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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 28 September 1989, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. GARBA (Nigeria)

later: Mr. LOHIA (Papua New Guinea)
(Vice-President)

later: Mr. GARBA (Nigeria)

- General debate [9] (continued)
- Address by Mr. Son Sann, Prime Minister of Democratic Kampuchea
- Address by Mr. Edward Fenech Adami, Prime Minister of the Republic of Malta
- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements made by

Mr. Horn (Hungary)
Mr. Wakil (Afghanistan)
Mr. Ouko (Kenya)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.25 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

ADDRESS BY MR. SON SANN, PRIME MINISTER OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear a statement by the Prime Minister of Democratic Kampuchea.

Mr. Son Sann, Prime Minister of Democratic Kampuchea, was escorted to the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT: I have great pleasure in welcoming the Prime Minister of Democratic Kampuchea, Mr. Son Sann, and I invite him to address the General Assembly.

Mr. SON SANN (Democratic Kampuchea) (interpretation from French): Allow me, Sir, to take this welcome opportunity to convey to you our warmest congratulations on your accession to the presidency of the General Assembly and my sincere wishes for the complete success of your noble task.

Today I have the signal honour of reading out the following message addressed to the Assembly, at its forty-fourth session, by His Royal Highness Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, leader of the Cambodian National Resistance and President of Democratic Kampuchea:

"Mr. President,

"It is a great honour and privilege for me to address you and your august Assembly in my capacity as leader of the Cambodian National Resistance against the Vietnamese colonialist occupation and as President of Democratic Kampuchea.

"Allow me, first of all, to say how gratified and honoured I am to extend to you, on behalf of Democratic Kampuchea and its people, which have always maintained cordial and fraternal relations with Nigeria and its people, our

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profound satisfaction and most heartfelt congratulations on your brilliant election by acclamation to the lofty responsibilities of the current session of the General Assembly. This is a well-deserved tribute by our world Organization to a distinguished son of both Nigeria and Africa, as evidenced by your tireless activities against apartheid, your high human qualities, diplomatic experience and great wisdom.

"I should also like to pay a heartfelt tribute to your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Dante Caputo of Argentina, for his great competence and wisdom, which made it possible for him to conduct the work of the forty-third session of the General Assembly so successfully.

"Last but not least, I express again - with pleasure, as always - to our Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, our deep esteem and our warmest congratulations on his patient and tireless efforts, as well as on his praiseworthy initiatives aimed at upholding, in the search for solutions to complex international problems, the vigour of the principles of the United Nations Charter, in particular its objectives of universal peace, security and prosperity based on human dignity and social and economic justice. His wisdom, clearheadedness and competence do honour to the hopes mankind has placed in the United Nations because they have restored its authority in playing its irreplaceable role of maintaining international peace and security. Never have the prestige and efficiency of the United Nations been so great and multilateralism scored such a success.

"This year the problem of Cambodia has frequently been in the spotlight of the international political scene. This reflects the growing concern of the international community to see a rapid resolution of the problem, as in the case of some other regional problems. The countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) have, within the framework of the Jakarta

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Informal Meetings, pursued their tireless, noble efforts in that direction. I have pursued my personal efforts as well, going so far as to do violence to my dignity and self-respect by meeting the head of the illegal régime installed in Phnom Penh by Vietnamese forces, with the aim of exploring all possibilities, small though they may be, for restoring to my homeland and people, peace, national independence and freedom in territorial integrity. Quite recently, from 30 July to 30 August last, France was kind enough to organize an international conference on Cambodia in Paris aimed at reaching a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the so-called problem of Kampuchea. To all the ASEAN countries and their Heads of State, to France and to President Francois Mitterrand, who have done so much and continue to exert such noble efforts in contributing to the rescue of Cambodia and its people, the Cambodian National Resistance, the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and I personally pay a resounding and respectful tribute and extend our deepest gratitude.

"Alas, all these noble and tireless efforts have so far failed to bring about a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the so-called problem of Kampuchea.

"I have put forward a five-point peace plan for a comprehensive and equitable solution of the problem - which is, let me recall, a problem between Viet Nam, the aggressor, and Cambodia, the victim. In this plan I have proposed, among other things, the two following elements:

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"First, the total and definitive withdrawal of all categories of Vietnamese forces and all Vietnamese settlers from Cambodia, under the effective control of a United Nations international control mechanism and assisted by a United Nations peace-keeping force.

"Secondly, a genuine national reconciliation among all Cambodians, regardless of their past or political tendencies, within the framework of the formation of a provisional quadripartite government, a quadripartite administration and a quadripartite army. This is not merely a matter of power-sharing but one of achieving a balance between all the Cambodian parties so as to ensure, after the total and genuine withdrawal of the Vietnamese forces, peace, security and stability in Cambodia, in order to enable the Cambodian people to exercise their sacred right to self-determination, through free and general elections under United Nations supervision.

"We do not ask of Viet Nam anything that belongs to it. We ask Viet Nam only to give back what belongs to Cambodia and the Cambodian people, namely, our independence and territorial integrity within our legal boundaries internationally recognized up to 17 March 1970. To those people in the Vietnamese-installed puppet régime in Phnom Penh, we reach out our hand in a gesture of national reconciliation, in the higher and long-term interests of Cambodia and its people.

"The Phnom Penh régime is merely the creation and creature of Viet Nam imposed by force of arms in January 1979 upon the Cambodian people. The State of Democratic Kampuchea, of which I am President, could not stand aside in favour of the illegal Phnom Penh régime, nor could it rally to this régime whose Constitution, whatever the amendments, remains unacceptable because it is illegal. Nevertheless, out of concern to reach a rapid solution and

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shorten the suffering of the Cambodian people, we have decided to make a very substantial concession by accepting the dismantling of the legal State of Democratic Kampuchea simultaneously with that of the illegal Phnom Penh régime.

"The main objective of my proposal is not, let me repeat, a power-sharing among the four Cambodian parties. It aims at creating, after the genuine withdrawal of all Vietnamese forces, a balance between all the parties which, at last reconciled within a national union government of Cambodia, will be entrusted with the task of maintaining a climate of peace, security and stability within which the Cambodian people, the sole and true master of Cambodia, will be able freely to exercise their sacred right to self-determination, choose their leaders and the political, social and economic régime to their liking.

"The generosity of my proposals is matchless in history, in particular when one is familiar with the fate that was reserved for Norway's Quisling and France's Laval and their ilk shortly after the Second World War.

"Nevertheless, Viet Nam has categorically rejected all my proposals. In so doing, it has given glaring proof of a complete absence of political will, sincerity and good faith in the search for a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the so-called problem of Kampuchea. In response to the appeal made by Mr. Roland Dumas, Minister of State and Minister for Foreign Affairs of France, and Co-President of the Conference, for flexibility on the part of all the participants, Mr. Nguyen Co Thach, Vietnamese Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, replied that 'Viet Nam shall be as flexible as steel'.

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"By refusing to place the total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Cambodia under the effective control of the United Nations, and by opposing the formation of a provisional quadripartite government of Cambodia, which might enable the Cambodian people freely and democratically to choose their leaders, Viet Nam has simply shown that it does not have the slightest intention of putting an end to its colonialist occupation of Cambodia and its policy of annexation of Cambodia into the 'Indo-China Federation' under Hanoi's domination. Indeed, United Nations control and the provisional quadripartite government of Cambodia would give evidence to the whole world of the existence in Cambodia of at least 30,000 Vietnamese soldiers disguised as Khmer soldiers of the Phnom Penh puppet régime, of at least 100,000 armed Vietnamese concealed among the more than one million Vietnamese settlers, of several tens of thousands of so-called Vietnamese advisers, disguised as 'Cambodians' in the puppet administrative apparatus, from the top down to the village levels. For Viet Nam to accept United Nations control and quadripartitism is to accept putting an end to Vietnamese colonialism in Cambodia and giving up its 'Indo-China Federation'.

"Viet Nam refuses any effective United Nations role in Cambodia under the pretext that our world Organization is 'biased' because it continues to recognize among its Members Democratic Kampuchea, the victim of Vietnamese aggression, and that the General Assembly continues yearly to adopt a resolution condemning this aggression and calling for the total and unconditional withdrawal of all Vietnamese forces of aggression. From the dock, Viet Nam wants to pose as a judge, to call into question the 122 States Members of the United Nations that voted last year for the resolution of the situation in Kampuchea and to compel them to violate, like Viet Nam, the United Nations Charter.

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"Viet Nam rejects the formation of a provisional quadripartite government of Cambodia, an organ of genuine Cambodian national reconciliation, because this government would necessarily comprise the Democratic Kampuchea party, 'the Khmer Rouge'. In order to justify its crimes against Cambodia and the Cambodian people, Viet Nam continues to brandish the 'Pol Pot-Khmer Rouge danger' and the 'prevention of their return to power' as being one of the fundamental aspects of the so-called problem of Kampuchea.

"I do not have the slightest intention of defending the cause of the Khmer Rouge, nor do I have any reason to do so. But objectivity prompts me to say that if one should judge and condemn the Khmer Rouge for violation of human rights, one should also be fair enough to judge and condemn the Hanoi leaders and their Phnom Penh puppets for their crimes against humanity committed in Cambodia, as evidenced by Amnesty International in its annual reports, backed by many details, photographs, sketches and drawings.

"I agree that the problem of strict respect for human rights in Cambodia is extremely important and that it is essential that effective and realistic measures be taken to ensure such respect. But the most urgent measure is the definitive and genuine withdrawal of Vietnamese colonialism in all its forms from Cambodia.

"As for the Khmer Rouge, they have provided formal written guarantees of their non-return to exclusive power after the total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Cambodia. They have formally requested the sending to Cambodia of a United Nations control mechanism and a substantial United Nations peace-keeping force. They have proposed the total disarming of their armed forces, together with that of the armed forces of the other Cambodian parties, or at least the reduction in strength of each of the Cambodian armed forces to

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10,000 men, and the restriction of those forces in barracks under the supervision of a United Nations control mechanism. They have solemnly renounced communism and accepted for Cambodia a liberal democratic régime and political pluralism similar to that of the Fifth French Republic. They also pledge fully and always to respect the return of free and general elections supervised by the United Nations. Finally, their leaders, such as Pol Pot, Nuon Chea, Ta Mok, and others, have solemnly declared that they shall give up any political, government, administrative or military activities in the new Cambodia resulting from a comprehensive settlement of the so-called problem of Kampuchea.

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"For national reconciliation to be genuine, it cannot be exclusive. If one of the Cambodian parties were to be excluded, it would be vain to attempt to ensure this peace, security and stability so essential to the self-determination of the Cambodian people.

"The Cambodian National Resistance and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea have made the maximum concessions possible to Viet Nam, save that of handing Cambodia over to Viet Nam on a silver platter, which is what Viet Nam is seeking.

"The so-called total and unilateral withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Cambodia, proclaimed for and allegedly completed on 26 September last, aims actually at, first, having the world community rubber-stamp the so-called cessation of Viet Nam's occupation of Cambodia; secondly, having foreign military aid to the forces of the Cambodian National Resistance curtailed; thirdly, obtaining the de facto maintenance of the Phnom Penh puppet régime under the cover of which Viet Nam will continue to occupy Cambodia with several tens of thousands of Vietnamese troops disguised as puppet soldiers, with more than a hundred thousand militiamen concealed among the more than 1 million Vietnamese settlers and several tens of thousands of Vietnamese 'advisers' at all levels of the puppet administration.

"In order to ease the ever greater and more resolute pressures exerted each year by the overwhelming majority of United Nations Member States, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is driven to resort to the subterfuge of unilateral withdrawal of some of its troops in uniform without any effective control by the United Nations, while other disguised troops continue to come into Cambodia without the knowledge of the world community, with the obvious

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objective of trying to turn its aggression and occupation into a so-called civil war, backed by a major Vietnamese 'fifth column' disguised within the puppet army, and concealed among the Vietnamese settlers.

"Without an international control and supervision mechanism of the United Nations, the so-called total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia is merely a fraud and a manoeuvre intended to lull world public opinion and to obtain Western aid, which Viet Nam has been denied because of its occupation of Cambodia.

"If our Assembly were to allow itself to be persuaded by this deceitful Vietnamese propaganda, the United Nations Charter would be trampled underfoot, and the fate of small countries such as Cambodia, which is based on the defence of their own rights, could no longer be defended. Faith in the United Nations would be shaken if one of its Members were to be allowed to continue, as for almost 11 years now, to trample underfoot with impunity the principles of the Charter, and shamelessly mock the international will of the United Nations to fulfil its role of maintaining international peace and security.

"The sole objective of the Cambodian National Resistance and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea is to fulfil the deep and legitimate aspirations of the entire Cambodian people, that is, the restoration of peace in Cambodia, in independence and freedom. In the face of the arrogant obstinacy of Viet Nam, which wants to pursue at all costs its colonialist occupation of Cambodia, the Cambodian National Resistance and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea have no other choice but to carry on their struggle for the realization of these aspirations, so long as Viet Nam does not agree to withdraw genuinely, under the control of the United

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Nations mechanism, assisted by a United Nations peace-keeping force, all categories of its forces from Cambodia; so long as it refuses to restore to Cambodia its full and complete independence as well as its territorial integrity, and to the Cambodian people their sacred and inalienable right to self-determination. The Phnom Penh régime is unacceptable. Whatever Viet Nam may do, that régime is illegal, because it is a mere creation, a pure creature of Viet Nam, and it only serves Viet Nam's ideological, strategic, economic and expansionist interests. We are confident that, being aware of Viet Nam's machiavellian subterfuge, all peace- and justice-loving countries whose representatives are present here in this Assembly, will not fail to continue to grant their noble and steadfast support to our just cause: the survival of the Cambodian nation and its national identity. To all of them, I should like, on behalf of the Cambodian National Resistance, the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and on my own behalf, to express once again our most profound, sincere and infinite gratitude.

"Since the last session of the General Assembly, the world political situation has been marked by some encouraging developments which have fortunately resulted in a progressive reduction of international tension.

"The year 1989 is undeniably an auspicious year for Africa, thanks to a favourable development in the search for solutions to regional and local conflicts. The 22 December 1988 agreements have at last paved the way for the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, embodied in Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

"In a month's time, the Namibian people will at last, after more than a century of illegal foreign colonization and occupation, be able to exercise

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their right to self-determination and independence together with territorial integrity. Nothing now should prevent them from fully enjoying this right. This is the triumph of their long heroic combat waged under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization, of the firm and manifold support of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and of all African countries and peoples, of the dedicated efforts of the United Nations and its Council for Namibia, and of the prodigious mobilization of the entire international community in their favour. Together with all the other Member States of the United Nations, we impatiently look forward to sincerely welcoming a new nation, Namibia, into our world Organization.

"In Western Sahara, the efforts of our Secretary-General and the current President of the OAU have made it possible to establish a technical commission to facilitate and speed up the process of implementation of the peace plan accepted by all the concerned parties on 30 August 1988 in Geneva.

"In Chad, the framework agreement signed by the Chadian and Libyan Governments offers a legal basis and a mechanism for the settlement of their territorial dispute. That agreement testifies to the will of Chad to establish peaceful relations with all its neighbours in a spirit of respect for its sovereignty, territorial integrity and fundamental rights, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter and the resolutions of the OAU. We wish new successes to the brotherly Chadian Government and people in their steadfast efforts to defend peace and independence, and in the development of their homeland.

"However, the tree should not hide the forest. Indeed, those encouraging developments do contribute to the improvement of the world political climate,

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but they remain limited. They should not make us forget that the world political situation remains a matter of concern.

"In southern Africa, the situation remains tense because the policy of apartheid of the racist minority régime of Pretoria constitutes a permanent source of threat to peace and stability in the African subcontinent. Together with all peace-, justice- and freedom-loving peoples and countries, we strongly condemn the criminal repression of the black majority population in South Africa by the apartheid régime of Pretoria, and the policy of bantustanization. We demand the immediate lifting of the state of emergency and the release of Mr. Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners. We here renew our full support for the just and legitimate struggle of the valiant South African people and their leaders, the African National Congress of South Africa and Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

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"We reiterate our firm solidarity and our steadfast support for all of the frontline States in their struggle against Pretoria's policy of aggression and destabilization. We reaffirm our conviction that peace and stability will come to southern Africa only with the eradication of apartheid and the formation of a non-racist and democratic government in South Africa. The holding next December of a special session of the General Assembly devoted to the question of apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa, will surely bring about additional aid and support with a view to attaining that noble objective for which the South African people and the entire international community are mobilized.

"In the Middle East, the situation continues to worsen. The heroic resistance of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories testifies to the fact that acquisition of the territory of others by force is inadmissible, and that the question of Palestine lies at the very root of the Israeli-Arab conflict. The declaration of the independent State of Palestine, the support of the Casablanca Extraordinary Summit of the Arab League for the decisions of the Palestine National Council in Algiers, and the dialogue between the United States and the Palestine Liberation Organization are all elements conducive to the convening of an International Peace Conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations, with the participation of the five permanent members of the Security Council and all parties to the conflict, in particular the Palestine Liberation Organization. Peace will be restored in the Middle East only with the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, the restoration of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including their rights to create an independent State of Palestine, and the right of all States in the region to

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live in security within recognized boundaries guaranteed on the basis of peaceful coexistence.

"In Lebanon, the fire of discord and disintegration is being stirred up by the intervention of foreign armed forces. It is essential that the relevant resolutions of the Security Council be implemented, and that all foreign troops withdraw so as to enable the Lebanese people to regain peace and national unity, and the Lebanese State to recover its territorial integrity and full sovereignty by deploying its legitimate forces throughout the country.

"More than a year after the cessation of hostilities, the conflict between Iran and Iraq is not yet resolved. It is our earnest hope that the efforts of the two parties to pursue direct negotiations under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary-General, in the framework of Security Council resolution 598 (1987), will result rapidly in a comprehensive, just and durable solution to the conflict. That would bring about a major contribution to the extinction of a hotbed of tension in the Middle East.

"In Central America, a just and lasting peace has so far failed to be restored. Nevertheless, there is no other way to achieve this goal than the measures taken by the Contadora Group, the Support Group, and the Esquipulas II Agreements. It is in this spirit that we reiterate our support for the diplomatic efforts and regional negotiations conducted on the basis of the principles that have inspired these measures and agreements, in particular the Tela Declaration of the five Central American States on 7 August 1988.

"In Asia, our continent, efforts to reunify Korea have not yet yielded much progress despite the sacred and unanimous wish of the entire Korean people. It is important that the meetings and talks at all levels, in all

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fields between the two Korean parties, be expanded in conformity with the wise, realistic and patriotic proposals of President Kim Il Sung. It is undeniable that steadfast efforts are necessary for building up and developing reciprocal confidence and understanding that are indispensable to a sustained process towards a peaceful and independent reunification of the Korean fatherland.

"In Afghanistan, because the withdrawal of Soviet troops has not put an end to the war, the Afghan people continue to be deprived of their right to self-determination. In order to restore peace to this country, one should not forget that war was triggered by the Soviet invasion and that the Kabul régime has lost all legitimacy because it opened up the country to that invasion, and that its present leaders have been installed by the invaders. The arguments according to which Pakistan is ostensibly responsible for the pursuit of the war can mislead no one because one hardly perceives what pleasure Pakistan could take in prolonging the burden of more than 3 million Afghan refugees to whom it has to give shelter on its territory for nearly 10 years now. Pakistan and its people should be congratulated and admired for their tireless humanitarian action in favour of these Afghan refugees. The settlement of the problem of Afghanistan lies in the steps to be taken in order to enable the Afghan people once again to become the masters of their own destiny and to choose their own leaders without any foreign intervention or pressure. The international community has the sacred right and duty to support the just and legitimate struggle of the Afghan people to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination.

"The encouraging developments that we have seen in some parts of the world do lead us, indeed, to a moderate optimism, but we must also be

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vigilant. Indeed, during the last two years we have seen that those who are prompted by colonialist and expansionist designs have changed their tactics but not their strategy. The case of my country, Cambodia, is obvious. Viet Nam has not at all abandoned its annexationist designs. It is the struggle waged by the Cambodian National Resistance together with the entire Cambodian people, world pressure, and isolation faced in the international arena, and the catastrophic social, political and economic difficulties at home that have compelled Viet Nam to change its tactics. Viet Nam is desperately trying to achieve its expansionist goals through diplomatic manoeuvres and subterfuges as it has failed to attain them through military efforts. The Cambodian National Resistance, the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, the Cambodian people and I myself, will in no way allow Viet Nam to realize its expansionist dream to the detriment of our beloved Motherland.

"History has taught us that freedom and peace are never granted, but rather acquired through hard-fought, multiform, just and resolute struggle. Our gains obtained during these past years are the results of such a common struggle for peace, justice and freedom-loving countries and people. We are confident that our endeavours in this direction will secure other victories that will help strengthen world peace and security, which constitute the sacred goal of the United Nations Charter and the most noble task with which we all are entrusted."

May I be permitted to express my warm thanks to you and your kind attention to this message of Norodom Sihanouk.

ADDRESS BY MR. EDWARD FENECH ADAMI, PRIME MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC OF MALTA

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear an address by the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Malta.

Mr. Edward Fenech Adami, Prime Minister of the Republic of Malta, was escorted to the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT: I have great pleasure in welcoming the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Malta, Mr. Edward Fenech Adami, and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

Mr. ADAMI (Malta): Happily, the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization provided more than one occasion for a smile of contentment to relieve the more usual grin with clenched teeth induced by realistic surveys of world affairs. Two of these pleasing if small occasions were his congratulating us on a deflationary trend in our rhetoric and on a growth of civility in our exchanges. The proffering of our congratulations to you, Mr. President, on your election to the presidency, and of thanks to your predecessor, as well as to the Secretary-General himself, is part of due courtesy, not of vain rhetoric. Indeed it is possible, as in this case, to make ritual gestures with the greatest sincerity.

The Secretary-General's report allowed us to note, with very great satisfaction, that the performance of the United Nations has improved in substance as well as in form. I do not intend to rehearse either the range of successes achieved or the persistent doldrums afflicting us. I would merely echo the sentiments already expressed by others. In this regard I will echo a statement made here by my predecessor, Mr. George Borq-Olivier, the first Prime Minister of independent Malta - an independence which was achieved only 25 years ago, despite our existence as a nation for thousands of years.

The most critical role in the transformation of the international cacophony of the past into a joyous future symphony appertains to the super-Powers, but no

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orchestra generally functions satisfactorily if it is made up only of trombones and timpani. Some part is usually played by a flute or a piccolo.

If the voice of a micro-State such as ours does have any special claim to be heard in this assembly, it is certainly not because we illude ourselves that smallness of size or antiquity of national origin dowers us with some sort of superior Olympian wisdom. It is rather that our mini-stature does tend to make our self-interest more nearly coincide with the global interest. A diminutive physique does not go as a rule with an enormous appetite for self-aggrandizement but rather with a point of view that is singularly alert to the prospects and problems of the survival of all in a danger-filled environment. It is very precisely in that perspective that I speak here today.

Let me explain what has prompted me to begin with this reminder. Of the specific issues with which my country has mostly keenly involved itself - from the care of the elderly to the need to curtail the traffic in armaments - from the very first years of our presence here, there is probably none with which the name of Malta has come to be more intimately associated than that of the common management of extraterritorial spaces.

I am using this term deliberately. I am doing so because unfortunately the concept which we introduced and which has been incorporated as a foundation-stone in the law of the sea Convention and used in many other United Nations-sponsored treaties, charters, declarations and other juridical and policy instruments - the common heritage of mankind - continues to be misunderstood. It is not however misunderstood by the Secretary-General, and its essence is very accurately captured in the phrase he uses in his report where he refers to "common management ... reflecting a community of interest among Member States".

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Precisely this identification of "a community of interest" among all nations, developing and developed - for the benefit of all, rich as well as poor, whatever the nature of their ideology as well as their geography - was the motive force that moved us.

The areas of coincidence between the interests of all categories of States were our target. Ours was not a move in a rush or onset by the hungry to gobble down sundry goods spread out on somebody else's table. On the contrary our starting point was the existence of goods which had two characteristics: in the first place, they were not on anybody's table; they lay still unexplored and unexploited beyond the limits of national jurisdiction; they were the resources of extraterritorial spaces; and, secondly, their nature and location implied that they could not be rationally managed on the basis of legal régimes conceived in terms of the conventional notions of "property" and of "sovereignty" with the absolutist connotations they have acquired in the modern age.

Our idea was that the common heritage of mankind should not be considered as the property of, or as subject to, the sovereignty of anybody - not of the United Nations any more than of any individual country, not of the human collectivity any more than of any smaller human entity, not at any rate in any sense in which the owner or the sovereign can do with it as it pleases him.

Quite different and novel rules of management had to be devised. The Law of the Sea constitutes of course a major, however imperfect, step in that direction. It contains recognition that the vastness of extraterritorial space is not so unlimited that human activity cannot cause irreparable damage to it. Even more serious dangers lurk in other extraterritorial spaces where the measures so far taken have been more fragmentary. Consequently I am urging the Assembly to take a fresh look at the whole matter not in the conceptual framework of the debates about property and sovereignty which were comprehensible in the world of the past but in

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the new situation produced by the development of man's scientific and technological activities. What is at stake is not at all competition between East and West, or even primarily between North and South, but the victory of order over chaos, of survival over planetary destruction.

My Government is convinced that there can be no true development without an environment which will permit mankind to live a life of dignity and well-being.

Furthermore, new technologies, population growth and the human urge to develop have brought about new, serious threats to the delicate ecological balance of our globe. Indeed we believe that certain of these threats risk causing irreparable damage, thereby endangering the very existence of life on Earth.

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Urgent action is needed to save our planet. The new environmental problems call for innovative solutions to be devised. That is why we actively supported the initiative taken by France, the Netherlands and Norway, which led to the Hague Declaration on the atmosphere and climate change, signed last March.

Malta is raising its environmental concerns in every forum. It will be recalled that Malta's initiative to protect the global climate led to resolution 43/53, which was unanimously adopted, entitled "Protection of global climate for present and future generations of mankind", which characterized climate change as the common concern of mankind.

The resolution sets out what is essentially a plan of action to counter the growing problem of adverse climate change. We are satisfied with the progress which is being made in the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, established by the World Meteorological Organization and the United Nations Environment Programme. We are convinced that if any proposed remedies are to be effected they have to take into account the economies of developing States.

Those States which have already developed and polluted cannot now expect other States to stultify their own growth. This has to be the basis of any international convention on climate, if it is to enjoy widespread and general acceptance.

Malta has also actively participated in the Commonwealth Group of Experts on Climate Change, and it looks forward to the outcome of the discussion of the subject at the October meeting of the Commonwealth Heads of Government, to be held in Malaysia.

A new proposal which we are putting forward for active consideration at this forty-fourth session, and which I am pleased to announce has been accepted by the Assembly's General Committee, as agenda item 82 (j), is the protection of the environment of extraterritorial spaces. In this respect we are suggesting that

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as a first step a group of eminent persons be invited to prepare a study, possibly in time for consideration at the 1992 United Nations conference on environment and development.

The group's first effort could be an attempt to identify and specify the extraterritorial spaces and to examine which human activities are causing unreasonable damage to the environmental integrity of such spaces. Clearly, its task will be formidable, for, while it is important not to regulate too late, it is not desirable to seek to regulate non-existent activities. Likewise, it may avoid unnecessary complexity by not seeking to tackle the common heritage as a whole, but restricting the immediate area of attention to extraterritorial spaces. Besides the high seas and the international sea-bed area, the superjacent airspace, certain parts of the atmosphere and outer space, as well as such other more controversial areas as may be determined, will have to be evaluated from the point of view of their environmental state.

Recommendations could then be made regarding the rights and duties of States and of the international community and the revised or new legal instruments needed, at least for catastrophe avoidance. The group's report could serve at least as a preliminary basis on which our thinking could be realistically built in view of the new global requirements of present and future generations.

So far I have been seeking to take account of the fact that it is not only
"the problems of ocean space"

that

"are closely interrelated and need to be considered as a whole",
as the preamble to the Convention on the Law of the Sea says. It is all the parts of our small planet, which are closely bound together in a single web.

(Mr. Adami, Malta)

Nevertheless, the Convention and its sober consolidation open up the possibility of turning ocean space into a real laboratory in the service of true development, with respect for the environment, which could be exemplary for other areas and, indeed, a foundation for the whole.

For that reason, I wish to develop further the two main suggestions which I made in this regard when I last had the privilege of addressing the General Assembly, and to clarify the essential thrust of both. Their common pivot is the need to associate, in the governance of the institutions suited for ocean affairs and their analogues in other multiple-use domains, representatives of the whole cast of very varied actors who operate in the sea, instead of merely the representatives of States.

Consequently, my first suggestion was the establishment of a global forum on ocean affairs, where the representatives of States could meet and interact with those of all the specialized agencies of the United Nations system and of other intergovernmental and non-governmental, scientific, commercial, environmental and other organizations with an active and participative stake in the management of ocean affairs in an integrated manner.

My second suggestion, also intended to facilitate the bringing into play of the potentialities of network building, was the systematic strengthening of regional institutions as an intermediate level, meshing the national and the global.

Several notable efforts have been made, and are still being made, in that direction by the United Nations and its agencies. But there is still a central void - that of means by which all the key actors in a sphere of activities can be brought together.

Unfortunately, the all-too-often unharmonized operations of the different parts of national Governments themselves in the marine sphere are at present

(Mr. Adami, Malta)

reflected at the international level, and, for instance, the establishment of large exclusive economic zones in terms of the law of the sea Convention requires integrated management systems, which it is difficult to set up by the unaided efforts of many an individual State.

The extension of national jurisdiction necessitates more, not less, international co-operation. Indeed, there are many articles in the Convention itself which prescribe co-operation with coastal States by the competent international authorities - meaning, in most cases, United Nations agencies.

My suggestion in this regard is, therefore, that regional commissions for ocean affairs be set up. They should have a very mixed membership. There should not be meetings of representatives only of ministries of foreign affairs, or only of environment or transport ministries, or only of international organizations, or other entities of one kind only. All of the following should be there: the national focal points or other co-ordinating centres of national marine activities, if they exist, as they should; the regional officers of the specialized United Nations agencies; and other bodies, both intergovernmental and governmental.

Moreover, the commissions should directly involve at all stages of their work the major ocean users from all countries affected by regional decisions. Experience has shown that the contributions of the actual users of resources usually prove extremely valuable to prevent political obstacles from blocking the progress of regional planning, or to circumvent them. The characteristic input of actual users is to anticipate such problems before they become frustrating and to devise procedures for their avoidance. Their participation is vital to the commissions' fulfilment of their role.

(Mr. Adami, Malta)

That role is essentially one of rationalization. Consequently, the cost should not be heavy. No new large bureaucracies are needed, because all of the elements of the system are already in existence. There is only a need for them to be catalyzed.

I have dwelt on this point at some length not merely for its own sake but also as an illustration of the new style of international governance that seems to be called for at the present juncture in world affairs. Similar organizational models can be envisaged in other spheres of activity, such as labour relations. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) is, of course, a very striking instance of an early structure involving State and non-State organizations as an essential aspect of the functioning of its system.

A fundamental point of thrust for the regional commissions for ocean affairs should be the development of technological capability. It is clearly in the fields of scientific research and technological capability that investment by funding agencies, national and international, is most inadequate and yet, over the years, most likely to yield the most enduring contribution to human betterment.

Two years ago I mentioned here that in fulfilment of articles 276 and 277 of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea Malta had proposed the setting up of a Mediterranean regional centre for the development of marine technology. We envisaged that through it enterprises, both public and private, and organizations, both national and international, would be involved in the financing of projects judged to be of general benefit. We also expected that it would be a pilot undertaking to be followed in other regions, one reciprocally beneficial to both the developed and the developing countries of the region.

I am happy to report that with the direct support of the Secretary-General and his excellent collaborators the proposal has been pursued, especially through the

(Mr. Adami, Malta)

United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), and that it has found the support of several Mediterranean countries. I would like to stress again that, far from seeking to rival or compete with any other existing institutions, particularly European ones, the centre would complement and enhance their activities with advantages to all. I am therefore confident that the centre will emerge as a model of North-South - and particularly of Euro-African-Asian - co-operation in the one area of the world where the three continents meet around the "Middle Sea", at the very centre of which my country is placed.

I have, as I said I would at the beginning, concentrated on only a few topics so that they stand out in a sharper focus. To some extent this is more possible today because the atmosphere in international relations is improving so much that we have an opportunity to take a broader look and to identify other global dangers, in particular those that threaten the environment and the economic system.

That does not mean that we are insensitive to a number of disputes that linger on, defying solution and spreading misery to the peoples involved. Many speakers more directly involved in those questions have drawn our attention to their plight. The greatest service we can do for those people is to act, each of us as best we can, so as to encourage real dialogue and so as not to aid and abet those who feel that force or intransigence pay better dividends.

Casting a glance at our region, we feel disappointed that the hopes we had entertained about a solution to the Cyprus problem have received a setback. As an island State in the Mediterranean we cannot but be concerned about the situation in Cyprus, one which, despite the efforts of the Secretary-General and the goodwill the Government of Cyprus has shown, does not seem to be improving as we had all hoped a year ago. We make a strong appeal to all parties directly or indirectly concerned not to miss any opportunity to bring to an end a tragedy that has not

(Mr. Adami, Malta)

brought any benefit to those who sought, rather mistakenly, to find a solution to their problems through division. If we all, without exception, send a clear message that we do not countenance division in that island nation, the parties directly concerned will not fail to extend the hand of co-operation to the Secretary-General and to each other.

The tragedy of Lebanon is a blot on our civilization and on our times. I had occasion to speak in strong terms on this conflict earlier this month at the summit meeting of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries at Belgrade. Since then a ray of hope has appeared with the acceptance of the Arab League initiative. Let us not be lulled into any false complacency. The peoples and Governments of the area have been presented with an opportunity, but far more strenuous efforts are required to translate that opportunity into a genuine and lasting peace.

A genuine peace in the area can be lasting only when all the peoples living there can exercise their sovereignty in full freedom within accepted and secure borders - and the peoples of the area include the peoples of Israel and Palestine. We encourage the Secretary-General and all others who have taken positive initiatives to persevere in their efforts to bring the day of peace and justice in the area much nearer. The world has been impressed by the responsible and positive attitude taken by the representatives of the Palestinian people to realize their inalienable rights through a political solution, as repeatedly expressed in the United Nations. Their outstretched hand should not be ignored. The peace of the Israeli and Palestinian peoples, and peace in the entire region and perhaps even in the entire world, demands a reciprocal move from the other side. We commend and support all constructive efforts being made to assist the process, and we wish to express our appreciation for the leadership exercised by President Mubarak in this regard.

(Mr. Adami, Malta)

In the other almost traditional areas of conflict that are reflected in our deliberations we have seen over the past year significant, though perhaps hesitant, steps forward. The promise of a solution is there in Central America, in the Sahara, in Namibia, in the Gulf, in Afghanistan and in South-East Asia. Having come this far, why should we betray the hopes of our peoples? Dare we hope that even in South Africa apartheid will be seen by all for the evil that it is and that it will be replaced by a system that gives due dignity to man and woman irrespective of colour or race?

The aspiration to realize the unity and solidarity of the human race is precisely what inspired the concrete proposals Malta put forward about the common heritage and common concerns of mankind in the oceans, the atmosphere and other extraterritorial spaces. That aspiration is to be pursued not only in political forums, such as the Assembly, but throughout the educational systems of all countries. We are pleased that the new International Maritime Law Institute in Malta, constituted and run by the International Maritime Organization (IMO), is to start receiving students from developing countries this October. It will undoubtedly increase the skills of those who are committed to the search for international solutions that go against the interest of no State but that serve to enhance the common good of all the members of the human race.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Malta for the important statement he has just made.

Mr. Edward Fenech Adami, Prime Minister of the Republic of Malta, was escorted from the rostrum.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. HORN (Hungary) (interpretation from Russian): I should like to extend to you my sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of the United Nations General Assembly at its forty-fourth session.

At this session the General Assembly is beginning its deliberations in favourable international circumstances. The processes that exerted a positive influence on the atmosphere of the forty-third session have become increasingly decisive in world politics. The development of a qualitatively new relationship between the Soviet Union and the United States is of outstanding importance in this regard. In addition, relations between East and West are developing and dialogues between countries are becoming more substantive. The world is witnessing the beginning of a new era in which the "enemy" image based on "cold war" stereotypes is fading away, with confrontation giving way to an interest in guaranteeing the security of the other side, and with isolationism being replaced by a desire for co-operation based on partnership. There is a growing realization that the use or threat of the use of force cannot be a tool of foreign policy and that problems must be solved through negotiation, by political means.*

The positive changes taking place in world politics are making it possible, and the new social, economic and ecological challenges are making it necessary, for the United Nations to assume a more active role in, and to take more initiatives for, the maintenance of international peace and security and the prevention and solution of regional and global problems and conflicts. There is increasing evidence that the world Organization is becoming an international centre for accommodating divergent interests and organizing joint action. In this respect, we

*Mr. Lohia (Papua New Guinea), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Horn, Hungary)

believe that in order to ensure that the United Nations shall be truly universal we should make it possible for all States that so wish to join our world Organization. I should like to take this opportunity to express my Government's appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, for his untiring efforts, through which he has done much to enhance the prestige of the United Nations.

The positive changes in East-West relations have had a particularly favourable effect on the situation in Europe, which is of paramount importance for the foreign policy of Hungary. On the threshold of the third millennium, relations of a new type and quality are taking shape on the continent of Europe. As the bloc mentality recedes into the background, there is a growing awareness of an all-European identity and there is a common interest in breaking down the divisions that have persisted now for decades. The final document adopted in Vienna at the latest Follow-up Meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe is the most important CSCE document since the Helsinki Final Act was signed. It has raised the system of European relations to a qualitatively higher level and has set in motion a dynamic, long-term programme of action within national and pan-European frameworks alike.

As a result of the agreements reached at the Vienna meeting, talks have begun on reducing conventional forces in Europe. Also as a result of these agreements, meetings are to be held every year on the human dimension, and these will serve to ensure the continuity of the all-European dialogue on human rights.

We are convinced that the advance of the favourable processes that are unfolding calls for a new type of thinking based on the paramount importance of the interests of humanity as a whole. The realities of our time demand inter-State relations and co-operation, free of ideological prejudice and based on mutual

(Mr. Horn, Hungary)

advantage and interests. Mindful of these criteria, Hungary is prepared to co-operate with all countries of the world on the basis of partnership.

In this more favourable international situation, when political means and solutions are assuming an increasing role in guaranteeing security, disarmament talks and their results are being viewed in a new light. The past year has witnessed well-known and important events relating to disarmament. However, there has been no breakthrough so far, and we must therefore make further serious efforts on the bilateral, regional and multilateral levels.

On the eve of the last decade of the millennium, we have not managed to reduce the nuclear threat significantly. At the same time, the experience gained in implementing the historic Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate and Shorter-Range Nuclear Missiles clearly indicates that real security can indeed be sought through nuclear disarmament.

The Hungarian Government has on many occasions expressed its conviction that a number of substantive disarmament issues - such as for example a comprehensive nuclear test ban, nuclear disarmament, the complete prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons, and the prevention of an arms race in space - cannot only be resolved on a global basis and with the whole-hearted participation of the international community. For this reason, we regret that the results achieved through the multilateral forums on these issues have been so meagre.

In respect of the preparations for the Fourth Review Conference on the Implementation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), we hope that there will be an opportunity to strengthen the Treaty on the international scale and to increase the number of States parties. We favour strengthening the non-proliferation régime and keeping the NPT in force beyond 1995.

The political success of the Paris Conference on chemical weapons has not yet made itself felt in the negotiations that are going on within the framework of the

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Geneva Conference on Disarmament, and there is still no agreement on a number of the essential elements of the future treaty.

In recent years, the Hungarian Government has made several initiatives or taken unilateral steps to try to help speed up the pace of negotiations on the banning of chemical weapons and to promote the early preparation of a draft convention. On behalf of the Hungarian People's Republic, I declare from this rostrum that Hungary is ready to comply with all the provisions of the convention now being drafted and to act in full conformity with it even before it is concluded and enters into force.

(Mr. Horn, Hungary)

That means, inter alia, reaffirming that on Hungarian territory there are neither chemical weapons nor industrial plants capable of producing such weapons and that the production of the Hungarian chemical industry and the trade in chemicals serve exclusively peaceful purposes. In accordance with the envisaged articles of the convention we shall make an itemized declaration, to be renewed on a regular basis, on the production of and foreign trade in chemicals. Even before the conclusion and entry into force of the convention, we are ready to accept verification, including on-site inspection, on a reciprocal basis, regarding all the declared facts and figures, as well as our military, industrial and trading activities relating to the scope of the convention. We consider that the potentialities of the United Nations can be used for this purpose under a procedure to be adopted later.

In agreement with the Government of the Soviet Union, I can also inform the General Assembly that the possibility of verification extends also to the installations of the Soviet army in Hungary.

The unilateral disarmament measures of the Soviet Union and several other Warsaw Treaty member States, including Hungary, created a favourable political atmosphere for the Vienna talks on conventional weapons, which started last spring. We hope that it will be possible to reach agreement at the negotiations as early as 1990.

Hungary is seeking to contribute to the attainment of this objective by its own means, including unilateral measures, such as reductions in its military budget, troop strength and military equipment. In the course of talks we have released, in the spirit of greater military openness and on a unilateral basis, data on the structure and deployment of our armed forces in order to help resolve problems concerning the exchange of military data.

(Mr. Horn, Hungary)

Also falling within this framework is the regional security policy initiative for the establishment of a 100-kilometre-wide contiguous zone of security, confidence-building and co-operation, partially free of offensive weapons, along the common borders of Hungary, Austria and Yugoslavia, for the purpose of developing economic and trade relations, preserving the natural environment and deepening comprehensive co-operation in the human dimension.

The open-skies initiative likewise deserves attention as it is aimed at lessening tensions, building confidence and promoting verification of disarmament measures, including future agreements on conventional forces in Europe. We believe it would be useful to start consultations with the participation of interested countries to explore the details of the proposal. Such talks at the level of experts could make it possible to find elements of common interest. The Hungarian side is ready for that and expresses its willingness to participate in the preparation of such a co-operative venture.

The elimination and political settlement of regional hotbeds of crisis are significant factors for establishing international peace and security. As a result of efforts undertaken by various countries and the world Organization, solutions to several questions on the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly have been brought within reach. The United Nations has considerably increased its involvement in drawing up frameworks and ensuring technical conditions for the settlement of regional conflicts. The success of the peace-keeping operations of the world Organization is clear evidence that the United Nations is able to measure up to these requirements.

The Hungarian Government welcomes the fact that the deadlock on the independence of Namibia has been broken. The multilateral talks among the States concerned have yielded results and the preparatory stage for the holding of the first free election has begun. Hungary's participation in the fulfilment of the

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monitoring tasks of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) is a modest contribution towards a peaceful settlement of the conflict by political means.

The conditions for a settlement of the Middle East crisis are now more favourable as a result of international efforts made in furtherance of a solution and, not least, because of the flexible shifts in the position as well as the initiatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Arab States. Hungary favours the early convening of the International Peace Conference with the participation of all parties concerned, including the PLO and the State of Israel, for the purpose of reaching a lasting and just settlement. It is our conviction that an open and unbiased approach increases the possibilities for the settlement of the crisis. Our relations with all interested parties are aimed at serving that very purpose.

The operation of the international financial system continues to be burdened with structural malfunctions and with strains resulting from the internal economic imbalances of various countries. The debt crisis has grown more pressing over the years, and international trade is still coping with serious disorders. Consequently, world market mechanisms operate in a distorted form.

Unfortunately, the negative trends of the world economy have prompted some countries and groups of countries to safeguard national interests by protectionist and discriminatory measures rather than by seeking solutions to existing problems on the basis of mutual interests. Such artificial obstacles to international economic co-operation impose added burdens on the countries heavily dependent on co-operation and have a particularly adverse effect on those which, by mobilizing their shrinking internal resources, try to adjust to changing conditions and to catch up with countries that have succeeded in their adjustment efforts.

(Mr. Horn, Hungary)

Adjustment to the increasingly complex world economic conditions is a serious trial for Hungary as well. Our rapidly advancing reforms are aimed at creating an open market economy based on the equality of types of property and at seeking integration into the world economy. For us to succeed in these efforts it is necessary to have a world economic environment based on mutually advantageous relations and on the principle of fulfilment in good faith of contractual obligations. We are firmly committed to being guided in our economic relations not by ideological and political considerations but by ensuring the priority of economic interests.

At present we see possibilities for accommodating national, regional and global interests and objectives in different fields of economic life. We think that the United Nations and its specialized agencies are able to facilitate co-ordination of related endeavours, primarily by exploring possibilities for mutually advantageous co-operation and resolving contradictions and conflicts of interest. The new development strategy for the 1990s, if it proceeds from the real economic situation and sets realistic objectives, will be able to contribute to a more balanced development of the world economy.

(Mr. Horn, Hungary)

My Government welcomes the fact that the question of human rights and fundamental freedoms has become a dynamic element of international security. It is our conviction that human rights are universal values. Consequently, respect for, and protection of, human rights cannot be considered an exclusively internal matter of any State, and enjoyment of them must be independent of the social system of a particular country or the type of alliance to which it belongs. The United Nations Charter, international covenants and other conventions embody the voluntarily assumed obligations of States with respect to human rights and fundamental freedoms. For us, therefore, there can be no Western or Eastern, Northern or Southern human rights.

Today, at the end of the century, we deem it a natural requirement that human rights and fundamental freedoms be accorded equal measures of universal international protection. The obligations of States today imply, on the one hand, that Governments have a responsibility to their own citizens for the observance of these rights and, on the other, that the community of nations can require any country to fulfil such obligations in good faith.

The Hungarian Government is making consistent efforts to bring our national legislation and practice into line with our international obligations. Our insistence on establishing the broadest possible international co-operation for the full implementation of human rights has, likewise, become a marked feature of our policy.

To demonstrate its willingness that there should be international co-operation, and to ensure full compliance with its commitments, Hungary took another important step recently: on 13 September 1989 it officially informed the Secretary-General of the United Nations that it considered itself bound by the individual-complaint mechanism in two additional areas - in respect of the

(Mr. Horn, Hungary)

International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment. By doing so, Hungary has joined those countries that fully accept the competence of all United Nations bodies concerned with human rights in cases of communications from States parties or from individuals.

We have revised our position regarding the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice as well. In the past we did not recognize the jurisdiction of the Court, but currently we are considering the practicability of withdrawing our reservations relating to it. In our latest international treaties no reservations were made regarding the clauses on the jurisdiction of the Court.

A timely task for us is to revise our internal laws and practices in order to resolve the grave problems relating to refugees. As part of this endeavour, Hungary acceded, this year, to the United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, and to its Protocol. It is by applying the provisions of that Convention that we wish to settle the situation of persons seeking refuge in our country. We call for international co-operation aimed not only at alleviating the plight of people leaving their native lands but also at promoting efforts to eliminate the causes of the recent exodus of refugees.

There are still a number of deplorable instances of the violation of the rights of national, racial and religious majorities or minorities. We feel that the time has come for the United Nations to live up to its responsibility and to face the task of creating a new, up-to-date set of international rules which would guarantee the protection of minorities and which could replace the system of conventions on the protection of minorities that used to exist but was terminated owing to political circumstances.

(Mr. Horn, Hungary)

The Hungarian Government is firmly committed to assuming an active role in this work of codification on the basis of the responsibility it feels for the fate of Hungarians dispersed throughout the world or living in the immediate neighbourhood of our country. Our action in this respect is guided by the principle that it is a fundamental human right of everyone and of every community to consider themselves as belonging to such nationality or religion as they wish and to arrange their lives in accordance with their national and religious feelings. This is the path we think should be followed in respect of all individuals and peoples living in the Carpathian basin, in Europe - indeed, in any part of the world.

Hungary is undergoing a period of profound change, transforming its society, politics and economy. Our people, as well as tearing down outdated structures, is engaged in creating institutional frameworks and guarantees for parliamentary democracy based on constitutional order. In this endeavour we proceed from the primacy of international law, from the fact that the obligations assumed by our country as a sovereign and independent member of the international community take precedence over national laws or bilateral and multilateral treaties or agreements that are not in line with our international legal and political obligations.

Concurrently with political changes, equally significant changes are being made in the economy, with the aim of creating an environment in which there will be wide scope for individual and collective, national and foreign initiatives. In recent years our country has done more than was done throughout previous decades to create a State governed by the rule of law. As a result of the steps and measures that have been taken, and those that are envisaged, the reform process in Hungary has made considerable progress.

(Mr. Horn, Hungary)

Consistent implementation of our reforms is of vital national interest. My Government does not believe that a single party or organization would be able, alone, to carry out the reforms or to chart the paths and directions thereof. It wishes to undertake this task in common with all social forces willing to serve the interests of the Hungarian nation. Domestic and international conditions are favourable for this course of action. We are convinced that the success of these reforms transcends the boundaries of the region and is an important element for European stability and that therefore it cannot be a matter of indifference to other countries.

From the point of view of international relations, too, we consider it important that it be clearly recognized and reaffirmed, right now, that there is no exclusive model for any socio-political system and that such systems be judged not by their names but by their performance. Obviously, belonging to the same system of alliance cannot be grounds for military or any other kind of interference by States in the internal affairs of each other. It is for every State to determine independently and in a sovereign way its own destiny and its course of development, and for decisions of that kind every State should bear responsibility to its own people exclusively. This is the only way in which upheavals similar to the Hungarian tragedy of 1956 and other dramatic events can be avoided in the future.

(Mr. Horn, Hungary)

This year, 1989, is the seventy-fifth anniversary of the outbreak of the First World War and the fiftieth of the outbreak of the Second; both wars are referred to in the first paragraph of the preamble to the Charter of the United Nations. The two wars which ignited the entire world started in Europe. Therefore, it is a strategic goal of my Government's foreign policy to work to reduce tension in Europe, end East-West confrontation and the division of the European continent, and create a united Europe on the basis of the Helsinki principles. We are striving to ensure that walls - both symbolic and real - separating peoples be removed as soon as possible and that a common European home be built in which the free movement of individuals, ideas and goods, as well as the preservation of the values of our civilization, will be taken for granted and ensured by guarantees.

In conclusion, I wish the General Assembly of our world Organization a successful forty-fourth session.

Mr. WAKIL (Afghanistan) (spoke in Dari; English text furnished by the delegation): It gives me pleasure at the very outset to convey to Major-General Garba my sincere congratulations on his election to the prestigious position of President of this world body at its forty-fourth session. His election is a tribute both to his country, Nigeria, which has demonstrated its unflinching loyalty to the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter, and to his own vast ability, skill and experience.

Let me also pay a tribute to his predecessor, His Excellency Mr. Dante Caputo of Argentina, for his outstanding record at the helm of the General Assembly at its forty-third session.

I should like also to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his relentless efforts to enhance the role of the Organization in the maintenance of international peace and security and the

(Mr. Wakil, Afghanistan)

solution of global problems. We urge that his role in finding peaceful, comprehensive solutions to regional problems receive full support from the Security Council and the General Assembly.

Today's world, fortunately, is marked by a general relaxation of tension in international relations and improved prospects for finding peaceful and lasting solutions to global and regional problems. New vistas of co-operation on the multilateral, regional and bilateral levels have been opened, facilitating the solution of common-security, political, economic and environmental problems that have plagued our world. Mutual relations between the United States and the Soviet Union are improving, and confrontation between the two has eased considerably. Progress has been made also in negotiations on the reduction or elimination of various types of nuclear, chemical and conventional weapons, while the destruction of at least one category of nuclear weapons is already under way.

The need for speedy solution of regional problems has been universally acknowledged, although the process of achieving this has been painfully slow. Peoples in various parts of the world, including our own region, are still the victims of senseless wars and destruction because old policies based on confrontation have not been abandoned in the interest of regional peace and harmony.

In the Middle East, we condemn the continued Israeli occupation of Palestinian and other Arab lands, including Jerusalem and the Syrian Golan Heights, and Israel's iron-fist policy against the heroic Palestinian intifadah. The convening of an international conference with the full participation of all parties concerned, including the State of Palestine, on an equal footing, remains the only possible avenue for resolving the Middle East conflict.

The Republic of Afghanistan welcomes the cessation of war and the commencement of talks between Iran and Iraq. We sincerely hope they will find an honourable and lasting solution to all their differences in the near future.

(Mr. Wakil, Afghanistan)

In Cyprus, we welcome meetings between the President and the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community, and we support a peaceful solution achieved through dialogue and based on the independence, territorial integrity and national sovereignty of Cyprus.

We welcome the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea and demand that an end be put to all forms of interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. All efforts should be made to restore peace in the country and to let Kampucheans themselves solve their internal difficulties.

We also support the Korean people's quest for peaceful reunification and national unity through dialogue and reconciliation.

In southern Africa, the continuation of the abhorrent policy of apartheid is the source of great human suffering, destabilization and conflict. We demand the full implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and believe the Secretary-General and the United Nations Transition Assistance Group should be rendered full support so they may supervise a free, democratic and unhindered election and the achievement of full independence for Namibia.

We welcome the high-level meeting between Morocco and the POLISARIO Front, and support the efforts of the Secretary-General and the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity towards the holding of a fair referendum without administrative or military constraints.

We support the accord reached among five Central American countries on putting an end to war and destruction in Nicaragua and hope for its unhindered implementation.

It is also our hope that the question of the Malvinas may be promptly resolved on the basis of General Assembly resolutions, eliminating the differences between Argentina and the United Kingdom.

(Mr. Wakil, Afghanistan)

The disparities in economic development between developed and developing countries is deepening constantly, while the economic and social situation in most developing countries continues to deteriorate further. The plight of the least developed countries has reached a particularly distressing level because the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries has not been implemented. Growth and development in developing countries continue to be mostly stagnant or to register negative rates. Commodity prices remain low and terms of trade are worsening, and protectionist measures on the part of developed countries have been on the increase. The problem of debt and debt servicing has become unbearable for developing countries, resulting in a net flow of financial resources from developing to developed countries.

We welcome the convening in April 1990 of a special session of the General Assembly and hope the fourth United Nations Development Decade will reverse the adverse trends experienced during the Third Decade.

It is also our earnest hope that the Second United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, scheduled for 1990 in Paris, will adopt adequate measures for implementing General Assembly resolutions on acceleration of the development process in the least developed countries in the 1990s.

(Mr. Wakil, Afghanistan)

Despite our sincere wishes and concerted efforts, and contrary to the general trend of improvement in the international climate, the situation in our region remains far from satisfactory. If anything, it has deteriorated further. Aggression against Afghanistan and interference and intervention in its internal affairs have acquired new dimensions. The complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and our sincere compliance with the provisions of the Geneva Agreements notwithstanding, these Agreements have been sabotaged by Pakistan. From 15 February to the end of August 1989, 18 different types of weapons have been put in the hands of extremist groups trained in Pakistan to continue the blood-bath in Afghanistan. These weapons include 250 ground-to-ground rocket launchers, 110 pieces of field artillery and mortars, 120 recoilless artillery, 550 air-defence missile complexes, 2,950 heavy machine-guns, 4,500 manual rocket launchers and 200,000 different types of ground-to-ground rockets.

The number of military training centres for the extremists in Pakistan has now reached 180, marking an increase after the entry into force of the Geneva Agreements. Each week between 30 and 35 armed groups, comprising 1,200 to 1,500 people trained in these centres, are infiltrated into Afghanistan to bring death and destruction. Units from Pakistan's 11th Division are directly participating in the fighting inside Afghanistan. So do mercenary Wahabis from Saudi Arabia, which is also putting generous financial assistance in the hands of the extremists. Similarly, from 15 February to the end of August 1989, a total of 413,102 rockets and heavy artillery shells have rained down on the inhabitants of the cities of Afghanistan. What has been the result? Thousands of civilians killed and thousands more injured. In Kabul alone, 1,383 rockets have claimed the lives of 671 people and injured another 1,014. Recently even the aeroplane used by the representative of the Secretary-General was not spared such rocket attacks. As recently as 22 and 23 September, a total of 40 rockets were fired on Kabul - on the

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eve of the General Assembly - killing 41 people and injuring 59. One of the rockets hit a crowded market-place. This is blind terrorism perpetuated by the interventionist policy of one of the signatories to the Geneva Agreements.

The resort to rocket attacks on cities and the blind and indiscriminate terrorist attacks against civilians testify not to the strength of the extremists but to their weakness. It is the result of crushing defeats of these groups in Jalalabad, Khost, Kandahar and elsewhere in Afghanistan. The heroic armed forces of Afghanistan defending the independence, territorial integrity and national sovereignty of the country, as is their patriotic duty, have dealt these hirelings of the aliens so crushing a blow that they do not dare any more, even with the direct assistance and participation of the Pakistani army, to face the defenders of Afghanistan. The result has been desperate rocket attacks on cities and the indiscriminate murder of innocent men, women and children. These attacks cannot, however, compensate for the moral, political and military bankruptcy of the extremist groups, nor can they revive in the rank and file of the opposition the lost hope of a military victory. Many commanders inside the country have by now realized the need for ending this fratricidal war and restoring peace through national reconciliation.

What Pakistan is continuing against Afghanistan is State terrorism, which has been condemned by the Assembly as well as by the Non-Aligned Movement in a resolution adopted at the Belgrade summit meeting.

If internal problems in a neighbouring country should be taken to constitute a basis for policy towards that neighbour, who can predict what could happen to Pakistan and what its future would be? The Punjabis, Sindis, Pashtoons and Baluchis are all tired of the increasing domination of the Pakistani military. However, these are Pakistani problems and we, as neighbours, do not arrogate to

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ourselves the right to get involved in them. Nor do we believe in creating Governments for others outside their country.

The hope for military victory which was crushed at Jalalabad has been further lost during what was termed the summer fighting season. No new deadline of 12 or 18 months will accomplish through military means what was supposed to happen weeks or even days after 15 February of this year but did not.

But the question is: How many more Afghans have to go down the drain of a senseless fratricidal war for the planners and executors of the war to realize the futility of the military option? How much more must Afghanistan, a least developed country, be destroyed before a military solution is abandoned in favour of a political solution?

The time to bring peace to Afghanistan is now. Every day that passes claims the lives of more of its people and brings more havoc to its economy. The grounds for peace, for reconciliation, for the establishment of a broad-based government exist in Afghanistan. What is required is the abandonment of old policies, of intransigent positions and of disregard for reality.

The path to arrive at peace in Afghanistan is clear. Full and faithful implementation of the Geneva Agreements by the parties and guarantors and the implementation of consensus resolutions of the General Assembly are the most important and basic steps in that direction. Putting an immediate end to interference and intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, as clearly stipulated by the Agreements, can and must play a cardinal role in realizing peace. Pakistan's sincere co-operation with the United Nations Good Offices Mission to Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNGOMAP) can turn it from its present ineffectiveness into one that fully supervises the implementation of all the provisions of the Geneva Agreements.

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So far, the Government of Afghanistan has brought to the notice of UNGOMAP 6,492 cases of flagrant violations of the Geneva Agreements through 827 notes delivered to its headquarters in Kabul. These cases cover violations of every single provision of the Geneva document on non-interference and non-intervention, such as, among other things, the dismantling of bases, refraining from the dispatch of armed groups and the transfer of arms and not committing acts that would undermine the stability of the other high contracting party. None of these violations has been investigated exactly as stipulated in the Geneva Agreements, owing to Pakistan's complete disregard for the accords. The continuation of war, destruction, great human suffering and loss of life in my country is a telling testimony to the complete neglect of all the provisions of the Geneva Agreements by Pakistan. When the flames of war, aggression and intervention are still increasingly swallowing up lives and properties of the people of Afghanistan, any claim that the Geneva Agreements' provisions on non-interference and non-intervention are being implemented can obviously not be taken seriously.

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The people of Afghanistan and the international community are beginning to question the sincerity and good will of Pakistan in signing the Geneva Agreements, as well as the actual observance and supervision of their implementation.

The statement made at the opening of the general debate by the President of the United States of America, Mr. George Bush, and his words on the need to work together in the framework of the United Nations to bring peace to those who have fallen victim to regional conflicts are encouraging. A positive change in United States policy, from putting the means of war and destruction in the hands of extremists to assisting and contributing to the peace process in Afghanistan, would play a significant role in putting those words into effect.

War cannot accomplish any policy goals and the so-called interim government, illegally established by Islamabad, cannot gain even a grain of legitimacy. The situation has already disintegrated into infighting and armed clashes inside Afghanistan. The policy of supplying them with huge quantities of advanced weapons cannot serve the United States interest in the region, while in the long run the continuation of war, destruction and human suffering in Afghanistan will further damage its standing among the Afghan people. Peaceful ways of arriving at policy objectives are certainly there and must be sought.

The situation in Afghanistan has changed since 15 February 1989. The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan has abandoned the monopoly on power. Therefore, the continuation of previous policies by the United States Administration is not realistic. This has been reflected in the United States mass media and also in the United States Congress. We are ready to welcome in Kabul a special envoy of the United States Administration for a fact-finding mission and an exchange of views. We believe that such a trip would allow the United States to get first-hand knowledge of the present reality in Afghan society and of our goodwill in regard to

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restoring peace and for a democratic system based on political pluralism and a free economy.

As is the case in most other parts of the world, in our region too the traffic in arms and narcotics go hand in hand. The involvement of Afghan extremist groups in the production and smuggling of drugs during the past 10 years has brought about a very dangerous situation. The Republic of Afghanistan stands ready fully to co-operate in eradicating this serious problem.

We welcome the positive and realistic trends in the policy of our neighbour to the west, the Islamic Republic of Iran. From the great country of China, another neighbour of Afghanistan, we expect a more positive contribution to the restoration of peace in our country. We, on our part, are ready to have normal, friendly relations with all the countries of the world, particularly our neighbours.

The question of the safe, voluntary and honourable return of Afghan refugees requires urgent attention. Those who perpetuate the war in Afghanistan must not cite the continuation of the war as a pretext for their policy of hindering the return of the refugees. While we express our gratitude to all these countries, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other organizations and agencies for having provided for our Afghan brothers while they were refugees, we believe the time has come for such assistance to be geared towards their repatriation to their homeland and reintegration in the life of their country. We urge Pakistan to co-operate in the establishment of mixed commissions. The establishment of these commissions, which according to the Geneva Agreements should have occurred immediately after the entry into force of the Agreements 16 months ago, is long overdue.

The reconstruction of Afghanistan requires urgent international, governmental and non-governmental assistance. Unfortunately, however, a number of countries have refrained from putting at the disposal of the United Nations Co-ordinator for

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Economic and Humanitarian Assistance to Afghanistan the assistance they have already pledged. Assistance to the people of Afghanistan should not fall victim to political considerations.

As regards the internal aspect of the difficulties of Afghanistan, our stand has been set forth on several occasions, most recently by the President of the Republic, Mr. Najibullah, in his address to the Ninth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in Belgrade. Allow me to reiterate briefly the main contents of the position of the Republic of Afghanistan.

We believe that dialogue should start among all Afghan political forces inside and outside Afghanistan aimed at holding a nation-wide peace conference with the participation of all forces concerned. The conference should agree on a leadership council and declare a six-month-long cease-fire. During that period the leadership council should establish a broad-based coalition government and create a commission to draft a new Constitution and the law on general elections for its approval. Following the adoption of the new Constitution and the law on elections by a traditional Loya Jirgah called by the leadership council, general elections through direct, secret ballot should be held. A new government formed by one or more political parties enjoying a majority shall govern the country in accordance with the new Constitution. We stand ready for the supervision of the general elections by an international commission.

The Republic of Afghanistan believes that a peaceful political solution must be comprehensive and just, and one in which all political forces must participate. Leaving any political force, including the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan out of the coalition, not only will not solve the problem but will create serious obstacles. The level of participation in the State structure should be subject to negotiation, but participation itself should not. Peace in Afghanistan must come

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through rational concessions accepted by all. These concessions should be aimed at eradicating all the grounds for conflict and war and not at sowing the seeds of yet another war.

It is an open secret that a great number of commanders have boycotted the leadership of organizations based in Pakistan, realizing their servitude to the enemies of our homeland. A number of commanders have opened talks with the State and they are observing cease-fires in areas under their control. Contacts with others are continuing and, sooner rather than later, past negative feelings and mistrust will give way to friendship, brotherhood and unity.

The leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan has faith in armed opposition commanders because it is they who will bring the blessings of life and tranquillity to the people in the areas under their control. Similarly, the leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan will continue its policy of national reconciliation despite the irrational position adopted at present by the leaders of extremist organizations based in Pakistan. For us, the national interests of Afghanistan and the restoration of peace in our country are above any group, tribal, ethnic, political, party or ideological interests.

The external aspects of the situation around Afghanistan could best be resolved by convening an international conference with the participation of Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran, India, China, the United States, the Soviet Union and the Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. The conference, which at the outset would agree on putting an end to the delivery of weapons to all factions in Afghanistan, should guarantee Afghanistan's permanently neutral and demilitarized status, which would be enshrined in the new Constitution.

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Because of Pakistani aggression, interference and intervention, the Republic of Afghanistan came before the Security Council in April this year. Except for a very few delegations, the overwhelming majority of countries which participated in the debate supported a political solution and the need for the implementation of the Geneva Agreements. If armed intervention and violation of the Agreements continue, Afghanistan will have no choice but to come before the Security Council once again.

In conclusion, Mr. President, let me reiterate our conviction that by renewing our faith in the principles and goals of the United Nations Charter, we together, under your leadership, can contribute significantly through our deliberations and decisions in this Assembly, to the establishment of a better, safer and more orderly world for all of us to live in. My delegation stands ready to co-operate with you in reaching this goal.*

Mr. OUKO (Kenya): My President, Mr. Daniel Arap Moi, has directed me to convey to you, Mr. President, his best wishes for a successful forty-fourth session of the General Assembly. I should also like to congratulate you on your election to the presidency of this body. Africa is proud to see one of her illustrious sons occupy this lofty chair. You can, Sir, count on my delegation's full co-operation in the discharge of your duties in directing the affairs of the Assembly.

I should also like to convey to your predecessor, Mr. Dante Caputo, former Foreign Minister of Argentina, my delegation's sincere appreciation for the exemplary manner in which he presided over and guided the affairs of this Organization during its forty-third session.

* The President returned to the Chair.

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The international political scene continues to undergo encouraging and positive developments in the search for solutions to regional and global problems. The past few years have witnessed previously inconceivable progress in long-standing disputes and conflicts and much of this progress has been the result of a renewed optimism and faith in the relevance and role of the United Nations. This Organization, whose fundamental principle is the maintenance of international peace and security, has consistently striven to demonstrate the superiority of negotiations and mediation over confrontation in the conduct of international relations. The increasing success in global acceptance of this process is in no small measure due to the effective and outstanding leadership of the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, and I express my delegation's sincere appreciation of his untiring efforts in promoting the objectives of the United Nations.

The important contributions this Organization made towards resolving regional conflicts in 1988 have been further expanded in 1989 to include the independence process for Namibia. Similarly, there are encouraging signs that the United Nations will be required to play a pivotal role in the resolution of the Kampuchean problem and the crises in Central America. Those heavy responsibilities cannot be effectively carried out without the full support of all members of the international community. Kenya wishes to put on record its total support for all United Nations efforts aimed at securing international peace. We urge all Members of this body to extend similar support and to work towards a better world in which human suffering can be alleviated and wanton waste of resources avoided.

Kenya fully supports and highly commends the Secretary-General and his staff for their exemplary work in the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) on Namibia, but we are gravely concerned at South Africa's continued

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refusal to abide by the spirit and letter of that resolution. The presence of the brutal counter-insurgency Koevoet forces, in Namibia was maintained long past the deadline for their disbandment, and the laws and proclamations relating to the electoral process and the Constituent Assembly were drafted in terms that were incomprehensible even to the educated élite. The laws as drafted then were to facilitate the continued rule of Namibia by South Africa. The racist régime in South Africa, to use the words of President Bush, "failed to see the love of freedom that was written in the human heart". (A/44/PV.4, p. 52)

We hope that the amended laws to be published soon will make possible free and fair elections in November. Thus Kenya urgently calls on the international community to put pressure on South Africa to abide fully with resolution 435 (1978) in order to avoid a situation where the elections lead to more chaos and suffering rather than the peace we so dearly desire.

With regard to the situation in South Africa itself, we are hopeful that the change in leadership will not be merely a change in persons. We in Kenya expect the new leadership to take truly positive and progressive steps towards a humane society in which all peoples, regardless of race, can live in harmony. However, until that time, we remain gravely concerned that, despite repeated calls for change, the racist Pretoria régime has continued to enforce its abhorrent system of apartheid and has continued to deny its black majority population its inalienable right to self-determination. We demand the immediate release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, the lifting of the State of Emergency, an end to the brutalization of the black population, including innocent children, the ungagging of the press and the unbanning of the African National Congress of South Africa, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and other political organizations. We remain convinced that, unless immediate and effective pressure is applied on Pretoria, peaceful change will not be possible.

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We are equally convinced that the only means at the disposal of the international community to effect positive change is through the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist régime, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. As President Bush told us on Monday here in this Assembly, "freedom, once set in motion, takes on a momentum of its own"; "We must bring peace to the people who have never known its blessings"; "Make no mistake, nothing can stand in the way of freedom's march." (A/44/PV.4)

The odious policies of apartheid are the main source of conflict in the southern Africa region. That poses a serious threat to both regional and international peace and security. Pretoria's persistent acts of aggression and destabilization against front-line and other neighbouring States continue to wreak havoc on their economies while the influx of refugees escaping Pretoria's brutality further strain limited resources available for social development. Kenya urges the international community to provide financial and material assistance to front-line and other neighbouring States in order to assist them in reducing their economic dependence on South Africa, thereby lessening the impact of Pretoria's destabilization.

Encouraging developments in some spheres of international relations only serve to underscore the need to do more in areas where little or no progress has been made. Kenya remains deeply concerned that no positive developments have been recorded regarding the Palestinian question. The world has witnessed a rapid deterioration in the overall condition of the Palestinian people. We are convinced that no just and lasting peace can be achieved in the Middle East until the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people are recognized, including their right to self-determination and to a State of their own, as already proclaimed. We commend their leaders for the positive steps they have taken towards a resolution of the Palestinian question.

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We continue to be distressed at the dangerous escalation of violence in Lebanon, and we urgently call for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Lebanese territory and for an immediate and unconditional cease-fire as advanced recently by the Arab League. We support all efforts of the Arab League to resolve this tragic crisis and call on the entire international community to fully respect Lebanon's territorial integrity and its right to exercise its sovereignty within its internationally recognized boundaries.

Kenya welcomes the positive developments that have been made in the search for a solution to the Kampuchean problem. We welcome Viet Nam's decision to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea by the end of this month, and fully support all efforts undertaken by the countries of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) to arrive at a just and lasting solution to the problem. Similarly, we are heartened by the continued search for a solution to the Cyprus question and also by the regional initiatives undertaken by the Presidents of Central America to achieve a peaceful climate in that subregion.

In the Korean peninsula, we support the admission of the Republic of Korea to the United Nations. We are also encouraged by the renewal of the dialogue and contacts between the two Koreas, with a view to achieving the peaceful reunification of their two countries for the mutual benefit of a 1 Korean people. We wish them the best of luck in working out the modalities for attaining this cherished goal. The Korean problem will be solved only by the Korean people themselves.

In Afghanistan, we note with satisfaction the successful implementation of the Geneva Accords. It is now incumbent upon the Afghan people, however, to settle their internal problems without interference or pressure from any quarter so that peace and tranquillity can return to that country, which has suffered for so long.

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In all these aspects, Kenya firmly remains unswerving in its commitment to the right of all peoples to determine their own future, free of outside interference or pressure.

It is Kenya's belief that disarmament is a moral imperative of the international community, if the basic objective of maintaining international peace and security is to be achieved. The continued accumulation of sophisticated and lethal nuclear and conventional weapons continues to threaten the survival of mankind. But we remain hopeful that the improved relations and intensified bilateral negotiations between the super-Powers as highlighted here by President Bush on Monday will have a positive impact on the global disarmament efforts and lead to the easing of tension in the world as a whole.

As we approach the end of the decade of the 1980s, the world economy continues to cause concern. According to the 1989 World Economic Survey, global economic output grew by the high rate of 4.3 per cent in 1988. World trade increased by an even faster rate of 8.3 per cent, exceeding the rates achieved in the 1970s. But virtually all the benefits of the expansion in world output and trade accrued and continue to accumulate in favour of the industrialized countries. The expectation that the benefits of growth in the world economic output would trickle down and spread to more developing countries has not been realized. Under current trends, prospects for the future point to a deterioration of the situation. What we need is an environment of improved international economic co-operation based on the reality of the growing interdependence among national economies. We believe that this session presents many opportunities for finding ways and means of managing such interdependence. Developing countries must play a more meaningful and beneficial part in the world economic activity and decision-making. The benefit of global growth and expansion must be enjoyed by all the nations of the world.

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As the Economic Survey rightly puts it:

"In a global view, it is an anomaly that the richest country in the world is absorbing a large part of the savings of other countries instead of contributing to the flow of capital to the rest of the world."

It is our hope that during this session we shall make progress in building the basis for the redirection of capital investment flows towards developing countries in the years ahead.

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The debt problem which emerged in almost all developing countries in the early 1980s has now proliferated and become a persistent crisis, halting growth, disrupting social order and increasing the threat to political stability in many developing countries. In spite of endless and strenuous adjustment efforts and debt rescheduling, the prevailing international financial and monetary system has made it virtually impossible for the affected developing countries to cope with the burden. Such decisions as those of the Toronto summit have made little or no impact and need to be strengthened.

Massive net financial resource transfer from the capital-importing developing countries to developed countries has deteriorated, increasing to more than \$32 billion in 1988 as compared to a previous annual range of from \$20 billion to \$25 billion. This has added to the burden of building the needed basic infrastructure set-up, particularly in Africa, to increase the productivity of their economies, including the capabilities for dealing with the harsh external environmental shocks. It is our hope that efforts to deal with these negative transfers will be strengthened.

The problems of debt and net transfer of resources from developing countries to developed countries are tightly linked to the problem facing developing countries in the field of international trade. The most viable and effective strategy to debt solution and revitalizing sustainable growth in developing countries must provide for increased export earnings for developing countries as an important component. Yet the trend in the multilateral trading system is towards increased strains. The ongoing multilateral trade negotiations provide an important opportunity to reverse this trend and to strengthen the system.

The initiative taken by the Group of 77 in calling for a special session of the General Assembly devoted entirely to international economic co-operation, in particular to the revitalization of the economies of developing countries, was

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indeed timely. It will provide an important opportunity for arriving at a consensus on development. Simultaneously, the elaboration and establishment of a new international development strategy for the fourth United Nations development decade should provide measures for securing an improved international economic environment to support the efforts of developing countries.

Africa has faced the most prolonged and serious economic crisis in history. As the Survey clearly and correctly points out:

"Africa's economies remain highly vulnerable to circumstances that are largely beyond their control". (World Economic Survey 1989, E/1989/45, p. 29)

The external constraints on Africa's recovery have become more binding. Africa's external debt rose from \$220.3 billion in 1987 to \$230 billion in 1988. The scheduled debt ratio now amounts to about 40 per cent of export earnings. Overall commodity prices fell by nearly 13 per cent in 1988 while import prices continued to rise. Today Africa is a net exporter of financial resources while new loans are out of reach and tied to rigorous adjustment policy requirements. African economies are dominated by primary goods-producing sectors and characterized by small manufacturing sectors that are overly dependent on imported raw materials and intermediate goods, producing almost entirely for domestic use. Africa's debt-service obligations and stagnant export earnings restrict the imports that are necessary for the revival of investment and the utilization of existing agricultural and manufacturing capabilities. Urgent action is therefore required regarding the Secretary-General's suggestion in his report to this session on the work of the Organization that it is necessary to review the decisions of the Toronto summit aimed at alleviating the debt burden of low-income countries, especially African countries, where the results have so far been disappointing.

Finally, my delegation would like to add its concern to that already expressed by other delegations concerning the degradation of our environment. The

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preservation and the protection of the sanctity of the environment should be the primary responsibility of all nations - big or small, developed or developing, North or South. We in Kenya have the singular honour of hosting the headquarters of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP). Our own President, His Excellency Mr. Daniel arap Moi, has taken a decisive lead in preserving our common heritage, the wildlife, and protecting the environment. As he pointed out in his address to the opening session of the recent UNEP Governing Council:

"... environmental problems are human in origin and global in nature; their solution would therefore require both human intervention and global action and co-operation".

The Committee for Development Planning has noted that environmental damage in affluent societies is a consequence of excessive development and unrestrained demands for even larger goods and services resulting in huge quantities of waste. On the other hand, in the developing countries the most fundamental environmental problems are a consequence of poverty with the ever-increasing struggle for food and energy resulting in the accelerated destruction of forests, the degradation of the soil and the depletion of water resources. Issues of economic development cannot therefore be separated from environmental issues. At our recent meeting in Caracas we, the Group of 77, devoted a lot of time to discussions on the contributions developing countries can make in global co-operation on the environment and development. These contributions, which among other things include the reaffirmation of our commitment to the strengthening of international co-operation for the protection of the environment, demonstrate the importance developing countries have attached to this issue. Kenya has taken significant steps to protect its arable land from soil erosion, by reafforestation, reclaiming marginal land through the use of severely constrained financial resources and raising public awareness of the dangers involved, and mobilizing people through the

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spirit of self-help. We have also done our best to protect our regional marine environment. As the Secretary-General emphasized in his opening statement at the last session of the Economic and Social Council, while the challenges facing us are the responsibility of all countries it is evident that the industrialized countries have the most to contribute not only in mitigating the damage which they are causing to the global environment but also in assisting developing countries. The deliberations during this session on a conference on environment and development present the industrialized countries with great and timely opportunities to demonstrate the political will that is so vital in laying the basis for a successful conference. It is our hope that such a conference will set in motion the desired momentum towards genuine international co-operation on the environment and sustainable development. When that conference comes let us make it an opportunity to assess what we shall have done between now and then to protect our environment rather than an assembly to lament our failure to protect our planet.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.