulf region, thus facilitating the efforts of the Secretary-General with a view to resolving that fratricidal conflict.

In Afghanistan, General Assembly resolution 43/20 welcomed with satisfaction the signing of the Geneva Agreements on 14 April 1988, an important step towards a definitive settlement of the conflict. In spite of the withdrawal of Soviet troops, calm has not been restored in Afghanistan. The 1988 Agreements are in jeopardy; the United Nations good offices mission in Afghanistan and in Pakistan is not enjoying the desired co-operation. It is therefore up to the parties concerned, as well as the United States and the Soviet Union, which are the guarantors of these Agreements, to co-operate closely with the United Nations in order to make it possible to arrive at a negotiated settlement.

(Mr. N'Golo Traore, Mali)

In connection with South-East Asia, the informal meetings between the parties to the struggle in Kampuchea, known as the Jakarta Rounds, and the recent international peace conference on Cambodia in Paris have harmonized the positions of the parties with a view to a negotiated settlement of the Cambodian question without any foreign interference.

In the Korean peninsula, the resumption of talks will undoubtedly contribute to the peaceful settlement of the question. To that end, we support the efforts made by the Korean people towards peaceful reunification through a North-South dialogue, without interference and in accordance with the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and general national unity, as contained in the joint North-South declaration of 4 July 1972. My delegation is convinced that a reunified and strong Korea could legitimately be represented in the United Nations. We therefore urge all parties to work actively towards the attainment of the peaceful reunification of Korea prior to its admission to the United Nations.

(Mr. N'Golo Traore, Mali)

My delegation is pleased at the positive evolution of the political situation in Central America, which leads to hope for peace in the region. We also highly appreciate the political will demonstrated by the Heads of State of Central America to give effect to Security Council resolution 637 (1989), adopted on 27 July 1989. In this respect, the summit meeting in Honduras in August was significant and the agreements signed on that occasion will contribute to strengthening peace and security in the region.

The settlement of regional conflicts undoubtedly contributes significantly to the safeguarding of international peace and security, but the basic prerequisite for the establishment of lasting peace in the world remains general and complete disarmament, to the benefit of social and economic development for all mankind.

The arms race conducted by the two blocs in addition to being a permanent threat to the survival of the human race absorbs substantial resources. It might be said that mankind is made to produce the means of its own destruction.

According to reliable sources, the intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles which were the subject of an agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union in 1987 represent only about 4 per cent of the global stockpile of nuclear weapons. That is certainly not a great deal. None the less, it is appropriate to welcome that initiative, which we hope will mark the beginning of a process whose goal is general and complete disarmament and the allocation of the resources thus released to development action.

The world cannot continue to spend many hundreds of billions of dollars on the arms race while a tiny fraction of that sum could help to eliminate poverty from our planet. In other words, disarmament should mean not only the reduction of arms and armed forces, but also the reduction of the sums spent on them.

(Mr. N'Golo Traore, Mali)

The international community must also intensify its efforts to bring about the limitation, reduction and elimination of weapons in order to focus all its economic strength and its technological skill on the development of Member States and international co-operation among all the nations of the world. For as long as three quarters of mankind is confronting an acute development crisis we shall continue to insist on the relationship between disarmament and development.

The economic and social situation has not improved in most developing countries. The economies of the countries concerned, in particular the economies of the African countries, have experienced negative growth in real terms. With a foreign debt which amounts to some \$230 billion, Africa can have no successful economic recovery or development programme unless that debt burden is lightened.

In this connection we welcome the initiatives of certain developed countries in cancelling part of the debt of some African countries. Those realistic and constructive initiatives aimed at reducing the volume of debt are certainly part of the search for a way out of the crisis, but they are not sufficient because they do not constitute a final solution to the problem of indebtedness. They must be strengthened by the relevant suggestions contained in the common African position on the debt crisis.

A definitive settlement of Africa's foreign debt crisis requires energetic, bold decisions in the framework of a strategy based on co-operation, negotiation and shared responsibility. It was in order to give effect to such a strategy that Africa proposed to the international community the convening of an international conference on the African debt. It is clear that the debt crisis is hindering the development of Africa and constitutes the main factor impeding the recovery of economic growth.

(Mr. N'Golo Traore, Mali)

According to the Economic Commission for Africa, the overall economic growth of the continent averaged 1.4 per cent between 1986 and 1989 and population growth was approximately 3 per cent in that period. That means that per capita income in 1988 was 5 per cent lower than in 1985.

It is noteworthy that the agricultural sector, which constitutes the driving force of most of Africa's economies, is in a state of serious stagnation, if not disquieting regression, because of the effects of climate disturbances and profound ecological deterioration, such as desertification, but also because of the brutal fall in the prices of agricultural commodities. The industrial sector, far from serving as a financial and material support for agriculture, absorbs an increasingly large share of the meagre resources available, to finance the necessary but very costly imports needed for production.

Because of this, African countries did not benefit from the economic recovery that occurred in the industrialized countries in 1988. The demand for and prices of commodities continued to decline at the same time. Furthermore, the foreign debt situation worsened and the flow of resources towards Africa decreased greatly, making the continent a net exporter of capital.

In addition to recovery programmes adopted by the continent to tackle the situation - for example, the Priority Programme for the Economic Recovery of Africa, adopted in 1985, and the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development, adopted in 1986 - over 30 African countries, among them my own, have undertaken, with the support of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, processes of stabilization and structural adjustment. The objective of the structural adjustment programmes is to restore in the short term the basic macro-economic balance. Those programmes have a negative impact on economic growth and on the standard of living of the population. In order to

(Mr. N'Golo Traore, Mali)

mitigate the shortcomings of those structural adjustment models, the 25th summit conference of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), held in Addis Ababa last July, adopted an African frame of reference for structural adjustment programmes that takes into account the long-term development objectives and strategies at the national, subregional and regional levels.

My delegation hopes that the international community will grasp the relevance of the African formula and promote the adoption of those innovative and well-adapted principles in the approaches taken by international economic and financial institutions that play an essential role in preserving the economic health of the world.

Africa is aware that it bears the primary responsibility for its own development. Accordingly, it has made all the sacrifices that the circumstances demand. Africa has committed itself to huge policies of economic reform which will have an impact on the economic and social sectors of public life.

(Mr. N'Golo Traore, Mali)

The most sensitive social sectors, such as education and health, have already been affected greatly. The African States have agreed to accept the resulting political risks because they are convinced that, at the end of the process, there will be an improvement in the standards of living of their peoples.

The struggle that we are waging today must certainly have as its goal the total development of the individual and harmony in society. It must guarantee social justice, equity and solidarity. In particular, it must lay the foundations that will ensure the survival and development of the child - that fragile sector of our population which is particularly vulnerable to the deterioration of economic conditions. This is why my country is making an urgent appeal to the international community for the prompt convening of a global summit on childhood. It would indeed be regrettable if the profound sacrifices made by the present generation to assure for its successors a more human and more viable heritage were not to guarantee the survival, protection and development of the child. The adoption of an international convention on the rights of the child would make it possible to improve the conditions of children throughout the world, particularly in the developing countries.

An international conference on the environment will be held in Mali in a few months, with the support and participation of United Nations specialized agencies. The problem of the deterioration of the environment is multidimensional and is particularly difficult to resolve in our countries. Furthermore, the structural rigidity of underdeveloped economies compounds the many factors that cause the deterioration of our fragile ecosystems. By promoting development that is ecologically rational, the United Nations system and the entire international community are demonstrating a commendable awareness of the grave danger that human needs and the vicissitudes of climate pose to the ecological balance of our world.

(Mr. N'Golo Traore, Mali)

The logical consequence of this awareness is that any approach to ecologically rational development must deal with the disturbing problem of toxic waste. At the Basle Conference Africa shared its own concerns and expressed reservations about codifying transport or movement of toxic wastes. The international community cannot remain indifferent to this all-important question that faces the continent, already so deeply affected by the fragility of its ecosystem and the destructive effects of the global economic crisis.

In conclusion, may I say that it is comforting and encouraging to note that at the dawn of the third millenium the world is experiencing profound changes. However, these changes can be meaningful only if they are accompanied by a collective awareness of the shared destiny of everyone of the planet. The value of these changes depends on the establishment of a new, more just, more equitable and more democratic political, economic, social and cultural order in the world. By meeting the great challenges, by remaining united, our nations and our peoples will honour their commitments undertaken in the United Nations - commitments which, under the Charter, we are duty-bound to strengthen. Thus, we will work to bring together individuals and peoples whose legitimate aspiration is to live, in harmony, in a world of peace, freedom, justice and social progress. I reaffirm the commitment of the people of Mali, of the Democratic Union of Mali and of the Mali Government - in particular, President Moussa Traore - to work tirelessly towards the attainment of these noble ideals of the United Nations.

Mr. ADOLM (Chad) (interpretation from French): First of all, on behalf of the Chad delegation, which I have the honour of heading, I should like to convey to Mr. Joseph Garba our most earnest congratulations on his unanimous election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-fourth session. As Chad has a common border and so many historical bonds with Nigeria - his great country - it



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can only express satisfaction that he is directing our work. His election, which does honour to all of Africa, is a tribute to his talents as a diplomat and an experienced statesman. He may be assured of the full co-operation of my delegation in carrying out his difficult responsibilities.

I should like also to express to Mr. Dante Caputo, the former Foreign Minister of Argentina, the gratitude of my delegation for his excellent work as President of the General Assembly at its forty-third session.

The Chad delegation would like, once again, to pay a well-deserved tribute to the dynamic Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, whose dedication to the cause of peace and development deserves the admiration of all. In his report on the activities of the Organization, the Secretary-General notes that there is increased co-operation between the permanent members of the Security Council in the quest for solutions to international conflicts and, above all, that the two major blocs have undertaken a quest for lasting peace. This trend in international relations, which are now based more on trust, should be encouraged.

Indeed, the Second World War, the fiftieth anniversary of whose beginning we are marking this year, is an appropriate reminder of the painful circumstances that led to the founding of the United Nations. This reminder of history should, above all, compel us to work in solidarity to strengthen the San Francisco Charter. The solemn commitment "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" is still coming up against difficulties, even though the atmosphere today would seem to be more than ever propitious for universal peace. The Government of the Republic of Chad, for its part, has always worked for peace in international relations and in its own relations with neighbouring countries.

In this connection, the process begun last year in the context of the Chad-Libya conflict, with the assistance of friendly countries, continued.

(Mr. Adoum, Chad)

That process represented a step forward in the improvement of relations between the two States. Thanks to the persevering activities of the President of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), Mr. Moussa Traore, President of the Republic of Mali, of the President of the Republic of Gabon and Mr. Al-Hadj Omar Bongo, and of the President of the Ad Hoc Committee of the OAU on the Chad-Libya dispute, Mr. Chedli Bendjedid, President of the Democratic People's Republic of Algeria, Chad and Libya signed, in Algiers on 31 August 1989, a framework agreement on the settlement of their dispute.

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Years of deadly confrontation between two countries fated by history and geography to live together in peace have given rise to substantial human and material loss. That situation, which forced Chad to devote its meagre resources to purposes of defence, considerably delayed our country's reconstruction and development.

Having always held that Chad and Libya have better things to do than make war, the Chadian Government promptly demonstrated its approval of the Algiers Agreement by proceeding, as early as 1 September 1989, to release a group of Libyan prisoners of war. We hope that this significant gesture, which reflects Chad's goodwill towards the brotherly Libyan people and its respect for the pledge it made, will open the way to the final settlement of a conflict pitting two brotherly States against each other in the Chadian region of Aozou.

By envisaging conciliation as an initial stage, the Agreement appeals to the two parties to show the political determination to establish lasting peace between them. Only if this machinery does not yield the desired result within a year will the International Court of Justice be seized of the territorial dispute.

Additional measures are provided for as part of the implementation of the Agreement, including the withdrawal of the forces of the two countries from positions they occupied as of 25 August 1989 in the disputed region; this withdrawal is to take place under the supervision of an African observer commission, and there is to be a ban on any new settlements, in whatever form, in the region.

Reiterating their decision concerning the cease-fire that took effect on 11 September 1987, Chad and Libya also undertook to end any form of hostility, especially all hostile media campaigns; to refrain from direct or indirect interference, in any form, under any pretext and in any circumstances, in the

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internal and external affairs of their respective countries; to ban any political, material, financial or military support to any forces hostile to either of the two countries; and to proceed to the signing of a treaty of friendship, good-neighbourliness and economic and financial co-operation between the two countries.

A joint committee will be established to lay down the provisions for the implementation of the Agreement and to ensure that all necessary steps are taken to that effect. The Ad Hoc Committee of the Organization of African Unity on the Chad-Libyan dispute is to follow up the implementation of the provisions of the Agreement.

Those are the salient points of the Agreement, which ushers in a new era in relations between Chad and Libya. But need I point out that the strength of any agreement lies in the political will of those who implement it? Thus, the full, practical implementation of the Algiers Agreement will be the measure of the scope and value of the commitments entered into. For its part, Chad has already communicated this important Agreement to the Secretariat of the United Nations, in accordance with article 7 of the Agreement.

From this rostrum, my delegation expresses the sincere gratitude of the Government and people of Chad to all the illustrious Heads of State who have made such a positive contribution to the ushering in of this new era - which we hope will be a felicitous one - in the relations between Chad and Libya. As we have always maintained, this Agreement bears witness to Chad's constant desire to live in peace with the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, strictly respecting its sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and basic rights. That is our creed, and our commitment to peace is unequivocal.

(Mr. Adoum, Chad)

As they resolutely face the future the Chadian people, at peace with themselves and united in their great movement - the National Union for Independence and Revolution - aspire to a better standard of living. In this regard, the second Congress of the Union, held in N'Djamena in November 1988, adopted major decisions, which the Government is now implementing.

In political terms, the draft of a new Constitution, submitted by the Constitutional Committee several months ago, will be put to the Chadian people in 1990 for adoption. The aim of that referendum to be held in 1990 is thus approval of the new constitutional law, and thereby the consolidation of the process of normalization of national life and the establishment of political stability by providing the country with adequate and viable institutions taking into account the far-reaching aspirations of our people and the political, social and economic realities of our country.

In economic terms, although - as in fact the Secretary-General points out in his report on the programme of special economic assistance to Chad -

"A favourable pattern of rainfall in Chad in 1987/88 resulted in a striking recovery in agricultural output in 1988/89 from the depressed 1987 levels" (A/44/418, para. 6),

the country remains subject to the vagaries of nature. In that connection, the floods in August last year once again defeated Chad's efforts to achieve food self-sufficiency. Efforts are still under way to that end. Henceforth the emphasis will be placed on the development of off-season irrigated crops in order to cope with the country's erratic rainfall patterns. The fact that 700,000 tons of grain were produced last year gives us reason to hope that the better use of new crop technologies will indeed help Chad to achieve food self-sufficiency.

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Nevertheless, the country remains dominated by one crop: cotton. The price for this commodity is set by stock-market speculators and is completely beyond the control of the State. In spite of the efforts and sacrifices made, and a slight improvement in cotton prices, this sector still shows a deficit. In those circumstances, while it continues to put into effect measures to improve the whole process in this respect, the Chadian Government is forced to seek compensation elsewhere for losses in revenue resulting from the elimination of export taxes on cotton fibre. Aware of the disastrous effects the instability in the prices of agricultural commodities could have, the Chadian Government is determined to make cattle-raising the true second staple of the country. In this regard, a large national livestock programme is now being implemented. Its objective is to maximize the capacity of the livestock sector in order to counterbalance the disadvantages of the cultivation of cotton as our sole crop. Development of cattle-raising not only will bring more income to the people of Chad but also will lead to an increase in trade between Chad and its neighbours and other countries of Central Africa.

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As can be seen, the economic and financial situation of Chad remains a difficult one, and is quite precarious despite the radical measures taken by the Government and the sacrifices made by the people of Chad. In its efforts to improve the living conditions of its people the Government is giving priority to self-sufficiency in food as well as to education and health, by closely involving the population in implementation programmes.

In these circumstances external financial assistance will for many years to come continue to play an essential role in the implementation of economic and social programmes in Chad. With that in mind, the Government of Chad intends to organize, in 1990, with the assistance of the United Nations Development Programme, two round-table conferences: one on education and the development of human resources, and the other on public health and the family - population questions. During those two meetings the Government of the Republic of Chad will submit to friendly countries and international bodies programmes to finance sectors vital to the development of our country.

Furthermore, pursuant to resolution 43/205, my Government intends in 1990 to submit to donors and creditors a four-year plan now being developed in co-operation with the United Nations Development Programme and the World Bank. We sincerely hope that, like the Geneva conferences of 1982 and 1985 on international assistance to Chad, and the meetings and round-table conferences on the recovery of the Borkou-Ennedi-Tibesti region held in previous years, the international community will give massive assistance in response to our appeal, which proposes financing for each sector as well as the priority development projects of the four-year plan. While relying on its own efforts for reconstruction and the beginning of true agricultural development, Chad is grateful to the friendly countries and

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international organizations which, since the restoration of State authority, have constantly supported us through diverse and appropriate forms of assistance.

With the continued return of refugees, assistance from the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees remains necessary to aid their resettlement. Similarly many parts of the Borkou-Ennedi-Tibesti oasis are still inaccessible because of the mines laid during the occupation, which prevents the return of displaced persons to their area of origin. Here again we count on the international community to help us - on the one hand, to make the area habitable and, on the other, to provide the necessary minimum assistance to displaced persons.

Taking into account the overall economic and social situation of Chad, whose special characteristics should be borne in mind, my delegation will once again this year submit two draft resolutions: one to the Second Committee, for special economic assistance, and the other to the Third Committee, for emergency humanitarian assistance. We hope that those draft resolutions will be supported by all delegations at the current session.

The encouraging results seen in Chad through its efforts at reconstruction and economic recovery would not have been possible without the constant and substantial support of friendly countries. Chad extends its gratitude to them. It also thanks governmental and non-governmental organizations for the substantial support they have given in this immense effort at national reconstruction. The activities of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), as the co-ordinating agency for the operational activities of the United Nations, must be emphasized and welcomed.

While the major objective of the United Nations is to ensure international peace and security, we should recall that economic and social development is essential to achievement of that objective. Unfortunately we are obliged to observe that the current international economic system is characterized by



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increased imbalances and inequalities, with grave consequences for the stability of the developing countries. As the Secretary-General emphasized at the 1989 second regular session of the Economic and Social Council when he said: "We are deeply concerned to see the large number of countries in Africa, Latin America and Asia that are prisoners of poverty and to report that their efforts are failing because of an unfavourable international climate and a deterioration in their internal problems".

That clear-sighted analysis should compel the international community to make efforts to find bolder solutions. In this regard the delegation of Chad commends the proposals of the French and American Presidents, Francois Mitterand and George Bush, to cancel part of the loans their countries have given to Africa in the form of public assistance for development. Those welcome decisions, which recognize that to be viable any solution to the problem of the indebtedness of the African countries must involve a reduction in debt, deserve our support and should be followed by all the industrialized countries.

Furthermore, the growing marginalization of the African economies, which continues to be caused by a deterioration in the terms of trade, requires immediate international attention. In this connection the international community should play an active role in seeking the reform of raw materials markets. In particular steps should be taken to enhance the effectiveness of the common fund for commodities so that speculators might be forced to charge fairer prices more in keeping with the efforts made by producer countries. Indeed, structural reforms in the economies of third world countries cannot allow real development unless they are supported by appropriate export earnings.

For now the situation in the third world countries is tragic and characterized by zero growth, a reduced standard of living and a high rate of inflation.

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Ironically, in current economic relations, the net transfer of capital from the South to the North from 1982 to 1988 was approximately \$300 billion, whereas the capital flow to the developing countries declined considerably. This negative trend should be corrected. The convening in 1990 of a special session of the General Assembly on international economic co-operation, in particular on renewed growth in the economies and the development of developing countries, will provide an opportunity for the taking of appropriate measures. Chad fully supports the fourth international development strategy, which should be broadly based on past experience to foster sustained economic growth for the developing countries.

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Today the environment is gaining increased attention from the international community because of a better understanding of its broad implications. The convening of an international conference on the environment and development in 1992 will be a major step forward in the process under way to ensure better protection.

Certain kinds of environmental problems are being experienced daily by the peoples of the Sahel. Indeed, drought and desertification continue to be of major concern to the Governments members of the Permanent Inter-State Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel (CILSS). Indeed, the shrinkage of ground cover, the decrease in surface water, the reduction in fishing resources, the drop in water tables and the drying up of wells have sorely tried the economies of those countries. The situation has been aggravated by the debt burden and the fall in prices of agricultural raw materials, making the result of these efforts uncertain. On the occasion of CILSS Day, 12 September 1989, His Excellency Al-Hadj Hissein Habre, current Chairman of the Committee, stated:

"The challenge of the Sahel continues to confront us, but our first victory is the one we must win over ourselves."

The joint strategies adopted by the States members of CILSS will no doubt enable us better to meet that challenge, but the results obtained thus far remain meagre when compared to the scope of the problem. Thus the States members of CILSS are once again appealing to the international community to lend its support within the framework of a plan of action to contain desertification.

Experience in recent years has shown that, when united, States can cope effectively with major challenges, whether they be natural disasters or such evils as drugs, AIDS and terrorism. With regard to terrorism, one of the most recent incidents has been the airline disaster of 19 September 1989, which cost the lives of 171 innocent persons, including 40 Chadians, among them the Minister of Planning

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and Co-operation His Excellency Mahamat Soumaila. My delegation vigorously condemns the wantonness, cruelty and inhumanity of terrorism. Chad not only condemns the recent abhorrent act but will combat terrorism from whatever quarter it comes and whatever form it may take. All States must therefore actively participate in wiping out these plagues threatening all of the international community by making full use of the irreplaceable instrumentation of the United Nations.

Today we note with satisfaction the praiseworthy efforts being made to initiate a dynamic of peace and put an end to the hotbeds of tension and war by which many areas of the globe are sorely tried.

In that connection the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) on the independence of Namibia is clearly a decisive step towards the realization of the goal the Organization has set itself. However, acts of intimidation and South Africa's deliberate attempts to sabotage that Territory's peaceful accession to international sovereignty are direct threats to peace and stability in that long-troubled region. Chad therefore calls upon the Security Council to exert all its influence to ensure respect for resolutions 435 (1978), 632 (1989) and 640 (1989).

Subtle oppression and violence continue to prevail in South Africa, where apartheid still reigns as the supreme form of colonialism. In that connection His Excellency Al-Hadj Houssein Habre, President of the Republic of Chad, recently stated:

"The entire world condemns that system, which is the total negation of the rights of peoples and of human rights, but it continues to exist and to hold sway. Indeed, everyone condemns apartheid, but not everyone fights for its disappearance, especially those with the wherewithal to succeed."

(Mr. Adoum, Cl. d)

In order to improve the current international political climate, the Government of South Africa should not just make timid advances to the majority, but instead, finally put an end to its outmoded practice and inaugurate a true democracy based on the principle of one man, one vote, in an equal and multiracial society.

In Angola, where a positive process has begun, Chad encourages dialogue leading to a final reconciliation among Angolans.

With regard to Western Sahara, Chad welcomes the initiatives under way and firmly supports the efforts of the Secretary-General and the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

The hope created by the signature of the Geneva Agreements on Afghanistan has not yet been realized. Chad appeals to the political will of the Afghan leaders to spare their people further suffering. Similarly, the world's attention has been focused on the Paris Conference, which offered a historic opportunity to put an end to the long conflict and the sufferings of the Kampuchean people. In spite of the meagre results obtained, owing to the complexity of the situation, there are grounds for hope that the sense of responsibility and interest of the Kampuchean people will prevail during future meetings and that the withdrawal of foreign troops will be accomplished.

The situation in the Middle East, at the core of which is the tragic Palestinian problem, demands our attention. Twenty-two months after the beginning of the intifadah the Palestinian people have shown their goodwill by agreeing to the relevant resolutions of the Security Council. Chad, which has always supported the struggle of the Palestinian people for the exercise of their inalienable rights and which recognized the Palestinian State upon its proclamation at Algiers, supports the idea of the convening of an international conference bringing together all the parties concerned, together with the permanent members of the Security Council, as the best means of achieving a comprehensive solution to the problem.

(Mr. Adoum, Chad)

With regard to Lebanon, Chad deplures the wanton violence in that part of the world. We appeal urgently to all parties to exercise restraint and we call upon foreign forces to cease their interference. The independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Lebanon should be respected, in keeping with Security Council resolution 639 (1989).

By its tireless efforts the international community has contributed to putting an end to the bloody, murderous conflict between Iran and Iraq. Not all the pending issues have yet been settled and there is still cause for concern. For this reason, Chad urges both countries to engage resolutely in the search for a comprehensive, just and lasting peace through compliance with and full implementation of Security Council resolution 598 (1987), and supports the role of the Secretary-General to that end.

Similarly, Chad encourages any initiative that would obviate any further delay in the processes under way on the Korean peninsula, in Cyprus and in Central America.

(Mr. Adoum, Chad)

This brief overview of the international political situation, which has been marked by conflicts and tensions, should encourage us to make better use of the existing machinery in order to establish peace the world over. The fundamental given fact of our time is peaceful coexistence, which, if violated, inevitably jeopardizes international peace and security. These are still, unfortunately, based on doubtful realities such as the balance of terror and the principle of might makes right. Nevertheless, it is comforting to note the increasing awareness, on the part of nations the world over, of the imperative need to change this state of affairs.

In this regard, Chad commends the progress achieved by the super-Powers towards disarmament, which reflects a determination and a sense of responsibility that take into account the concerns of mankind. These basic concerns are, first and foremost, international peace and security, which depend on general and complete disarmament, respect for the principles of international law governing relations among States, and equitable international economic relations whereby all countries, producers and consumers of commodities, will act in such a way that they feel that they are complementary because "one of the most precious human rights is that of receiving just remuneration for one's work".

The best possible living conditions for all peoples the world over - that is in fact the goal which all of mankind should pursue in good faith and in all honesty.

I would conclude here with a quotation from the President and Head of State of the Government of Chad, His Excellency Al-Hadj Hissein Habre:

"Peace and security, we cannot repeat it enough, have a direct effect on the lives of peoples ...".

(Mr. Adoum, Chad)

My delegation believes that the States Members of the United Nations should act with this in view in order to achieve the basic objectives of a more just world, one in which nations would live on good terms with each other and where peoples, freed from the shackles of squalor and poverty, would exist together in perfect harmony, with understanding, with love for each other, in a word, in universal peace.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.