



General Assembly

PROVISIONAL

A/43/PV.20
7 October 1988

ENGLISH

Forty-third session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWENTIETH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 6 October 1988, at 10 a.m.

<u>President:</u>	Mr. CAPUTO	(Argentina)
later:	Mr. AL-SHAKAR (Vice-President)	(Bahrain)
later:	Mr. CAPUTO (President)	(Argentina)
later:	Mr. AL-SHAKAR (Vice-President)	(Bahrain)

- Address by Mr. George Vassiliou, President of the Republic of Cyprus
- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements made by:

Mr. Mkapa (United Republic of Tanzania)
 Mr. Alatas (Indonesia)
 Dame Nita Barrow (Barbados)

- Programme of work
- General debate [9] (continued)

Statement made by:

Mr. Fakhoury (Lebanon)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.30 a.m.

ADDRESS BY MR. GEORGE VASSILIOU, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Assembly will first hear an address by the President of the Republic of Cyprus.

Mr. George Vassiliou, President of the Republic of Cyprus, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the Republic of Cyprus, His Excellency Mr. George Vassiliou, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President VASSILIOU: Mr. President, I should like to join the previous speakers in congratulating you on your well-deserved election to the presidency of the forty-third session of the General Assembly. The confidence shown in you by this body is a tribute of the international community to your vast experience, as well as to Argentina, a friendly fellow non-aligned country.

I also wish to congratulate your predecessor, Mr. Peter Florin, Deputy Foreign Minister of the German Democratic Republic, for the impeccable manner in which he discharged his tasks.

I should also like to express our esteem for and admiration of the Secretary-General for the way he has been conducting the affairs of the United Nations. We have read his latest report with great interest. It is a masterly exposition of present predicaments and the ways to resolve them. It highlights all the international moral imperatives of our time and it provides all the main signposts for our future course.

The United Nations is steadily becoming the universal conscience of mankind and is serving as the framework and, at times, the referee for settling

(President Vassiliou)

international disputes. On the solid basis of the principles enshrined in its Charter the United Nations provides the foundation and the direction for solving or forestalling international crises.

Small States are particularly gratified by the growing achievements of the United Nations as they regard their participation in the collective security system envisaged under the Charter to be of vital importance to them.

The list of problems addressed by the United Nations and its specialized agencies is long and impressive and extends beyond the realm of peace-keeping and peace-making. Its contributions in the fields of decolonization, human rights, respect for international law, the protection of the environment, the rights of women and children, the care of refugees, the fight against disease, hunger or drug abuse, economic and technical assistance, the preservation of cultural heritage, and so on, constitute important steps forward in the history of our times.

Speaking for Cyprus, I should like to make special mention of the continuing contribution of the Organization, and of the Secretary-General in particular, to the search for a solution to the Cyprus problem. I also gratefully acknowledge the valour and sacrifice of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus for over 20 years. We are delighted at the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the United Nations peace-keeping forces. We consider it a well deserved tribute to their contribution to world peace.

The rise in the prestige and effectiveness of the United Nations is not fortuitous. It has been built on the work and dedication of a great number of people. It has also been the natural and inevitable consequence of the growing interdependence and globalization of problems, the inability of individual countries to solve them and the relative contraction of the world as a result of the technological and information revolutions.

(President Vassiliou)

The existence of a strong, generally respected and more effective United Nations is an imperative of our time. This is dictated not only by idealism but also by the enlightened self-interest of each State. The choice before us is simple. Either we support and strengthen the United Nations and its institutions and extend the domain of international law or we opt for international anarchy.

In view of the improved international political climate the current session of the General Assembly acquires added significance. We hope that the spirit of compromise and flexibility observed in the last session will prevail during our current deliberations.

Historic changes have indeed taken place since the last session of the General Assembly. In the first place, the rapprochement between the United States and the Soviet Union, the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-range and Shorter-range Missiles - the INF Treaty - and their continuing dialogue have greatly improved the international political climate.

The Geneva Accords on Afghanistan would have been unthinkable without this new climate of co-operation and flexibility. We earnestly hope that they will be fully implemented. We welcome with relief the cease-fire agreement of 20 August 1988 between Iran and Iraq, secured in the context of the implementation of Security Council resolution 598 (1987). We are confident that the direct negotiations initiated under the auspices of the Secretary-General will lead to a comprehensive, just, honourable and durable resolution of this tragic conflict, whatever the temporary setbacks.

The wind of change blows throughout the world from South-East Asia to southern Africa, Western Sahara and Chad, bringing with it promises of hope for peace and security. We look forward to the moment when we can embrace within our membership an independent Namibia.

(President Vassiliou)

We are painfully aware that antagonism and threats to peace still persist. The world is replete with conventional and nuclear weapons. Nuclear tests are still being conducted, the prohibition of chemical and biological weapons still eludes us whilst the demilitarization of outer space is still hotly contested.

In South Africa, the repugnant structures of apartheid have not yet been dismantled and the front-line States live under the constant fear of destabilization. Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners have not yet been freed. The Palestinian people are denied their inalienable national rights and are still subjected to unceasing oppression in the occupied areas. In Central America the hopes generated by the Guatemala agreements have not materialized and the situation remains unstable. A united response is most urgently needed for a just and durable resolution of all these problems.

The non-aligned countries, at their Ministerial Conference held last month in Nicosia, expressed their determination to work together with the United Nations in order to meet these challenges. The Conference which was, by general agreement, a remarkable success, helped cement the unity and cohesion of the non-aligned countries. The steps taken for increasing the effectiveness and relevance of the Non-Aligned Movement in today's world will be of great benefit to the international community as a whole, since there is a close relationship between the concerns and the challenges facing the non-aligned countries and the United Nations.

(President Vassiliou)

I should like, in this connection, to highlight the adoption of the Nicosia Declaration and the decision to establish a Ministerial Committee in order to examine the structural, organizational and procedural aspects of the Movement.

In this, the fortieth anniversary year of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, I should like to re-emphasize the dedication of the Government and people of Cyprus to the principles of the Declaration and our determination to see them applied to the whole of our country and to the benefit of all its inhabitants.

In their long struggle for independence and unity the people of Cyprus have been looking to the United Nations for support and vindication. The resumed dialogue initiated by the Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, between myself and the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community, Mr. Rauf Denktash, creates new opportunities for our country. The target is to achieve a just and lasting solution of the Cyprus problem by June 1989. Doubts have been expressed as to whether it is possible to achieve a solution by that date. I am convinced that all the main elements of the Cyprus problem could easily be solved by that date provided that the necessary political will and good faith were exhibited on all sides. We, for our part, are determined to work hard and with constructive goodwill towards this objective despite any obstacles or disappointments on the way.

To facilitate the earliest possible solution, I have repeated in the past, and I reiterate now, our proposal for the demilitarization of the Republic of Cyprus. We propose to dismantle the military forces of the Republic if all Turkish troops and settlers withdraw and if the armed elements they have fostered are disbanded. The proposal includes the establishment of an international peace force under the auspices of the United Nations, the composition and terms of reference of which would be agreed upon and endorsed by the Security Council.

(President Vassiliou)

Demilitarization would create the conditions for resolving the Cyprus problem and would provide the answer to any security concern on the part of the Turkish Cypriots. There would be additional benefits to them in another way. We undertake to use the funds which will be saved through demilitarization for the development of areas of Cyprus which have fallen behind economically and primarily for projects which will benefit mainly the Turkish Cypriots. Part of the savings could also be used for financing the international peace force to be established.

A just and lasting solution of the Cyprus problem is not only in the interest of the whole population of Cyprus; it would also contribute to the strengthening of peace in the Mediterranean. Progress on a just solution of the problem of Cyprus is a key to the continuation of the dialogue between Greece and Turkey.

The solution of the Cyprus problem is clearly outlined in the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. Such a solution implies that all foreign troops and settlers are withdrawn from the island, that basic human rights are respected, that no country has a unilateral right of intervention in our affairs and that the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus are safeguarded. We believe that, in the future federal Republic of Cyprus that we envision, all Cypriots, whether Greek or Turkish, should enjoy equality of opportunity and fundamental freedoms, including the right to develop their distinctive cultural heritages.

In this new and delicate phase of the Cyprus problem the increased interest and support of the international community will greatly enhance the prospects for its early solution.

Though the international political climate has been improving, the global economic outlook remains uncertain. Most developing countries still suffer from the burden of underdevelopment, while in the least developed countries basic needs are lacking and millions face the threat of starvation.

(President Vassiliou)

The development prospects for most developing countries are aggravated by minimal, and in some cases negative, rates of economic growth, trade imbalances, low commodity prices, the external debt problem and the associated net flow of resources to the developed countries. The situation is made worse by the deterioration of the level of international economic co-operation, the stagnation of official development aid, the obstacles to access to the markets of developed countries and a series of natural disasters.

In the overall efforts for a fairer development of the international economy the comprehensive package of economic measures incorporated in the Nicosia Document of the Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers' Conference should be the object of serious negotiations with the developed countries, within the spirit of understanding and co-operation that has become more evident in recent months.

I should like to draw attention to the enormity and the disruptive effects of the problem of the external debt owed by developing countries. The burden of external debt servicing and the reluctance of commercial banks to provide new credit are factors severely retarding the development efforts of low-income countries. It is imperative that the external debt problem become a focal point of an international development strategy.

Within this context, we welcome the greater understanding of the debt problem shown recently by developed countries. Notable progress has been achieved through the case-by-case approach, the greater use of debt conversion and the increasing use of secondary debt markets.

One of the interesting aspects of the adjustment process in international financial markets has been the acceptance by bankers of secondary market prices as low as 50 cents per dollar of debt. This suggests that the time is ripe for agreement on substantial debt write-offs.

(President Vassiliou)

There have also been some positive developments within the United Nations system and through intergovernmental agreements. I refer in particular to the results of the Toronto Western Economic Summit Meeting and the decisions of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to proceed with the general capital increase and the enhanced structural adjustment facility respectively. The emphasis given to the need to solve the international debt problem at the recent Berlin meetings of the World Bank and IMF is another welcome development. The French Government's decision for a 30 per cent debt write-off is a move in the right direction. The same can be said about the recent willingness on the part of Japan to recycle its payment surpluses in favour of developing countries.

(President Vassiliou)

A few months ago, from this very rostrum, I presented a proposal to the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, with the objective of ameliorating the external debt problem of developing countries. My proposal envisaged that a considerable part of the savings arising from reduction in military expenditure by developed creditor countries should be used to establish a national fund to buy at the present discounted market rates the outstanding loans owed to the commercial banks. The idea of utilizing the savings from disarmament measures to reduce the debt burden of developing countries is still valid. The debt problem, however, is urgent. It threatens every day the welfare and the future prospects of the world's poor, and its solution cannot wait for progress on disarmament.

I therefore propose that a practical and realistic approach for tackling the debt problem, would be to take a cue from the international financial markets and to devise solutions which utilize the present more favourable trends. In line with my previous proposal, I would suggest that the debt problem could be tackled by the urgent establishment by each developed creditor nation of a national fund for the purpose of buying back the debts owed to commercial banks and other lending agencies at discounted market rates. The cost of these national debt relief programmes would be minimal if they were coupled with an imaginative use of tax credits. It is implied that the fund would buy the debt with tax credits offered to the creditor banks over a number of years.

Another major and related challenge facing the world is the eradication of hunger and malnutrition, which affects 500 million people around the world. The annual death toll from hunger is estimated at 50 million. Tragically, more than 15 million of these deaths are of innocent children.

(President Vassiliou)

Hunger in the midst of plenty and a time of unprecedented technological progress is an unacceptable state of affairs. We are gratified that the name of Cyprus has been associated with efforts to alleviate this problem. The Cyprus Initiative Against Hunger in the World, which was adopted at the ministerial meeting of the World Food Council held in Nicosia in May this year, provides for an urgent review of the efforts made to date and for effective new measures. The underlying motive of the Initiative is the idea that the fight against hunger cannot be waged by means of food relief aid alone. It can be waged more effectively by helping the countries concerned to develop their agriculture and produce more food in order to feed their populations. The World Food Council is presently consulting all Governments and international agencies with a view to presenting an action-oriented report on the Cyprus initiative to its next ministerial meeting in Cairo next year. We hope that this important initiative will receive the support it deserves from all nations.

Few of the problems of our time are entirely local. The universal interconnection of problems demands concerted world-wide action if global catastrophes are to be averted. The problem of the protection of the environment is a good case in point. The threats posed by selfish, short-sighted or simply ignorant environmental policies are legion. The catalogue is daunting. Pollution of the seas, rivers and soil, deforestation, desertification, the widening gap in the ozone layer, the greenhouse effect, climatic changes, depletion of irreplaceable natural resources, dumping of toxic wastes, and acid rain are some of the modern scourges that have to be addressed before they become unmanageable and before their destructive consequences become irreversible.

Particular mention should be made of the fact that some underdeveloped countries are being used as dumping grounds for the toxic wastes of industrialized

(President Vassiliou)

countries. This unacceptable practice should not be allowed to continue. The unsightly spectacle of ships trying to discharge their deleterious cargo on the high seas or by the shores of unsuspecting countries should galvanize us all into action for the permanent prohibition of such obscene practices.

What can we do in the face of such dangers? Echoing the Secretary-General's warnings, we would suggest putting the ecological problem high on the agenda of the United Nations. The idea of convening an international conference on environment needs to be given priority. Such a conference, apart from raising public awareness on ecological dangers, could help devise new and practical measures for addressing all related issues. It could also point to the need for elaborating the necessary laws that could form the basis for more responsible international attitudes in this field and the possible creation of a world ecological council.

The preservation and upgrading of the environment is in the interest of the whole world and it should therefore involve an equitable sharing of the attendant costs. For this reason we suggest that the international community make much more substantial contributions to the existing Environmental Fund, so that it may be able to achieve the compelling aims that prompted its establishment. It should be noted that contributing to this Fund should not be taken as another form of aid to the developing countries.

The world community is beset with problems old and new. Our most fundamental task is, of course, the extension of the frontiers of peace, security and justice in the world. Universal peace and justice may be unattainable ideals, but a world without blatant injustices should be within our reach. What is most needed for this to materialize is a clearer perception of the dangers inherent in division and strife, a better understanding of the global nature of many of our problems, an extension of and greater respect for international law and a determined move from

(President Vassiliou)

local to global morality. The best vehicle for such a vital move is the United Nations.

The future of mankind, the very possibility of life on earth, depend on such a determined move on the part of us all.

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

Mr. George Vassiliou, President of the Republic of Cyprus, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.*

* Mr. Al-Shakar (Bahrain), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. MKAPA (United Republic of Tanzania): I should like to begin by congratulating Mr. Dante Caputo on his well-deserved election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-third session. His election is a tribute to the important role that Argentina, with which Tanzania enjoys excellent relations, continues to play on the Latin American and international community scenes in furtherance of international co-operation, understanding and peace. Mr. Caputo brings to the office a great wealth of political and diplomatic skills and experience. I assure him of my delegation's support in bringing those skills to bear fully on the critical agenda before this session.

I wish, at the same time, to convey the deep appreciation of my Government to his predecessor, who, with such dedication and competence, so effectively guided the work of the last session. He greatly distinguished himself as we tackled the various major and pressing problems of our time. I wish him good health in the continued service of his country.

Allow me also to pay a deserved tribute to our Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, and to the Organization as a whole. The last few months have been as engaging as they have proved challenging. The perseverance, dedication and sheer energy involved deserve commendation. It takes imagination, resourcefulness and commitment not only to ensure the smooth operation of the Organization but also to tackle the challenges before it, especially when it is experiencing such daunting financial problems.

I should like to welcome enthusiastically the award of the Nobel Peace Prize for this year to the United Nations peace-keeping forces. The main mission of the United Nations is the safeguarding of peace and the prevention of war in the

(Mr. Mkapa, United Republic
of Tanzania)

world. The award of this Prize serves as a timely reminder of this United Nations role. May it give hope and encouragement to the thousands of uniformed men and women involved, often in desolate places and on hazardous missions to keep belligerents at bay, and facilitate dialogue between adversaries conducive to peaceful coexistence. The Peace Prize is a deserved, noble and global tribute to this United Nations work.

The activities and programmes of the United Nations system can be fruitful only if they are promoted from a strong financial basis. The current financial crisis of the United Nations works directly towards reducing its authority, operations and reputation. My delegation therefore appeals to Member States to honour their legal obligations under the Charter and make timely payment of their assessed contributions to the regular budget of the Organization. If we do not undertake these corrective steps we shall be rightly judged as retreating from the spirit and the cause of multilateralism, which is the corner-stone of the United Nations.

Since last year we have witnessed the evolution of a new political atmosphere world-wide. There is an air of political optimism in all regions of the world. The thaw in the international climate is in large measure a result of the improved relations between the two super-Powers. The signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles - the INF Treaty - last year, together with the follow-up summit in Moscow in June, has proved instrumental in acting as a catalyst to negotiations on a broad global agenda for resolving many regional problems. We note as a sign that the super-Powers are now willing to undertake co-operative action in the interests of peace.

(Mr. Mkapa, United Republic
of Tanzania)

Whether it be in southern Africa, the Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, Cyprus, Western Sahara or Kampuchea, there is hope built around the conviction that the parties involved are now prepared to try the peaceful alternative, and that the super-Powers are willing not only to encourage them but also to make the political choice of guaranteeing that the peace will hold. We commend all those involved in the ongoing contacts and negotiations in all the regions. We wish to underline, however, the need to address the root causes of the problems. It would be an exercise in futility to address ourselves only to the symptoms of the diseases and gloss over the diseases themselves.

Perhaps nowhere is such attention more called for than in southern Africa. While we are encouraged by the current contacts regarding the settlement of the Namibian question and the restoration of peace to Angola, we need to emphasize that these developments and contacts must serve as a curtain-raiser to an overall settlement in the region. They should not, therefore, be interpreted as a process of negotiating permanent arrangements for coexistence with apartheid.

The genesis of conflict, war and general chaos in southern Africa is apartheid. The fact that, today, the apartheid régime has been forced to talk should not be taken as meaning that the South African Government has decided to abandon apartheid in South Africa or the politics of force against its neighbours. Rather, the apparent change of stance is a direct result of military defeats of its occupationist forces in Angola and the resulting political and economic pressures inside South Africa, and of the relentless pressure of external sanctions against the apartheid régime. The uprising by the black majority and some enlightened white elements, including those who now refuse to be drafted, has exerted combined pressure on the régime to abandon the war in Angola. This is the reality. We must

(Mr. Mkapa, United Republic
of Tanzania)

remain vigilant and not fall prey to the apartheid propoganda or to that of the régime's allies and benefactors, which claim that it is on the road of reform. The régime remains racist; it remains aggressive. Its victims inside South Africa have seen no respite from its violence. Its victims in the neighbouring countries continue to suffer from acts of destabilization and outright military aggression.

Tanzania is deeply disturbed that the detractors of African freedom are seizing on the current artificial atmosphere of movement in southern Africa to give solace to the apartheid régime and to undermine international political pressure against it. The situation in southern Africa represents the negation of our common humanity, which we seek to protect and foster by our subscription to the Charter and ideals of this Organization.

There can be no neutrality over apartheid, and we cannot leave the fight against it to the people of South Africa alone. The United Nations in particular must not just distance itself in pronouncements from apartheid; it must take concrete action to undermine it. It is equally important that it do everything possible to give encouragement to those inside South Africa struggling for the destruction of apartheid and victimized by its perpetrators. Now is the time to widen and deepen our reach into South Africa and to South Africans.

For this reason, my delegation is distressed at the prospect of the United Nations information system reducing its programmes targeted at the oppressed people of South Africa. It is the contention of my delegation that such curtailed programmes by the Department of Public Information (DPI) on apartheid and on Namibia should not be implemented without the approval of the Assembly, which, in the first place, gave the mandate for the present DPI programmes on apartheid and Namibia.

(Mr. Mkapa, United Republic
of Tanzania)

That the apartheid régime is ready to talk to Angola and Mozambique and solicit the embrace of leaders of independent African States far from South Africa should not blind us to the reality that it continues to refuse to change its internal policies and to talk to the genuine leaders of the African majority in South Africa. Its peace overtures to Angola and Mozambique are not matched by similar overtures to its victims inside South Africa. Moreover, South Africa's aggression against its neighbours has not diminished. It follows, therefore, that if the régime wants to talk peace it should not talk peace only to Mozambique and Angola, but must seek fundamental peace with the black majority inside South Africa. To this end, it must repeal its apartheid laws, lift the state of emergency, end the ban on political parties and release Nelson Mandela and other political detainees, with whom it should discuss the future of a democratic, non-racial South Africa.

South Africa's sudden enthusiasm for dialogue and negotiation should not induce an international relaxation of the various pressures mounted against that evil régime. Readiness to talk by the apartheid Government does not herald a conversion to civilized principle. The so-called new mood of the South African Government, therefore, calls for a stiffening of sanctions. The South African régime has exposed the hollow equivocation of those who, in their unbridled pursuit of profits, claimed the inefficacy of sanctions against South Africa.

Only last week the head of the apartheid régime expressed the hope that his latest diplomatic dissembling would serve to avert or blunt sanctions against South Africa. South Africa is saying that sanctions do work. It is the responsibility of the international community to make them work better. For this reason, my delegation calls on the Security Council to undertake a better enforcement of the

(Mr. Mkapa, United Republic
of Tanzania)

arms and oil embargoes against South Africa, and on individual Governments to broaden, intensify, and make more effective the sanctions they have put in place nationally. There is no question but that comprehensive mandatory sanctions would be the quickest, most effective and least hurtful pressure on South Africa, and my delegation renews its call on the Security Council to impose them.

The damage done to property and infrastructure in the countries neighbouring South Africa by its active pursuit of a policy of destabilization has been estimated at between \$25 billion and \$30 billion. Those countries need substantial assistance to rebuild their infrastructures and economies. A number of countries have been forthcoming in this regard, and I wish to place on record my delegation's appreciation of this support. It helps those countries to reduce their dependence on South Africa and to increase the isolation of the apartheid régime.

But assistance to the front-line States, necessary though it is, should not be made a substitute for practical measures to fight apartheid. There are those who in giving aid to the front-line and other neighbouring States portray that assistance as a substitute for involvement in the anti-apartheid struggle. We in the front-line States resent being used as an excuse for inaction and as an apology for policies of economic self-aggrandizement. A balanced policy to combat apartheid must combine measures directly aimed at its dismantlement in South Africa with measures aimed at alleviating the burden borne by the front-line and other neighbouring States.

Tanzania has followed with keen interest the various rounds of talks regarding the future of Namibia and the security of Angola. We welcome those talks, while regretting that South Africa did not give way sooner. The people of Namibia have been denied their independence for too long.

(Mr. Mkapa, United Republic
of Tanzania)

The uniqueness of the Namibian situation lies not only in the United Nations responsibility for the Territory, but also in the host of factors which have converged to complicate the situation. Namibia is a case of colonialism, institutionalized racism, economic plunder and military occupation. Namibia's freedom and independence continue to be made hostage to ill-conceived political judgements on the part of South Africa and the United States administration.

As we meet here, and even as the talks continue, South Africa continues to entrench the apartheid system inside Namibia. There is evidence of stepped-up direct police and military action against the civilian population, including indiscriminate detentions, imprisonment without trial, and even summary liquidation of those suspected of sympathizing with the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). Even as talks about practical steps to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978), embodying the plan for the independence of Namibia, continue, South Africa has not relented in its bid to assemble a coalition of internal surrogates, with a view to fraudulently denying SWAPO victory in the elections.

Even as we nurture guarded optimism over the prospects of a Namibian settlement we should not be complacent. Agreement on implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) is still predicated on meeting many extortionist demands. Linkage is still in place and Namibia remains in colonial bondage. South Africa remains obdurate and its allies remain unwilling to prevail on it. The history of the negotiations reveals South Africa as a past master at prevarication and duplicity. It is now 10 years since resolution 435 (1978) was adopted. They have been years of raised expectations and frustrations, as the apartheid régime and its allies have constructed one impediment after another. With such a history of diversions, procrastination and retreats, we cannot pretend that all is well.

(Mr. Mkapa, United Republic
of Tanzania)

Whatever the outcome of the ongoing negotiations, let me underline that Tanzania considers the talks as primarily aimed at negotiating modalities for implementing resolution 435 (1978) and guaranteeing the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola against South African expansionism. We urge the Security Council, and in particular the United States, which is serving as broker for the talks, to ensure that South Africa does not seek to undermine those basic legal and internationally promulgated goals. We salute the gallant forces of the People's Republic of Angola and the internationalist Cuban forces, who have triumphed over the racist régime's occupationist forces and have decisively determined the source of the war, culminating in the defeat of the South African army of invasion in southern Angola.

As in southern Africa, there is optimism in other areas. We welcome the acceptance by Morocco of United Nations mediation in an effort to bring peace and settlement of the Western Sahara problem. We hope that the Secretary-General will be given all the necessary support in putting into place arrangements for implementing the United Nations formula for the self-determination and independence of the Sahraoui people. For this process to succeed, we urge the parties to the conflict to muster the necessary political will and enter into direct negotiations, as provided for in the relevant resolutions of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations. Every effort must be made to ensure that the projected referendum in Western Sahara is, and is seen to be, an unqualified process of decolonization.

In the Middle East, we are outraged at the carnage being perpetrated by the Israeli forces against the Palestinian and Lebanese people, in contravention of Security Council resolutions and the Fourth Geneva Convention. Tanzania believes that, ultimately, the long-term interests of the region will be better served by

(Mr. Mkapa, United Republic
of Tanzania)

political realism on the part of all the parties concerned. A comprehensive and lasting peace can be ensured only by an unconditional withdrawal by Israel from all occupied Arab territories and recognition of the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including the right to establish an independent State of their own. Equally, a secure peace must be built upon the inviolable right of all States in the region, including Israel, to live within secure and internationally recognized boundaries.

In expressing our unyielding solidarity with and support for the Palestinian people, we commend the role played by the Palestine Liberation Organization in guiding the struggle for freedom. The uprising, intifadah, which has lasted for a year now, demonstrates once more that no price is too dear to pay for freedom and liberty. The situation remains explosive; it calls for urgent action. We endorse the call for an international conference on the Middle East, as we must insist that such a conference stands a better chance of securing peace for the region if only it recognizes the centrality of the Palestinian question in the overall Middle East problem. And, with this objective in view, the Palestine Liberation Organization must be allowed to play a key, definitive part in the Conference.

(Mr. Mkapa, United Republic of Tanzania)

Tanzania welcomed the acceptance of Security Council resolution 598 (1988) and the cease-fire agreement between Iran and Iraq. We are gratified that a destructive war, which has claimed millions of lives and billions of dollars in property, is now finally being brought to an end. We commend the political courage of the leaders of both countries in agreeing to give a chance to a peaceful settlement of their dispute. By accepting a United Nations mediation role, the two countries have rekindled the spirit of the United Nations Charter and ushered in a new era of tolerance and, we hope, negotiations in the near future on permanent arrangements for peace and co-operation. We must urge them to remain committed to the restoration of peace and stability in the Gulf. The road to reconciliation and economic reconstruction will not be easy. We urge perseverance and call upon the international community to assist in these efforts, especially in ensuring that the United Nations Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group (UNIMOG) discharges its responsibilities effectively.

We are encouraged by the resumption of the intercommunal talks in Cyprus within the framework of the good offices of the Secretary-General. The continued division of that country and the mounting tension can only precipitate fratricidal conflict. We call upon the leaders of both the Turkish and the Greek communities to exercise restraint and assist the Secretary-General in his mediation efforts to bring about a lasting solution within the framework of the territorial integrity, independence and non-aligned character of Cyprus.

We note that in Afghanistan the withdrawal of foreign troops has continued as scheduled. We hope that the same spirit will be demonstrated in the coming and more complex task of elaborating mechanisms for national reconciliation, national economic reconstruction and the restoration of peace, territorial integrity and the country's non-alignment. We urge the parties to the Geneva agreement, as well as

(Mr. Mkapa, United Republic of Tanzania)

the guarantors, to ensure that the agreement is implemented in its entirety and that permanent peace quickly returns to that country.

The Korean peninsula continues to be an area of simmering conflict. Occupation forces remain; yet 40 years of occupation have not diminished the fighting spirit and longing for unity of the Korean people. Tanzania calls for the withdrawal of foreign troops from the area and the promotion of a climate which will lead to the reunification of Korea.

Regarding Kampuchea, my Government has been encouraged by the resumption of dialogue as evidenced by the recent Jakarta Informal Meeting. In commending the efforts of the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), we call upon the different factions involved to place first the interests of their country and people and agree on a Government of national unity.

The problems of Central America continue to defy solution. Conditions in the region have continued to deteriorate as internal conflicts, foreign interference and aggression have increased. Indeed, despite sustained diplomatic efforts by the countries of the region and the international community, peace is not in sight; rather, we are witnessing the flame of hope lit by the signing of a cease-fire agreement in Nicaragua, and the understanding on a comprehensive peace settlement in the region early this year, flicker in the face of opposition by the United States Government. Naturally we share the anxiety and anguish of the Central American people for they have been unduly subjected to gratuitous suffering and deprivation for too long. In the search for peace it is imperative that the politics of force and threats of confrontation and war be abandoned. The countries of the region must seek solutions that take into account the real nature of their problems and reject prescriptions grafted from outside or imposed through economic pressure and military or other force.

(Mr. Mkapa, United Republic of Tanzania)

We note positively that those countries, through the Contadora process and in particular the Guatemala peace plan, have recognized the importance of a regional approach to the problems of the region. By rejecting the ideological fixations which place the problems of the region in the arena of East-West confrontation and seeking instead solutions more in tune with their needs, those countries have taken a new direction towards a more stable and lasting peace. We commend the perseverance of all parties involved and call upon the international community to help these countries sustain the dialogue that has been initiated. In particular we call upon all those interested in the region to desist from actions which undermine the peace process and place its future in jeopardy.

As the world attempts to grapple with these regional problems, other problems of an economic and security nature have persisted, and while in some areas we have recorded encouraging signals the situation overall remains delicate.

In the field of armaments the world stands to record the highest military expenditures. At a time when the majority of the world population is threatened by economic problems, arising from a multitude of economic factors, a handful of countries are spending more than a trillion dollars on instruments of war alone.

Last year the world was at one in welcoming the signing between the United States and the Soviet Union of a Treaty on the elimination of their intermediate-range and shorter-range nuclear forces - the INF Treaty. It did so because of the promise the Treaty held for the future. Insignificant as it was in terms of the numerical count of the warheads covered, the Treaty was applauded for its political value. It was judged to be important in enabling the two super-Powers to cross an important psychological barrier. The Treaty demonstrated that, given political will, it is possible not only to halt the arms race but also, in a sense, to begin the process of reversing it. Given the optimism generated by the INF Treaty, much was expected of the Moscow summit meeting. But despite what

(Mr. Mkapa, United Republic of Tanzania)

was obviously a favourable political climate it proved impossible to expand on the gains of the Washington summit meeting and agree on more concrete and substantial reductions. We note none the less that there was an expression of commitment to a 50-per-cent reduction in strategic offensive systems and to the negotiation of a nuclear test-ban régime - even though on a phased approach. We urge the two super-Powers to take advantage of the current political warmth to negotiate deeper cuts and to broaden the scope of their negotiations to cover other areas.

My country, together with Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico and Sweden, continues to co-operate in the six-nation peace initiative. Our countries have united in a common belief that the non-nuclear-weapon States have a duty and a right to demand a halt to the arms race. We can no longer be satisfied by repeated promises, which have only moved the world closer to a nuclear war. In their Stockholm Declaration of January this year the leaders of the six countries reiterated their call for a comprehensive nuclear-test ban and the prohibition of the extension of the arms race into outer space.

We believe that verification has a central role to play in all disarmament agreements. In particular if such a role were entrusted to the United Nations it would enhance mutual confidence among the parties and encourage the exploration of expanded areas of agreement. The proposal of the Six for the establishment of an integrated multilateral verification body within the United Nations system remains. We hope that more countries will come around and accord it the necessary support.

While there has been co-operation on the bilateral level we regret that the multilateral forum - namely the Conference on Disarmament - has been hamstrung. The paralysis now gripping the Conference, largely camouflaged behind the rule of consensus, has prevented the initiation of negotiations on crucial matters such as a comprehensive test ban and the prevention of the arms race in outer space. We

(Mr. Mkapa, United Republic of Tanzania)

must express our deep regret that despite public expressions of support some countries have steadily undermined the efficacy of the United Nations multilateral negotiating forums on disarmament.

Tanzania believes that our pursuit of peace is closely linked to the struggle for development. These two ideals, which are among the pillars of our political philosophy and foreign policy, cannot be fruitfully pursued independently of each other. We need peace to develop, as we need development to preserve peace. That is why we continue to affirm that there is an organic link between disarmament and development.

In June this year the General Assembly convened in a third special session devoted to disarmament. I need not labour the point that the failure of the session was the direct result of active opposition on the one hand and permissive silence on the other by some developed countries. But the smokescreen of the so-called new realities cannot avail and procrastination simply multiplies the risks of an escalating arms race. Disarmament cannot be prescribed as the prerogative of a few countries, however powerful their arsenals. Certainly effective disarmament can be realized only by the participation and co-operation of the whole community of nations.

We have in recent months witnessed the phenomenon of the dumping of nuclear and industrial toxic waste in the African continent. We deplore the callous action of those companies or individuals from the industrialized countries who have sought to turn Africa into a garbage dump for hazardous toxic and radioactive wastes. It is morally wrong to take advantage of the economic weakness of the least developed countries, the majority of which are in Africa, and we call upon the international community, and in particular the International Atomic Energy Agency, to institute a régime of measures and norms to arrest this dangerous development not only in Africa but throughout the world.

(Mr. Mkapa, United Republic
of Tanzania)

From Tanzania's standpoint, it is a matter of regret that the progress witnessed in the last few years on the diplomatic and political fronts has not been reflected in the world economic climate. This continues to be characterized by the imbalances and instabilities illustrated by growth in the industrial economies and decline in the third-world economies. The sum result of these trends is the accelerated impoverishment of the third world.

Africa provides the starkest contrast. As the mid-term review of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development, 1986-1990, indicated, African countries are generally poorer today than they were two years ago. Their debts continue to rise as do the interest rates attendant upon them, commodity prices continue to fall and there is the incredible spectacle of a net outflow of resources from Africa.

We in Africa can no longer be faulted on the old grounds. As the Secretary-General's report has indicated, many African countries have embarked upon the necessary policy reforms and financial adjustments. We have bought all the prescriptions but our health has further deteriorated.

The facts and the logic are incontrovertible. The internal factors inexorably called for Africa's Priority Programme for Economic Recovery. We believe the experiences of the last two years just as inexorably call for the tackling of the external factors. There is now a clear case for a global structural adjustment programme leading to a new international economic order - or whatever we may choose to call it. Third-world economic disenfranchisement cannot for long sustain first-world development.

There is yet opportunity to correct these imbalances and inequities. In addition to individual national adjustment programmes calling for external support, African countries have called for the holding of an international conference on

(Mr. Mkapa, United Republic
of Tanzania)

African debt. The initiative of last June's economic summit on the debt of the poorest developing countries needs to be carried further. The Uruguay Round must be negotiated with greater concern for the trading needs of the developing countries. Effective attendance at the debt conference and the Uruguay Round negotiations will produce solutions which will not only arrest the decline in the economic fortunes of the poor countries, but will also give a human face to the concept of international co-operation and interdependence.

Attempts to monopolize the search for solutions of global and regional problems in the last few years have failed. This experience underscores all the more the centrality of the United Nations in world affairs, for it has reminded us that the United Nations offers a unique forum within which to evolve strategies for coexistence, accommodation and mutually beneficial co-operation. In this worthy and common enterprise Tanzania will continue to give its unqualified support to the United Nations and its agencies.

Mr. ALATAS (Indonesia): Let me first offer my sincere congratulations to Mr. Dante Caputo on his assumption of the presidency of the forty-third session of the General Assembly. His election to that high office is apt recognition of his eminent qualities as well as a reflection of the esteem in which Argentina is held among the community of nations. His impressive record in international diplomacy gives us confidence that he will guide this session with authority and efficiency.

I should also like to express our deep appreciation to his predecessor, Mr. Peter Florin, for the exemplary manner in which he presided over our deliberations during a very busy year.

Before proceeding I should like to convey Indonesia's sincere sympathy and solidarity to the Governments and peoples of Bangladesh, Jamaica and Sudan in the wake of the massive human suffering and destruction recently visited upon them by

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

natural disasters. It is our earnest hope that the international community will extend adequate and timely assistance to the process of rehabilitation and reconstruction in those countries.

A new climate of conciliation and mutual accommodation appears to be asserting itself throughout the world. Despite continuing uncertainties and ambivalence, some seminal trends in international developments are emerging as well as signs of a general relaxation of tensions, especially between the two super-Powers. In a number of regional conflicts, confrontation is giving way to dialogue and to efforts at finding negotiated solutions. Concurrently, basic movements are taking place on the economic landscape, propelling the world economy towards ever greater interdependence and integration.

We have all welcomed the Geneva Accords on Afghanistan as a significant contribution to both regional stability and international security. We likewise rejoiced at the cease-fire and the start of negotiations between Iran and Iraq in the conviction that the blessings of peace will not only accrue to the benefit of the peoples of Iran and Iraq themselves but also to the interest of stability and progress in the entire Gulf region and beyond.

Similarly, we are encouraged to note the enhanced prospects for a solution of the Western Sahara issue on the basis of the peace plan jointly submitted by the Secretary-General and the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity.

On the question of Cyprus, a renewed dialogue is taking place between the President of Cyprus and the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community which hopefully will yield an early settlement of all aspects of the problem.

In southern Africa, progress is being made in negotiations which could prepare the way for the long overdue implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and for the total independence of Namibia. And in South-East Asia, the

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

Jakarta Informal Meeting on Kampuchea, held last July, has generated a new momentum in the process towards a just and comprehensive solution of the problem.

In laying the groundwork and in sustaining efforts towards finding solutions to those and other protracted conflict situations, much of the credit should go to the United Nations and to our Secretary-General. Indeed, at no time in recent history has the irreplaceable value and potential of the United Nations been so vividly manifested. Consequently, there has been an upsurge of support among Member States for this unique multilateral forum, including a renewed commitment to its strengthening and revitalization. This year's award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the United Nations peace-keeping forces is indeed a timely confirmation and magnificent vindication of the role our world Organization has played and continues to play in maintaining and building the peace in a tense and troubled world.

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

While these developments augur well for our efforts to bring about greater peace and justice and equitable prosperity for all nations, we cannot deny that the international situation is still fraught with unresolved tensions and economic disorder and with a pervasive sense of insecurity and common vulnerability to the threat of nuclear holocaust. The politics of power, of political domination and economic coercion, of blatant intervention and aggression still feature all too prominently in present-day international relations. Vestiges of colonialism and institutionalized racism continue to obstruct the universal impulses for freedom, equality and the social and cultural advancement of peoples. Deeply rooted imbalances and unacceptable inequities still permeate international economic relations. And if, indeed, a hopeful brightening can be discerned in the global East-West relationship, the problems and predicaments in the North-South polarization are, on the contrary, being even further aggravated.

It is clear that in facing the new opportunities as well as the challenges inherent in the evolving international situation we can no longer rely on such out-dated approaches as unilateralism or selective bilateralism, or on such notions as spheres of influence or power-bloc politics. The complexities of dealing with the new developments and trends now asserting themselves as global phenomena call for a conscious commitment to multilateralism, based on the imperatives of interdependence, common interest and shared responsibility among all nations of the world.

Yet the major nuclear Powers still appear reluctant to accept that basic proposition, even on issues of such transcendental importance as disarmament and international security. While wholeheartedly welcoming the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles - INF Treaty - and the ongoing negotiations on strategic arms between the two major Powers, we cannot fail

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

to observe that there has been no substantial easing of the arms race, especially in its qualitative or technological aspects. Furthermore, virtually all major issues on the disarmament agenda, be it the comprehensive test ban treaty, non-proliferation, the prevention of nuclear war or the militarization of outer space, continue to be subjected to such untenable arguments and considerations as strategic deterrence or the professed primacy of bilateral undertakings between the two major nuclear Powers. That is the undeniable reality faced by the Geneva Conference on Disarmament, which has yet to produce a single, substantive disarmament agreement since its reconstitution. That too was a major cause for the deeply disappointing outcome of the recently concluded General Assembly special session devoted to disarmament, which could not agree on even a Chairman's summing-up, let alone a final document of substance.

Preventing the non-nuclear States from contributing actively to the process of disarmament negotiations is entirely unacceptable to us. The non-aligned and neutral States, including Indonesia, are therefore determined to assert their legitimate role in this respect and to redouble their efforts to achieve security for all, through multilateral negotiations leading toward total nuclear disarmament, the abolition of all other weapons of mass destruction and balanced reductions in conventional armaments. In that context we should in particular like to see the Conference on Disarmament complete as soon as possible the negotiations on a chemical weapons convention. Any other proposed course of action would serve only to divert us from this paramount objective. The conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty should also continue to be accorded high priority, as such an agreement would singularly contribute to arresting the development of new weapons systems and the refining of those already deployed. Together with the delegations of Mexico, Peru, Sri Lanka and Yugoslavia, my delegation has formally submitted a

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

proposal to the depository Governments of the Partial Test-Ban Treaty with a view to convening a conference at the earliest possible date to consider an amendment to the Treaty that would convert it into a comprehensive test-ban treaty. We believe that, in the light of the continuing deadlock in the Conference on Disarmament on the efforts to achieve such a treaty, the proposed amendment would provide a positive impulse towards that goal.

Our collective capacity to rise to the challenges of a new era will be seriously impaired so long as millions of persons continue to languish under colonial domination and so long as the utter immorality of apartheid and racism continues to be condoned.

With regard to Namibia, Indonesia has followed with keen interest the ongoing negotiations between Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the United States to establish a basis for just and durable peace in the south-western region of Africa and to ensure Namibia's independence. While we sincerely hope that these discussions will achieve concrete results, we cannot forget that South Africa was also a party to the negotiations leading to the adoption of the United Nations plan for Namibian independence and had committed itself to abiding by the provisions of that plan. But, ever since, Pretoria has used every means to undermine and forestall all efforts to effect its implementation. We must remain vigilant, therefore, and prevent the process now under way from being turned into yet another ploy by which the racist régime will again seek to gain time further to entrench its illegal occupation of the territory.

It should be our common resolve that in this year of the tenth anniversary of the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) we shall finally secure the faithful implementation of the plan for Namibian independence. To that end, Indonesia supports the call for the early convening of the Security Council in

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

order to adopt a resolution enabling the Secretary-General immediately to proceed with practical steps necessary for the emplacement of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group in Namibia. In the meantime, we should continue our strong support for the Namibian people's struggle, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), to achieve the establishment of a truly independent and united Namibia.

In South Africa itself, there has been no let-up in the brutal terror and repression by the Pretoria régime against all forms of opposition to apartheid. Consequently, the polarization and confrontation between the racist minority and the oppressed majority have taken on ever-more-violent dimensions. My Government remains convinced that the imposition of comprehensive, mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter will be the only effective means to bring a peaceful end to apartheid, so that in its place a non-racial and democratic society can be built. The international community should also intensify action to compel Pretoria to desist from its incessant acts of aggression and destabilization against its neighbours. Concrete, material support to the African front-line States should also be stepped up in order to enable them to free themselves from this perpetual state of political blackmail and economic strangulation. The establishment of the Action for Resisting Invasion, Colonialism and Apartheid (AFRICA) Fund by the Non-Aligned Movement at the Harare summit conference in 1986 can be seen to be a concrete response to this challenge. Indonesia was pleased to be able to pledge a cash contribution of \$2,250,000 to the Fund, to be disbursed over three years.

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

The struggle of the Palestinian people for justice and national independence has always been at the root of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Today the question is no longer whether the Palestinians will be victorious in their sacred cause but, rather, how long it will take and at what sacrifice. The intifada, the sustained popular uprising in the occupied territories, has fundamentally altered the strategic equation by effecting a qualitative transformation in the nature and level of the struggle against Israeli oppressor. It has at the same time shattered the status quo of the past 20 years and with it the false air of smug complacency of the Tel Aviv régime. Indeed, the daily atrocities and acts of wanton violence unleashed against unarmed Palestinian protestors in the West Bank, in Gaza and in the Holy City of Al-Quds fully expose the bankruptcy of Israel's attempts to impose an annexationist fait accompli in the occupied territories. Those developments have also galvanized the people of the Palestinian nation, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), their sole and legitimate representative, to prepare for a new phase in their political struggle.

Indonesia fully supports the call of the States members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries upon the Security Council to place Palestinian territories under temporary United Nations supervision in order to put an end to the acts of intimidation and oppression against the Palestinian people. At the same time, political and diplomatic pressures should be brought to bear on Israel to persuade it to cease its opposition to the convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East envisaged in General Assembly resolution 38/58 C, for it offers the only viable framework for a comprehensive settlement based on the total withdrawal by Israel from all occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and the early realization of the Palestinians' inalienable right to self-determination and to a sovereign and independent State in Palestine.

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

As events of the past year show, Israel's obsessive determination to impose by force of arms its own aggressive and expansionist designs on the region is also reflected in its blatant occupation of sovereign Lebanese territory. The arduous task undertaken by the people of Lebanon to restore their unity and to bring about normalcy are continuously being undermined by such illegal Israeli actions. Indonesia therefore fully supports Lebanon's demand for the immediate, unconditional and complete withdrawal of all Israeli occupation forces.

For the past nine years Indonesia, together with other members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), has been engaged in efforts to put an end to protracted strife and bloodshed in Kampuchea and to the immense suffering of the Kampuchean people. As ASEAN's interlocutor, Indonesia has explored practical modalities that could bring about genuine dialogue and negotiations among the parties to the conflict and that, in turn, could lead to a comprehensive, just and durable solution. In the Ho Chi Minh City Understanding reached between the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia and Viet Nam in July of last year and at the Jakarta Informal Meeting that was structured on the basis of that Understanding and convened in July this year we believe we have found a viable framework within which to realize that long-sought goal.

Through the Jakarta Informal Meeting a start has been made to replace armed conflict and confrontation with political dialogue and negotiations. It also represents the first time that all parties directly involved and the other concerned countries of the region were able to sit down together and to have a direct talk with one another to identify possible areas of common ground as well as the real obstacles to a solution.

After frank and constructive discussions the participants in the Jakarta Informal Meeting agreed on the need to solve the Kampuchean problem through political means and thus not through a military fait accompli. A common

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

understanding was also reached on the ultimate form of such a solution, namely through the establishment of an independent, sovereign, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk and on the basis of self-determination and national reconciliation. The participants shared the view that the two key and interlinked issues of the Kampuchea problem are, first, the withdrawal of all Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea, to be carried out within the context of an over-all political solution, and, secondly, the prevention of a recurrence of the genocidal policies and practices of the past régime. They also concurred on the need to ensure the cessation of all foreign interference and external arms supplies to the opposing Kampuchean forces, to set definite timetables and to provide for an effective international presence to supervise those processes.

The Meeting further agreed to continue discussions through a Working Group in order to examine specific aspects of a political solution. The Working Group is to complete its work by December 1988 and make recommendations on the convening of another Meeting. In that connection Indonesia is set to act as host for a meeting of the Working Group in the second half of this month.

We realize that the Jakarta Informal Meeting cannot and should not be the only valid approach to negotiations and the settlement of the problem. We are aware of, and are in full sympathy with, the initiatives and parallel efforts that are being undertaken by others. In that regard we do appreciate the unremitting efforts of the Secretary-General to find a political solution to the problem and to try to devise a feasible scenario towards that end. In the same vein Indonesia welcomes the initiative of the members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries to complement and reinforce our regional efforts on Kampuchea, and, of course, Indonesia and ASEAN remain fully supportive of Prince Sihanouk who, because of his

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

pre-eminent stature and prestige, continues to play an indispensable role through his unrelenting quest to bring the sufferings of his tormented people to an early end.

We all recognize the complexities of the Kampuchean problem in its many dimensions and aspects and in its regional as well as its international ramifications. In view of that, and considering that wide divergences of view still exist, especially on the modalities of a solution, we believe it may be pertinent and prudent to engage in a preliminary phase of informal discussions before proceeding to formal negotiations in the context of an international conference. That is and has always been the modest goal of the Jakarta Informal Meeting. Indonesia and ASEAN have from the outset worked on the assumption that a comprehensive solution to the Kampuchea question, especially in its extraregional aspects, can be achieved only through an international conference with the participation of the parties directly concerned and the countries of the region, as well as the major Powers and other interested States. However, it is clear that adequate substantive preparations should precede the convening of such a conference if success is to be obtained. We therefore hope and trust that the international community will continue to lend its support to the regional peace process initiated by the Jakarta Informal Meeting.

We are encouraged by the interim agreements that have been reached on the future political status of New Caledonia. The modalities that will be set in motion bolster our hope that the decolonization of the Territory will be carried out in accordance with the aspirations of the indigenous population for self-determination and independence, while taking into account the rights and interests of all of its inhabitants.

The situation in the Korean peninsula remains a source of recurrent tensions in East Asia. It is regrettable, therefore, that the recent dialogue between the

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

North and the South did not make much headway. At the same time we realize that after decades of mutual mistrust and suspicion the initiation of efforts towards national reconciliation is indeed a formidable task. It is our sincere hope that the resumption of their talks later this month will lead to tangible results, in conformity with their shared aspiration for peaceful reunification.

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

In Central America, the signing of the Esquipulas agreement last year reflected the determination of its leaders to resolve peacefully and comprehensively the tension and strife that beset the region. It was our expectation that regional harmony and common economic progress could henceforth be fostered in accordance with the principles of sovereignty, common security, non-interference, democracy and development. We note to our dismay, however, that now, one year later, the momentum of the peace process has stalled. Indeed, the progress achieved so far may be in jeopardy unless there is renewed commitment by all the parties directly involved to the full and faithful compliance with the agreement.

On the question of the Malvinas, my delegation commends the flexible approach adopted by Argentina and hopes that a climate of trust will be created for the resumption of formal negotiations leading to a peaceful and definitive settlement of the sovereignty dispute.

As in the political sphere, the world economy is also going through changes that are fundamentally transforming the shape and substance of international economic relations. Over the past few decades, scientific and technological innovations have progressed at a phenomenal pace and in the process are drastically altering the patterns of production and consumption, of trade and financial exchanges and of comparative advantage. Obviously, these basic shifts in economic patterns will have significant implications for the policy premises and assumptions underpinning present development strategies.

Concurrently, other developments of far-reaching implications are emerging and gaining prominence throughout the international economic landscape. The 12 member countries of the European Communities are pursuing the integration of their national economies into a powerful, single market by 1992. The United States and

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

Canada have recently signed an agreement that would eliminate all tariff barriers between them. The centrally planned economies have embarked on paths of economic restructuring that will integrate them further into the mainstream of the world economy. And, as widely predicted, the centre of gravity of world economic activity and development may soon shift from the Atlantic to the Pacific basin. There can be no doubt that these changes will further propel the integration of the world economy, as well as the ever closer inter-linkage of the issues of money, finance, trade and development.

What is most regrettable, however, is that these dramatic changes are unfolding while, at the same time, the position and interests of many developing countries are being increasingly marginalized.

For the greater part of the 1980s, aptly described as the "lost decade for development", developing countries have been caught in a web of cumulative constraints and setbacks. Consequently, their economies remain mired in sluggish growth, their development punctuated by stagnation, reversals and even regression. External indebtedness, often exacerbated by adverse exchange rate fluctuations in the major currencies, has now reached critical levels. Financial flows for development, both official and private, have contracted drastically. Their exports to the developed countries are encountering a plethora of protectionist barriers. Commodity earnings, the economic lifeblood of a majority of developing countries, continue to be in a prolonged slump. Meanwhile, the austere adjustment measures undertaken by most developing countries at the behest of international financial institutions have not only cut deeply into their productive capacities for growth but have also undermined their programmes and projects designed to alleviate the plight of the poorest and most vulnerable sectors of their societies. It is obvious that if no concerted action is taken to reverse their predicament, many

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

developing countries will inevitably remain locked in underdevelopment and risk being side-lined permanently on the periphery of the world economy, thus adding the real and potent threat of social upheaval to national and international peace and stability.

In the light of these stark realities in the North-South polarization, there is a clear and urgent need for the United Nations to put the issues of development and international economic relations back on the priority list of the global agenda. It is also clear that in this era of growing interdependence and integration of the world economy the path forward can only be through dialogue and negotiation, based on the premise of mutuality of interests between the North and the South.

Indeed, a beginning in this direction has already been made. The seventh session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD VII), constructively addressed the interrelated issues of resources for development, commodities, international trade and the problems of the least developed countries. The Uruguay Round, if conducted in strict adherence to the Punta del Este understandings and commitments, offers new hope for a more rational and effective multilateral trading system. And the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development adopted in 1986, has joined the international community in a unique partnership of shared responsibility to arrest the continent's threatened slide into further economic deterioration.

We should vigorously pursue and build upon these efforts. A comprehensive, durable and development-oriented solution to the debt crisis, anchored in the shared responsibility of both debtors and creditors, has become imperative. The general principles that should guide us towards such a solution have already been defined in General Assembly resolutions 41/202 and 42/198 and in the Final Act of

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

UNCTAD VII. Urgent action to remedy the commodity situation is required, and we look forward to the Common Fund becoming operational soon. The painful paradox of net transfers of resources from the developing countries to the developed should be reversed and rational perspectives to international development financing should be restored. Central to this objective is the need to convene an international conference on money and finance for development. The recommendations of the recently held Mid-Term Review on the African Recovery and Development Programme should help to intensify international co-operation and mobilize the required financial resources for the Programme's implementation. Additionally, the proposed special session of the General Assembly on the reactivation of economic growth and development in the developing countries, to be held not later than 1990, will afford us a timely opportunity to adopt a global consensus on concrete action in these interrelated issues. It should also be an occasion to forge greater unity and coherence in our collective responses to the historical opportunities facing us today and in the years ahead.

Recently, environmental issues have attracted the heightened attention of the international community. This has resulted from the introduction of two major reports to last year's General Assembly and the intensified concern for such issues as toxic waste, acid rain, climatic change and the "greenhouse effect", depletion of the ozone layer, desertification and escalating pollution. The danger of irreversible destruction to the environment is being increasingly recognized. Intense economic activity related to development, as well as conditions of mass poverty and deprivation, are inextricably linked to the ecological balance of the environment. Essentially, the effective protection of the environment can only be secured through sustainable development and the adoption of stringent international legal instruments. Thus, last year's General Assembly resolutions and the Montreal

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer, are indeed steps in the right direction. What is now required on this crucial issue of our common survival and common future is that we foster solidarity and partnership among nations for ensuring continued economic growth and development without compromising the well-being of our future generations *

*The President returned to the Chair.

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

This year the world celebrates the fortieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The principles enshrined in this Declaration have provided the basis for subsequent international and national human rights efforts and have served as a set of guiding principles for our political and social behaviour. In this anniversary year, let us renew our commitment to ensuring recognition of the dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family as the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world. In the same spirit, let us not slacken our efforts to eradicate the illicit trafficking in narcotics and to end the tragedy of drug abuse. Nor should we, in the face of the unprecedented numbers of refugees who, fleeing war, natural calamities and the threat of starvation, have sought shelter in neighbouring lands, allow their numbers or the extent of their needs to dissuade us from finding equitable and lasting solutions.

As we approach the beginning of a new millennium, there is a resurgent sense of hope that concrete progress is possible in resolving the most intractable global issues that have for so long defied solutions. In this regard, we should indeed pay a tribute to our esteemed Secretary-General, who through his patient and unflagging efforts has considerably brightened the prospects of bringing peace to conflict-ridden regions. But, as he himself pointedly observes in his report on the work of our Organization, the emerging world situation, with major conflicts on the way to solution, is bound to impose additional responsibilities on the Organization - political, economic and humanitarian. If we are to meet this expectation, it is essential that the financial health of the United Nations be restored and that the process of reform and restructuring to improve its functioning, efficiency and effectiveness be matched by the consistent support, including financial support, of all the Members. Moreover, as we move into what we hope will be a more constructive phase in world developments, it will be incumbent

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

on all Member States, large and small, to utilize the potentials of our Organization in much more rational and purposeful ways. Let us, therefore, seize this opportunity and marshal our collective resolve to strengthen our co-operation and to harmonize our actions in this multilateral forum that is so uniquely qualified to advance our shared aspirations for just peace, common security and equitable prosperity.

Dame Nita BARROW (Barbados): My first remarks must be an expression of congratulations to you, Mr. President, on your election to the high office you now hold. The delegation of Barbados finds pride and comfort in the fact that the deliberations of the forty-third session should have been placed in the hands of so able a representative of the Latin American and Caribbean region. We salute and support you. I have been asked by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Government of Barbados to convey to you his very special greetings and his regrets that he cannot be with us today. However, we know that you have his very good wishes.

We also pay a tribute to the President of the Assembly at its forty-second session, Mr. Peter Florin, whose unfailing patience and careful chairmanship of the General Assembly at its regular session and various resumed sessions was an example to us all.

The deliberations at the forty-third session are shadowed by grim reminders of the vulnerability we share and the interdependence by which we are inseparably bound. The recent misfortunes of Sudan, Bangladesh, the Dominican Republic, Jamaica and Mexico serve to underscore this interdependence and the pivotal role that the United Nations Disaster Relief Organization and other specialized agencies play in the day-to-day lives of the people of the world. To the Governments and representatives of the countries affected we offer our heartfelt condolences.

(Dame Nita Barrow, Barbados)

Disaster, whether man-made or natural, bears two faces: one of despair, the other of hope. The forty-third session finds us looking into a world suspended midway between the politics of hope and the politics of despair. Perhaps never at any time in its four decades of existence have the United Nations and its Charter faced a more poignant challenge. While there is much to suggest that the task of narrowing the gap between despair and hope may be impossible, there is still much to encourage us.

At present the international community draws renewed hope from the spirit of responsible co-operation demonstrated by the two major Powers in their formal commitment to reducing the menace of nuclear conflagration. While we acknowledge and commend this development, we cannot, we must not, surrender our collective responsibility to make our world a safer place for humanity. The history of this century and of the United Nations cautions against this. We must never forget that the carnage from which this Organization arose might have been contained, or even averted, had it not been for the untenable notion that world peace could be the brokered product of bilateral interests, perception and prejudice. Disarmament is meaningless unless and until the wish for peace is shared by all people and their interests reflected at all levels of negotiation. No organization is better placed or equipped to advance this cause than the United Nations. Despite perceptions to the contrary, the General Assembly and the Security Council have managed to reduce the incidence of armed conflict and avert the onset of a world war.

Through its specialized agencies, this Organization has done much to bring new hope to many areas of the world where life has been impoverished by illiteracy, disease, hopelessness and fear. Too often we are apt to overlook the contribution of non-governmental organizations. These groups of dedicated women and men work tirelessly among their communities to fulfil the lofty principles of this

(Dame Nita Barrow, Barbados)

Organization. In various ways these groups render invaluable service to their Governments and people.

Much of the mood of optimism present in the world must be attributed to the untiring efforts of the Secretary-General in pursuing the elusive goal of peace. Against the background of encroaching monetary crisis, his commitment to purpose and his dedication to ideals have inspired us all and may in fact have rescued this Organization from an unthinkable fate. The recent agreements on Afghanistan provide yet another example of the capability of the peace-making mechanisms of the United Nations and demonstrate the importance of the multilateral process in an increasingly complex world, a process which too often is underestimated and even undermined. The recent award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the peace-keeping forces, so richly deserved, gives recognition to the efforts of this Organization.

(Dame Nita Barrow, Barbados)

This session will deal with many of the critical issues facing the great continent of Africa. The first days of this session found the Secretary-General, not on this podium, but in southern Africa employing his considerable diplomatic skill in diplomacy in an attempt to secure implementation of the Namibia plan and the provisions of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Resolution of the Namibian problem therefore now seems to lie within our grasp. It is my fervent hope that such a solution will lead to the inevitable freedom of our oppressed brothers and sisters in southern Africa.

We often state in these halls that apartheid must be eliminated. We have heard it in every speech. But have we really matched our deeds to our words? Have we done all that we could to ensure the unconditional release of that outstanding patriot Nelson Mandela? Have we used to full effect the application of comprehensive sanctions? We need to be ever vigilant to extend the freedom we enjoy to all people. I repeat the words so often used: "We are not free until we are all free."

Significant progress has been made in bringing peace to several areas of conflict. These have been enumerated in detail by many others. However, I will just mention them again for reinforcement and to ensure that it is known that my Government supports them.

The strains which have separated Algeria and Morocco are happily showing signs of easing. We owe it to succeeding generations to ensure that the United Nations plays its role in finding a just solution to the conflict in Western Sahara.

The conflict in Kampuchea has divided households and families and created millions of refugees. We hope that the Jakarta Informal Meeting held in July will encourage all concerned to redouble their efforts to achieve a speedy solution to the problem based on the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own

(Dame Nita Barrow, Barbados)

destiny, free from external interference. Let us at this forty-third session make every effort to assist in finding lasting solutions to their problems and achieving the reuniting of separated families, upon which the well being of nations rest.

We are happy that the French authorities and the people of New Caledonia have initiated a dialogue on the status of the Territory and that positive measures are being taken to promote political, economic and social development in New Caledonia, which would provide a framework for the peaceful progress of the Territory to self-determination, taking into account the rights and aspirations of the indigenous peoples.

The Charter recognizes the desirability of regional solutions to regional conflicts. For this reason, the efforts of Central American leaders to bring peace to that troubled region are to be encouraged and supported by the international community.

Never before has the international climate been more favourable for a concerted effort towards a permanent solution to the conflict in the Middle East. It is our collective responsibility to ensure that all legitimate interests are adequately accommodated, in the interest of a just and humane peace.

We must all be heartened by the progress towards peaceful settlement of long-standing conflicts now emerging in the many areas mentioned. However, we must not be lulled into a false sense of security until the promises now made are fulfilled through the requisite action. Much has been accomplished, but much more remains to be done.

It was my privilege to participate yesterday in the ceremony so ably organized as a tribute to the African diaspora. For me, a daughter of the diaspora, it was a moving experience. The States of Africa and those of the Caribbean have much in common. They have faced and will continue to face intimidating obstacles in the course of their development.

(Dame Nita Barrow, Barbados)

Few issues are of more immediate concern than the protection and beneficial management of the environment. Drought and desertification menace much of Africa's population. Hurricanes and floods cause frequent havoc in Asia and the Caribbean. But not all our threats come from nature, and not all are beyond our control. Irresponsible and criminal pollution of the land, sea and air now places in jeopardy the health and livelihood of citizens in many developing States. This matter is of special concern to us in the Caribbean, dependent as our economies are upon the ocean.

Scientific research continues to reveal pernicious threats to the environment, which threaten the very existence of the human race. I need mention, as has been done by others, only the so-called greenhouse effect of atmospheric pollutants and the depletion of the ozone layer, which demand the urgent attention of the world community.

The causes of these problems are as diverse as the problems themselves. However, they all to some degree reflect our insensitivity to the fragile nature of the environment in which we must all exist. They challenge the ingenuity of the international community to devise new means of co-operation. What is needed more than ever before is universal acceptance of the principle of sustainable development. What is essential is a comprehensive reassessment and readjustment of our relationship to the environment; a concept of progress free of the wanton exploitation which has to date characterized our industrial efforts. This will not be an easy route and no doubt it will be necessary to provide developing countries with the resources to reflect such an approach in their development strategies. What we must keep uppermost in our minds is that the environment belongs to us all. For only with this realization can the necessary steps be taken to preserve the environment for the future of our children.

(Dame Nita Barrow, Barbados)

Reassessment and a readjustment of similar proportions is required in the way our societies relate to each other. I refer specifically to the relations between developed and developing States, between the industrialized and the non-industrialized.

The burden of external debt has reached the level of crisis. We have heard that again and again. It constitutes what must be considered the gravest threat to sovereignty ever encountered by States on their road to development. It undermines the vital capability of political leaders to satisfy the basic social and economic aspirations of their people. Inevitably, therefore, it engenders those social forces which work against civic calm and stability.

The problem of external debt cannot be isolated from the other enemies of social justice. While the burden falls disproportionately upon poorer nations, the eventual effect should offer little comfort to the more prosperous among us. There is no doubt that the upheaval in the economic and social life of these countries will generate repercussions throughout the international community, for such is the nature of our international economic system. The fates of creditor and debtor are inseparably bound.

If this Organization is to take seriously its mission to safeguard the welfare of future generations it must be given a greater say in the way in which this global problem of debt is addressed. We must be cautioned that unless meaningful co-operative efforts are made to assist developing States in the management of their debts the prospects for global economic recovery will be dim. Moreover, developing countries must be more fully integrated, not only in the efforts to find solutions to the debt problem, but also in the search for a new order in the global economy.

(Dame Nita Barrow, Barbados)

A situation in which appeals for the transfer of wealth and appropriate technology are met with antipathy while the transfer of wastes is being actively pursued suggests that ours is rapidly becoming a community of contempt. This is clearly in defiance of the United Nations Charter.

The scourge of the illicit trafficking in drugs now leaves no region of the world untouched by its destructive proficiency. The immediate target of this nefarious market is the youth of our societies.

The island States of the Caribbean with their open borders are uniquely vulnerable to the threat. Located midway between the centres of production and the centres of consumption, these States have become unwilling units in the deadly interplay.

The Government of Barbados has always demonstrated a passionate dedication to the preservation of all those fundamental rights and freedoms necessary for the full development of the human spirit. It is a dedication nurtured by the experiences of slavery and colonialization. It has resulted in the peaceful attainment and exercise of national sovereignty. In a few months time, Barbados will celebrate the three hundredth and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of its parliament, which, except for periodic elections, has met continually since 1639.

It is this tradition and this experience which fortify our faith in and commitment to this Organization, our faith in its effectiveness in protecting and promoting the welfare of humankind. We believe therefore that human rights, the rights of women, the preservation of our societies from the devastating effects of war, famine, drug addiction and disease are all priorities to which our collective attention must continue to be devoted.

Mr. President, you have assumed the presidency of this session at an historic moment in the life of the United Nations: at a time when the Organization faces a most challenging future; at a time when the demands on multilateral diplomacy are

(Dame Nita Barrow, Barbados)

even more evident; at a time when there is ever more need for a rededication to the values of multilateralism. We are aware that yours will not be an easy task, for the myriad problems that confront the Members of this Organization all deserve our attention, and we must demonstrate that as a family of nations we are concerned about the fate of all its members.

The United Nations is of course many things to many people. It is above all a forum for negotiating at all levels, from the bilateral to the multilateral. In this regard, the United Nations facilitates the viability of small States whose diplomatic outreach is constrained by their lack of resources. As Dag Hammarskjöld noted so very perceptively in this Assembly on 3 October 1960, it is the small States that need the United Nations for their protection.

"In this sense," he continued, "the Organization is first of all their Organization and I deeply believe in the wisdom with which they will be able to use it and guide it." (Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, 883rd plenary meeting, para. 11)

We pledge ourselves to that vision for we fully understand it.

We would do well to remind ourselves that this is an organization founded as a result of conflict and the context of its operations remains one of conflict. As such it presents an honest reflection of the human condition. We, all of us, exist in a state of perpetual tension. As individuals we are torn between our need for order and tranquillity and our innate abhorrence of fetters and restraint. As political societies we are torn between the demands of sovereignty and the realities of interdependence.

Surrounded by this swirl of contending forces, the United Nations becomes something of a moral epicentre. We who gather here year after year must, in my view, seek not to remove such conflicts from our midst - our history suggests that that would be impossible - but, more realistically, to redirect these natural forces

(Dame Nita Barrow, Barbados)

from the avenues of destruction to those of development. This is the fundamental task of the United Nations to convert the human condition from despair into hope.

As we reflect on the events of the past year we must see signs that reason and good will, when allowed to function promote progress and peace. What this Organization has done for four decades has been to provide an oasis of civility from which our several conflicts may be viewed with reason and good will.

It seems to me that we are justified in drawing from these developments renewed devotion to that cause which inspired the creation of the United Nations Charter. I suggest that our deliberations will be neither effective nor complete without constant regard for the ideals that motivate them. We may consider the words of Seneca, the Roman statesman and philosopher,

"Not to know what was transacted in former times is to remain always a child."

In full awareness of our past and in conscientious commitment to the future, the delegation of Barbados dedicates itself to the success of this session.

PROGRAMME OF WORK

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): Before calling on the last speaker this morning, I should like to give members an outline of the tentative programme of work of plenary meetings for the month of October in order to help delegations plan their work.

On Monday, 17 October, beginning in the morning, the Assembly will take up item 10, "Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization"; item 13, "Report of the International Court of Justice"; item 20, "Co-operation between the United Nations and the Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee"; item 24, "Co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of the Islamic Conference"; item 25, "Co-operation between the United Nations and the League of Arab States"; item 26, "Co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity"; item 27, "Co-operation between the United Nations

(The President)

and the Organization of American States"; item 28, "Co-operation between the United Nations and the Latin American Economic System"; and item 142, "Observer status for the Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America in the General Assembly".

On Tuesday, 18 October, in the morning, the Assembly will take up item 149, "Emergency assistance to Jamaica", and item 146, "Promotion of peace, reconciliation and dialogue in the Korean peninsula".

On Wednesday, 19 October, in the morning, the Assembly will take up the following sub-items of item 16: (a) "Election of members of the Governing Council of the United Nations Environment Programme"; (b) "Election of twelve members of the World Food Council"; (c) "Election of seven members of the Committee for Programme and Co-ordination"; and (d) "Election of seventeen members of the United Nations Commission on International Trade Law". It will also conclude its consideration of item 146, which I would remind members is "Promotion of peace, reconciliation and dialogue in the Korean peninsula".

(The President)

As decided by the General Assembly at its 3rd plenary meeting, before the Second Committee considers item 148, "Conservation of climate as part of the common heritage of mankind", the item will be introduced in plenary meeting on the morning of Monday, 24 October.

On Tuesday, 25 October, we shall take up item 33, "Judgment of the International Court of Justice of 27 June 1986 concerning military and paramilitary activities in and against Nicaragua: need for immediate compliance".

On Wednesday, 26 October, in the morning, the General Assembly will take up item 32, "Question of the Comorian island of Mayotte"; sub-item (a) of item 15, "Election of five non-permanent members of the Security Council"; and sub-item (b) of item 15, "Election of eighteen members of the Economic and Social Council".

In the morning of Thursday, 27 October, the Assembly will take up item 12, "Report of the Economic and Social Council". In connection with this item, members will recall that the General Assembly decided, at its 3rd plenary meeting, to devote one meeting to observance of the fortieth anniversary of the World Health Organization. Also under this item, the Assembly will begin its consideration of those parts of chapter VI, section C, of the Council's report, which deal with the prevention and control of AIDS (acquired immune deficiency syndrome) and the fight against it, following which the World Health Organization will present a report on the disease.

On the afternoon of Thursday, 27 October, the General Assembly will begin its consideration of item 14, "Report of the International Atomic Energy Agency".

The tentative programme that I have just announced will appear in the verbatim record of this meeting and in the Journal summary. If there are changes, I shall communicate them to the Assembly in due course.*

*Mr. Al-Shakar (Bahrain), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. FAKHURY (Lebanon) (interpretation from Arabic): It gives me pleasure, on behalf of the delegation of Lebanon, to congratulate Mr. Dante Caputo on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-third session. The relations between his country, Argentina, and mine, Lebanon, are firmly established, deeply rooted and characterized by friendship, co-operation and mutual respect. Since his appointment as Foreign Minister of Argentina, Mr. Caputo has contributed to the consolidation of these relations. We are fully confident, therefore, that his qualifications, experience and wisdom will make him an exemplary President and will ensure the success of the work of this session.

The delegation of Lebanon wishes also to extend its thanks and appreciation to Mr. Caputo's predecessor, the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic, Mr. Peter Florin, whose wise leadership and great efforts enabled the General Assembly to achieve such good results at its forty-second session.

In expressing the thanks of the delegation of Lebanon I must not forget to thank the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his good offices and efforts in the settlement of a number of regional crises and in making the Secretariat more efficient, in difficult financial circumstances. Indeed, the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization is clear proof of the success of his sustained efforts.

The agenda of the current session of the General Assembly is replete with important items - political, economic, social and legal. Some of these have been on the agenda for years, some for dozens of years, awaiting solution. However, we are still hopeful that just solutions will be found.

(Mr. Fakhoury, Lebanon)

Recent developments on the questions of Afghanistan, Namibia, Western Sahara, the Iran-Iraq conflict, Kampuchea and Cyprus are encouraging and make us very hopeful that efforts will be intensified to reach genuine solutions to the question of southern Lebanon, the Israeli occupation of a part of Lebanon, the Middle East question, and, in particular, the question of the Palestinian people.

Large numbers of Palestinians have been expelled from their homeland and dispersed in various parts of the world. Others live in camps in Arab countries that have taken them in, while the remainder continue to live under Israeli occupation in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and Holy Al Quds. The Palestinian people has a legitimate and inalienable right to self-determination, to return to its homeland and to establish an independent State on its own soil. This people, which has expressed its free national will through its blessed uprising inside its homeland, has indicated at every opportunity its complete rejection of all settlement projects, which have also been categorically rejected by Lebanon and other sister Arab countries.

Despite the ordeal by which it has been afflicted for approximately 14 years, Lebanon has not failed to meet its membership obligations to the United Nations. Lebanon has adhered to the Charter, which it signed as a founding member, and is committed to its provisions and to implementation of the resolutions of the Organization. Lebanon believes that the United Nations plays an important role in various fields, with the aim of improving man's condition and protecting peoples against the forces of oppression and tyranny.

(Mr. Fakhoury, Lebanon)

In return for those duties and obligations, however, Lebanon has rights. It requires of the Organization that it secure its sovereignty and territorial integrity and ensure the safety of its people. It expects the world community to lend it full support in its efforts to liberate its land and revitalize its institutions, in order to enable it to resume its role at all levels - regional and international.

If I confine my statement to the question of southern Lebanon, it is because I believe that the question is extremely critical, since it threatens security and peace not only in the Middle East region, but in the whole world. One of the main causes of the continued ordeal afflicting the Lebanese people for about 14 years has been the continued Israeli aggression against Lebanon and the continued occupation by Israel of parts of our land. This ordeal is today increasing in gravity and complexity, and is reaching alarming dimensions, to the extent that it is now threatening the very unity and existence of Lebanon.

Faced with this situation, Lebanon is right to concentrate on a question relating to its very future and existence. But in no way does this mean that Lebanon pays no attention to the other questions on the agenda. Lebanon's ordeal has not prevented it from participating in and contributing to the discussion of those questions over the years and striving to find the necessary solutions to them. Lebanon will not hesitate to continue to do so. It declares that it is ready and willing to do its utmost and to co-operate, within its possibilities, with other members of the international community to achieve the desired objectives of the Charter, for the benefit of all mankind.

Since the creation of Israel in the Middle East region, Lebanon has suffered from invasions of its territory and from practices against its people. During one five-year period alone Lebanon was invaded twice by Israel - in 1978 and in 1982.

(Mr. Fakhoury, Lebanon)

Previous heads of the Lebanese delegation have spoken at great length about those two invasions and their consequences. Suffice it to mention now that since 1978 Israel has preserved for itself inside Lebanese territory a so-called security zone. Moreover, it has gone much further by continuing to launch repeated acts of aggression and raids against peaceful villages deep inside Lebanese territory - from the sea, by land and by air.

I need not go into the details of this question, because the abundant complaints lodged by Lebanon, which have been distributed as official documents of the General Assembly and the Security Council to the members of the Organization, are quite sufficient. They prove that Israel is continuing to violate the rules of the United Nations Charter and the provisions of international law and agreements, and that it is still challenging General Assembly and the Security Council resolutions, particularly Security Council resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978) and other subsequent resolutions. Those resolutions call for the complete and unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli forces from Lebanese territory, the deployment of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) to the internationally recognized borders, and support for Lebanon in order to restore its sovereignty and authority over all its territory.

Consequently, Israel's responsibility is clearly established. Lebanon therefore calls on the United Nations and its Security Council to take a courageous and decisive stand to check Israel's behaviour and to compel it to respect the Charter and to abide by United Nations resolutions. Only full implementation of those resolutions can save Lebanon and the Middle East region from risks that might in turn jeopardize international peace and security. That is the only way to help Lebanon overcome this crisis, achieve territorial integrity, contribute to unifying its population and regain its constructive role within the international community.

(Mr. Fakhoury, Lebanon)

Lebanon is yearning for the return of peace and stability, which will enable it to carry out the reconstruction and rehabilitation programmes that would put it back on the track to a normal life. The Lebanese crisis after so many years has created a deteriorating economic and financial situation. Lebanon's needs are estimated to be billions of dollars, and Lebanon expects to receive the necessary support and help from the international community.

This year's initiative by the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, to collect \$85 million for immediate urgent aid to Lebanon was crowned with success. Although the amount collected, \$76 million, is, compared with the help needed, symbolic, we are all grateful to the Secretary-General for that important initiative. The delegation of Lebanon would like to place on record its gratitude to the Secretary-General, to all officials of the United Nations organs, and to all specialized agencies, as well as to the States that contributed to meeting this urgent need. It expresses the hope that the Secretary-General will continue his endeavours to provide the necessary aid for Lebanon's reconstruction and rehabilitation.

The delegation of Lebanon would like to add its voice to that of the Secretary-General in calling for the provision of the necessary funds for the international peace-keeping forces, particularly the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon, which is today considered the most important international peace-keeping force. Lebanon is grateful to UNIFIL for the services it has rendered and is still rendering in southern Lebanon. We should like to express our thanks and appreciation to the leadership, the soldiers and the countries contributing to UNIFIL. We therefore call upon the Security Council to adopt the necessary measures to enable UNIFIL to carry out the basic task entrusted to it and to help Lebanon transform its southern region into a region of security and peace.

(Mr. Fakhoury, Lebanon)

While talking about peace, we cannot omit to mention how gratified we felt upon hearing the news that the Nobel Peace Prize had been awarded this year to the United Nations peace-keeping forces.

Lebanon looks forward to the establishment of a new era following the election of the new President of the Republic, which we hope will take place soon.

Lebanon's national crisis, entrenched for over 14 years now, undoubtedly has its own deep-seated internal causes. Consequently, it can be solved only through a formula of national entente among the Lebanese people themselves.

(Mr. Fakhoury, Lebanon)

However, this crisis has most certainly had clear regional and international dimensions. The situation in Lebanon has therefore directly and strongly affected, and has in turn been affected by, developments in the situation both inside and outside the Middle East region. For that reason Lebanon will always need positive initiatives on the part of its Arab brethren and of all friendly nations in order to help it overcome the crisis.

In conclusion I should like to convey to the members of the General Assembly the hope of my people that they will do their utmost to help Lebanon liberate its territory and also to convey their determination to begin reconstruction and rehabilitation within the framework of a solid national unity, which has been and always will be the best guarantee for a Lebanon of harmony, love and tolerance, an oasis of coexistence and a bridge between East and West.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.