



General Assembly

PROVIS IONAL

A/44/PV.22  
12 October 1989

ENGLISH

Forty-fourth session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVIS IONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWENTY-SECOND MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Friday, 6 October 1989, at 10 a.m.

<u>President:</u>	Mr. GARBA	(Nigeria)
later:	Mr. ADOUKI (Vice-President)	(Congo)
later:	Mr. GARBA	(Nigeria)
later:	Mr. VRAALSEN (Vice-President)	(Norway)

- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements made by

Mrs. de St. Jorre (Seychelles)  
Mr. Filali (Morocco)  
Mr. Kravets (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic)  
Mr. Al-Eryani (Yemen)  
Mr. Shamuyarira (Zimbabwe)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the Official Records of the General Assembly.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, within one week, to the Chief, Official Records Editing Section, Department of Conference Services, room DC2-750, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

The meeting was called to order at 10.05 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mrs. de ST. JORRE (Seychelles) (interpretation from French): It is a great honour for me to be addressing the Assembly today. It is my pleasant task, Mr. President, to offer you Seychelles' congratulations on your election, which is proof of the confidence all our delegations have in you. In selecting you, the General Assembly of the United Nations is paying a special tribute to Nigeria and, moreover, to Africa. I would also like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his devotion to his task and his tireless efforts in the service of peace and development.

From its beginnings, the United Nations has played an essential role. Without dwelling on the results of its activities, we know that the United Nations has remained the only place where peaceful solutions have been sought ceaselessly. This aspiration and this perseverance alone proves that the United Nations is a symbol of all that is best in the international community. At its inception, the United Nations numbered only 50 States; today, more than 40 years later, that number has more than tripled. Nevertheless, just as it did in the earliest days of its existence, the United Nations needs support; it needs a strengthening of that agreement to co-operate by all the States which share the legitimacy of its ideals. The preamble of its Charter, with the words "We the people of the United Nations ...", calls for just this attitude of mutual understanding.

Because of co-operation by the international community, the world we see before us is one which is completely different from anything humanity experienced 50 and 100 years ago and more. In a world where countries are becoming more and more interdependent with every passing year, all the problems we face become universal ones.

(Mrs. de St. Jorre, Seychelles)

The quest the United Nations has led so arduously under the banner of understanding, détente and negotiation has beyond a doubt galvanized our enthusiasm and our energies towards a more just and balanced world. However, the task is far from complete in the domains of peace and disarmament, indebtedness and famine and the environment and its protection.

(Mrs. de St. Jorre, Seychelles)

We must therefore adopt a positive strategy and as concrete resolutions as possible to meet the dangers which, unfortunately, are more than a mere threat. We can now affirm that what brings us closer together is much greater than what divides us. Over the past year the peoples of the world have made tireless efforts to defend peace and promote development. We can appreciate the positive results achieved through these efforts, and we are aware of the many achievements that have been made possible because of the United Nations. The climate of détente and peace must now be strengthened in all parts of the world, including the Indian Ocean region. It is in this spirit that we wish to express our hopes that military and nuclear arsenals will soon be dismantled. To do this it is imperative that all countries concerned, coastal or non-coastal, make the necessary efforts to bring about an early meeting of the International Conference on the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. We must all contribute to the achievement of the ultimate objective, that is to say, the elimination of nuclear weapons and, ultimately, total disarmament.

All those who have begun to work to this end are to be thanked, as long as their activities are not illusory and the process is genuinely activated. Because what is at stake here is not just ethics or aesthetics but political issues in the noblest sense of the word.

Indeed, how can we conceive of economic recovery on a global scale if it is to be translated into the destruction of the environment, natural resources and ecosystems, which are so fragile? We are quite rightly worried about the damage that is being inflicted more and more upon our planet and, about the threats to our future, whether it be a matter of the global warming, desertification, deforestation, or pollution of the waters or of the atmosphere or the transboundary movements of toxic wastes, the problems of the environment can be solved only at

(Mrs. de St. Jorre, Seychelles)

the world level. That is why considerable progress has been made very quickly in achieving international agreement on these questions in order to protect our planet for future generations, for the truth is that we live in an interdependent world. The problems of the environment in one country have immediate ramifications in neighbouring countries, and ultimately throughout the world. It is a problem common to us all, one that knows no political or ideological frontiers. We must act in concert.

Never has man been so powerful - thanks to scientific and technological advances. Today, it is possible for him to correct the devastating errors of the past; to use his knowledge for the sake of the environment; to try new methods in order to protect what is most precious to us. We must act with determination and translate our good intentions into deeds. We must make concrete proposals and ensure that they are implemented.

To this end, the Seychelles, whose survival depends very largely on its maritime environment, is justifiably worried about the consequences of climatic changes resulting from global ecological imbalance. We cannot remain indifferent to such a phenomenon, particularly since two thirds of our archipelago comprises atolls threatened with submersion if the sea-level continues to rise at its present rate.

We therefore welcome the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer and find it very reassuring that several countries have shown themselves ready to undertake a gradual elimination of destructive substances.

I agree that there can be no immediate response or magic solution to the tragedy of today, the steady worsening of our environment. But we must shoulder our responsibilities and take appropriate action. Here again, commitments and mutual concessions are necessary and they must be brought about at an early date.

(Mrs. de St. Jorre, Seychelles)

History is in constant movement urging humanity to acquire new machinery for its own protection and survival. Machinery already exists for international co-operation, thanks to which a number of important natural sites have been saved from annihilation. I am referring to the Convention on the world heritage. It is within the framework of this Convention that the Republic of Seychelles gave as a gift to humanity one of its islands, Aldabra. Since 19 November 1982, this jewel of nature has been a universal nature and peace conservation site. We believe that within the framework of this Convention, more sites, particularly those of an ecological nature, could be safeguarded and protected for future generations.

Within this context, we support the proposal to levy an international tax on pollution. The revenue thus obtained could be used for the implementation of ecological preservation programmes or programmes for restoring damaged ecosystems. This revenue would also go to finance environmental protection programmes of developing countries, the vast majority of which today are playing a major role in the preservation of our planet. Not only do they receive practically nothing in return, but the effects of the external debt have turned them into net exporters of capital. This new tax would help restore the flow of credit and finance development activities that could improve conditions of life.

There is another environmental problem, one that is even more disastrous and more urgent - that of toxic waste dumped clandestinely on the high seas. Toxic substances have already been dumped secretly in the waters of the south-west part of the Indian Ocean near our coast. For a long time now zones in the south of the Pacific as well as in the Caribbean have been used for this purpose. Now these zones are saturated and the multinationals have endeavoured to find new sites in the developing countries, particularly in Africa, for the dumping of toxic materials. Small island States in particular have little means of countering this problem.

(Mrs. de St. Jorre, Seychelles)

Let me take the case of my own country. Seychelles has a hundred or so islands and an exclusive economic zone of 1 million square kilometres. Members will understand that to patrol this vast territory is neither easy nor indeed possible. On the other hand, we have neither the means nor the necessary resources to exercise our jurisdiction over this vast tract of ocean. Who then can prevent a ship from dumping its toxic waste in our waters or on one of our more remote islands? What kind of action can be taken in such circumstances?

The last summit meeting of the Non-Aligned Countries, held in Belgrade, ended with an appeal to States to adopt effective measures, including conventions and other appropriate juridical instruments, to interdict the dumping of toxic and other dangerous wastes in the territory of third-world countries. It was also proposed that developed countries should adopt strict administrative and legal measures which would prohibit the export of toxic waste to developing countries. My country, in its turn, urges here solidarity and co-operation on the part of the international community to see that these proposals are translated into deeds.

(Mrs. de St. Jorre, Seychelles)

Furthermore, industrialized countries must understand that their energy consumption is the greatest cause of pollution of the biosphere. The use of those kinds of energy sources in developing countries is undesirable. The technologies of the industrialized countries are often either inappropriate or not easily adapted to the social and economic situation of developing countries. Those countries need adapted technologies - non-polluting technologies - as well as appropriate technologies for the preservation and promotion of the environment.

What we want here is not complacency or complicity but rather solidarity, which falls outside any polemical context. We want to re-examine the terms of the problem in favour of man and his environment within the framework of the economic stakes. We must, however, concede that because of our lack of historical vigilance we are witnessing today an alarming world ecological imbalance. We see before our very eyes an ineluctable widening of the gap between the growth of the industrialized world and the economic prospects of the developing countries: national debt, stagnation of aid and investment, a drop in commodity prices, and so forth.

The environment can be protected only if hunger and poverty are eliminated. A world in which poverty is endemic is likely to suffer ecological disasters. Debt-servicing and the drop in commodity prices have obliged many developing countries to over-exploit their natural resources to maintain their export earnings. Debts they cannot pay have led those countries, which depend above all on the export of commodities, to over-exploit their soil, and as a result they have turned arable land into desert. It is essential to find solutions to alleviate the debt burden that represent a more equitable distribution of responsibilities between creditor and debtor countries.

(Mrs. de St. Jorre, Seychelles)

The pursuit of an environmental policy compatible with the objectives of lasting development is practical only within the framework of a rationale economic order, because the present system perpetuates underdevelopment. It constitutes the principal source of pollution. It pollutes through hunger and the exploitation of the weakest.

This is not the time for utopian writings, complete with safaris and coconut trees, nor for chroniclers who write so prettily of the flowers of culture, of poverty. There must be solidarity - it is more than ever necessary - because poverty is not inevitable, nor is it a genetic trait. Such solidarity must be demonstrated above all in the international economy. The poorest countries must benefit in particular from the support of the international community. The flow of financial resources to developing countries must be increased substantially. Multilateral organizations in particular must contribute. Their help is needed more than ever before.

It is therefore indispensable that the financial resources made available to developing countries be adequate to enable them to pursue a sound economic policy, and there must also be respect for the priorities of the beneficiary countries rather than those of the donor countries. We must put an end to the era of ecological negligence if we want to prevent the world from being stripped of its forests and marine life and to avoid the danger of the rising sea level and continuous climatic fluctuations. The sources of the deterioration of the environment must be identified, and strategies requiring lasting action must be adopted.

If those complex problems are to be dealt with, it is imperative that the international community as a whole - including scientists, Governments and non-governmental organizations - take part in the process of eliminating those scourges that impede the harmonious and integrated concerted management of the

(Mrs. de St. Jorre, Seychelles)

world heritage of nature that is our environment. The protection of the environment should be considered an integral part of the development process.

If we wish to promote international co-operation that will be effective in the protection of the environment, we must reach agreement on the concept of lasting development. This concept should include satisfying the fundamental needs of all people, stable economic growth, and, above all accelerated development for the developing countries and an improvement in the quality of life.

In this regard I hope that the 1992 Conference will include on its agenda problems relating to the environment within the context of the new realities of economic and social development. Experts from more than 50 countries are already examining the concrete problems relating to an ecological renaissance. We share the conviction that wisdom demands that we work together intensively and with a genuine commitment to sharing our global responsibilities if we are to preserve the dignity of mankind.

Mr. FILALI (Morocco) (interpretation from Arabic): At the outset, Sir, let me, on behalf of the delegation of the Kingdom of Morocco, extend to you most sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of the Assembly. I am convinced that your experience and the many different responsible posts you have held represent the best possible guarantee for the successful completion of our work. Through your election the Assembly has paid a special tribute to Nigeria, a brother country with which Morocco maintains very friendly ties.

I should also like to express our appreciation to your predecessor for the wisdom with which he guided the work of the forty-third session.

Let me also take this opportunity to express to Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, the Secretary-General of our Organization, our sincere thanks for the efforts he

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

has made towards reducing tensions and strengthening peace and security throughout the world.\*

---

\* Mr. Abouki (Congo), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

The current situation across the globe calls for us to stop and think. Indeed, our world is on the threshold of a new, more promising era, one in which dialogue and understanding would appear to prevail over confrontation.

Within this framework, our Organization, which has come of age, remains an irreplaceable instrument for leading the international community to greater harmony and justice between nations.

It is gratifying that the consolidation of peace is gradually gaining ground nowadays. The conclusion, in December 1987, of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, the beginning of negotiations between the two super-Powers to reduce the numbers of strategic nuclear weapons, and the resumption of negotiations to prohibit underground nuclear testing have, in this connection, marked a decisive turning-point. The latest developments announced last week before the General Assembly by President Bush and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR confirm this trend. None the less the fact remains that the progress made falls short of the progress the international community would wish to see take place in so far as disarmament is concerned. On the other hand, beyond the danger threatening mankind in terms of the existence of enormous means of destruction one must never cease to remind oneself that resources, no less enormous, that are wasted on excessive armament, could certainly be better invested in helping much of humanity to emerge from want and misery.

Morocco has taken cognizance, with full interest, of the proposals made and initiatives launched by various European countries in the context of reducing arms across Europe and the establishment of a climate of confidence among States of that continent, which continues to be the theatre of operation of the two major military alliances.

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

Even its special position reflecting its geo-political situation, Morocco cannot remain indifferent to all that affects peace and security in the Mediterranean, inasmuch as peace in that region is closely linked with peace all over the European continent, as has been emphasized in the numerous resolutions of the General Assembly as well as in the successive declarations issued by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

Given this fact, the Kingdom of Morocco hopes to see concrete steps taken in the near future in the field of disarmament to transform the Mediterranean into a zone of peace, security and co-operation, free from any disputes and confrontations.

We likewise hope that this détente will spur progress at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva and enable it to overcome its present period of stagnation and thereby make it possible for productive negotiations to be held with a view to arriving at those agreements we are impatiently awaiting, including an agreement to ban chemical weapons.

We should have liked to have seen the region of the Middle East benefit in turn from the encouraging climate of détente now evident in international relations in all parts of the world. But we must note that the intransigence shown by Israel and its blocking of all serious initiatives launched by the Arab side, compel us to give up all grounds for optimism.

As the General Assembly will recall the Arab States at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference held at Fez in 1982, adopted a comprehensive Peace Plan, which was received favourably by the international community. The peaceful solution of the problem has been consecrated by the attitude adopted by the Palestine National Council in last November as well as the statements made by the President of the State of Palestine last December before the General Assembly meeting in Geneva. That peaceful approach enjoyed the backing and encouragement of the entire international community.

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

At the special Arab summit held last May in Casablanca to which Morocco played host, the Arab States reaffirmed their adherence to a political solution. They recalled that any settlement must be based on: Israel's total withdrawal from all Palestinian and Arab territories occupied since 1967, including first and foremost the Arab Al-Quds; the restoration of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian Arab people, including their right to return to their homeland, self-determination, and the establishment of their own independent State in Palestine; and the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East with the participation of the five permanent members of the Security Council and all parties to the conflict including the representatives of the State of Palestine, on an equal and independent footing in order to achieve a comprehensive and just solution of the conflict in accordance with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and all the other pertinent United Nations resolutions, as well as the restoration of the national inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and granting security guarantees to all countries of the region, including the State of Palestine.

The summit also decided to support the Palestinian position on the question of the elections so that they could take place after the Israeli withdrawal from occupied Palestinian territories under international control and within the context of a comprehensive peace.

The fact that the intifadah has been going on for almost two years now notwithstanding all the repressive and terrorist means employed by Israel, has highlighted the desperate struggle of the Palestinian people to spare no sacrifice to regain their dignity and defend their homeland.

The time has come for Israel to put an end to its intransigent policy and to respond to the repeated appeals being launched by the international community in

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

favour of holding a peace conference. Morocco firmly believes that the path of dialogue is the only one that can establish peace in that part of the world.

Lebanon, whose very name until recently was synonymous with tolerance and coexistence, is living today an indescribable tragedy. Morocco, which has so many close ties with that brother country, cannot remain indifferent to the tragedy of the Lebanese people.

As part of the efforts being constantly made by the Arab States to resolve the Lebanese crisis the last summit meeting at Casablanca decided to establish a tripartite committee composed of His Majesty King Hassan II, the Guardian of the Holy Places, His Majesty King Fahd Ben Abdul-Aziz, and His Excellency, President Chadli Bendjedid. The committee has been striving to put an end to hostilities and to lay the foundations for national reconciliation. To that end it has been able to put forward a plan aimed at bringing about an immediate cease-fire and making possible a propitious climate of security that would make possible the adoption of the measures necessary to restore constitutional institutions to Lebanon.

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

The Tripartite Committee has succeeded in establishing a cease-fire, and the resulting security committee that emanated from it has worked to ensure that the cease-fire is respected. The positive positions taken by the parties concerned at the Taif meeting of the Lebanese Parliament provide grounds for optimism. We hope the parties will be able to bring about constitutional reform on the basis of the draft document submitted by the Tripartite Committee: reform that would take account of economic, political and social developments in the country.

The international community is duty-bound to help Lebanon overcome its ordeal and reach national reconciliation. It must also support legality in Lebanon, based on concord, and consolidate efforts by the State of Lebanon to put an end to Israeli occupation and exercise full sovereignty over all Lebanese territory with a view to protecting its security and stability on its own, as stipulated by the Casablanca Summit Conference.

Morocco is satisfied that the cease-fire between two brother countries, Iraq and Iran, has held, under the terms of Security Council resolution 598 (1987). We sincerely hope that the provisions of that resolution will be implemented fully in the near future, and that lasting peace between the two countries will be achieved.

While Morocco hailed the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan, it cannot but regret that the war drags on. We hope that Afghanistan will regain full sovereignty, its non-aligned status and its freedom to make the political and economic choices it deems necessary for its development, without foreign intervention or pressure.

With respect to the Cambodian question, we hope that peace efforts by all parties of goodwill will continue. In that respect, we welcome the Paris Conference, which enabled all the parties to join in dialogue with a view to finding a just and lasting solution to the problem that would guarantee the

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

withdrawal of foreign forces and give the Cambodian people the opportunity to take charge of its own affairs.

With the same interest, we follow events in Cyprus and hail the efforts of the Secretary-General, which aim at ensuring that the dialogue continues between the two communities that make up that non-aligned country and that peace be established within the framework of its territorial integrity and on the basis of respect for the interests of both its communities.

The countries of Central America whose efforts resulted in the Tela agreement, are worthy of all our encouragement and support. We sincerely hope that this agreement will be implemented and that the peoples of the region will finally emerge from the cycle of despair and regain peace and stability.

The southern half of the African continent is on the threshold of a historic event for which it has ceaselessly striven. The strenuous efforts made everywhere and, in particular, the enormous sacrifices endured by the Namibian people have at last begun to bear fruit. We are thus witnessing the crumbling of the last bastion of colonialism in Africa, with the 1 April 1989 commencement of the process envisaged by the peace plan for the independence of Namibia set out in Security Council resolution 435 (1978). To be sure, difficulties may surface, but we remain convinced that the path leading the heroic Namibian people to freedom and independence cannot be blocked. Given the wisdom and determination of the Secretary-General, we are certain that the Namibian independence process will proceed in accordance with the wishes of all peace-loving peoples.

Mr. Sam Nujoma's recent visit to Morocco and his meeting with His Majesty King Hassan II reflect again the steadfast support my country has always lent the Namibian people and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), as well as our desire to establish ties of constructive co-operation with a free

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

and independent Namibia. Equally, Morocco cannot but voice its gratification over the climate of reconciliation that is beginning to emerge in Angola. We hope that the efforts that led to the Gbadolite meeting in Zaire will continue until all Angolans can live in peace and harmony. For its part, Morocco will remain faithful to its commitment to contribute to all endeavours to secure the unity of the Angolan people and enable them to devote themselves exclusively to achieving development and prosperity.

The deteriorating situation in South Africa continues to be of concern to the international community because of its grave and negative effect on the climate of détente that is beginning to emerge in the region. Morocco remains convinced that the international community, as it followed with anxiety the developments in South Africa over the past few weeks, should remain vigilant until the disappearance of apartheid and the establishment of a democratic régime respectful of human dignity and fundamental rights.

Since the last session of the General Assembly our region has made major strides towards the long-cherished goal of union. Our peoples have constantly been aware of belonging to one linguistic and religious community and of sharing the same cultural values.

The establishment of the Arab Maghreb Union, therefore, is an imperative, given the nature of the economic and social problems which face our countries, and whose solution requires joint efforts in a regional framework - the more so since current world trends point in the direction of regional integration as a means of standing up to the many challenges we face and as a necessary element for peace, harmony and stability.

The efforts begun by the five Maghreb Heads of State at their first summit meeting, held at Zeralda, were crowned with the signing, on 17 February 1989 at

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

Marrakesh, of the Treaty establishing the Arab Maghreb Union comprising Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Tunisia and Morocco.

The Treaty is intended to strengthen the fraternal ties that unite the States members of the Union and their peoples, and to achieve progress and prosperity for their respective societies, along with the defence of their rights. It is intended also to contribute to preserving a peace based on justice and equity. To that end, the Arab Maghreb Union will pursue a joint policy in various spheres and strive gradually to bring about among our countries free circulation of goods, persons and capital, in conformity with the programme of action adopted by the Heads of State.

Since the Treaty establishing the Arab Maghreb Union was signed, sustained efforts have been in full swing with a view to developing the Maghreb integration to the fullest, and making it a reality in every sphere. That is why hand in hand with the establishment of the Union's institutional bodies we have been working to implement the programme of action.

As regards the Union's relations with other regional groups, we declare our determination to strengthen ties of co-operation and co-ordination with the Arab Co-operation Council and the Gulf Co-operation Council, on the basis of the common values and purposes that unite us. We also declare our determination to strengthen our co-operation with other economic groupings of our continent, as that is the best way towards broader regional integration.

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

The same strong determination prompts us to establish effective co-operation with the European Economic Community (EEC), which is moving towards having a single market. The setting up of the Arab Maghreb Union will, of course, facilitate co-operation between the two communities and lead to a more fruitful dialogue that is compatible with the strong economic ties existing between them. We also look forward to establishing economic co-operation with the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) and other regional groups.

Starting from its oft-reiterated commitment to see the problem of the so-called Western Sahara resolved by the holding of a referendum on self-determination under the auspices of the United Nations, Morocco agreed in principle on 30 August 1988 to the Secretary-General's peace plan.

Pursuing his efforts to implement that plan, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar visited our region last June to hold talks with the various parties concerned. As a result of that visit the Secretary-General set up a technical commission which he entrusted with working out the arrangements of implementing the plan.

For its part, Morocco will continue to support the efforts of the Secretary-General as well as those of the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity.

Although the international situation has become relatively more relaxed, the world's economic situation offers not the least glimmer of hope. Political stability will remain fragile so long as it is not accompanied by economic improvements and especially if development continues to be the prerogative of the North.

The problems of the South have worsened: to the deterioration in the terms of trade, the rising tide of protectionism, the fall in commodity prices and the fall in the net-flow of resources from abroad we must add the spectre of debt that undermines all the efforts of the developing countries.

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

In the long run, the widening of the gap between North and South can also have negative effects on the economies of the developed countries themselves. Hence our collective responsibility to face up to the problems of underdevelopment that beset the countries of the South. Our duty is to spare no effort in rescuing the numerous developing countries trapped in this tragic situation.

It is well known today more than ever before, that it is no longer enough to adopt stop-gap measures with regard to the present order. What we need is a thorough re-examination that will enable us to restructure the world economy, taking into account the interests of both sides within a framework of sincere co-operation.

In that connection, the Ministerial Conference of the Group of 77 that was held in Caracas this year responsibly drew up a list of priorities and launched an appeal for a genuine dialogue between North and South that will serve the interests of the international community as a whole.

We are hopeful that the special session of the General Assembly on development questions planned for next year will not be a missed opportunity and that it will enable us to pool our efforts in order to adopt concrete measures that will lead to more balanced international economic relations.

Although we consider North-South co-operation to be a vital factor for world economic balance, we also feel that South-South co-operation is an indispensable factor. In addition to the fact that such co-operation gives concrete meaning to the concept of solidarity among countries, it also enables them to benefit fully from the complementarity of their resources and from their diverse individual potentials.

Morocco has made such co-operation with the developing countries a pivotal concept in its external relations. Indeed, we believe that South-South

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

co-operation can be an important factor in restoring balance to world economic relations.

Morocco's increasing co-operation with fraternal countries on the African continent is the best example of our faith in South-South co-operation and of our desire to translate that faith into a concrete reality. Thus, our country acted as host last March to the first ministerial conference on co-operation in marine resources held by the coastal African States on the Atlantic seaboard.

The conference examined the potential of co-operation, which could benefit all the countries concerned, without overlooking the interests of the land-locked African countries. It is a living example of South-South co-operation and a clear illustration of what our countries can accomplish in such vital areas.

The deterioration of the environment has become a world-wide concern. Indeed, desertification, the damaging effects of acid rain, the accumulation of dumped toxic substances and the increase in the release of carbonic gases now diffused in the atmosphere have further compounded the development problems with which two thirds of mankind are already grappling. Such a situation calls for effective international co-operation to adopt the necessary measures. For that reason, the World Climate Conference scheduled for next year and the United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development scheduled for 1992 must be carefully planned.

In that connection, Morocco, which took the initiative with other States to make the Organization aware of the problem of natural disasters, is especially pleased to see the International Decade for the Reduction of Natural Disasters beginning next year.

The scourge of drugs is another phenomenon that requires the mobilization of the entire international community, particularly since recent tragic events in Colombia have shown the extent to which drug-traffickers will go. International co-operation is indispensable if we are to meet this new challenge.

(Mr. Filali, Morocco)

On the threshold of the third millennium, the world is undergoing a profound structural change - ideological and political, economic and social, scientific and technological. The problems it is facing - whether they relate to the debt crisis, environmental degradation, or the struggle against drugs - will henceforth have to be tackled on a global scale. International solidarity has indeed become an imperative. It must prompt us to work more closely together in managing world affairs. We have the machinery to achieve that goal - the United Nations. It is our duty - especially since we are all aware of the positive role the Organization is playing - to strengthen it and to give it the means to assume those new responsibilities we wish to confer upon it, so that peace and prosperity may reign throughout the world.

In conclusion, I wish the President the fullest measure of success in his work, and hope that we shall indeed make greater strides towards our goals, the essential aspirations shared by all mankind.

Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): It gives the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic great pleasure to greet the representative of Nigeria, Mr. Garba, as President of the United Nations General Assembly. Many years of co-operation with him have convinced us that he will fulfil his high duties with honour and dignity. Please convey to him our heartiest congratulations on his election.

The prospects of an era of peace in international relations and of the consistent implementation of related tasks for multilateral co-operation among States can open up an entirely new phase in world history. If that were to come to pass, succeeding generations, saved from the scourge of war, would pay fitting tribute to those present in this Hall as contributors to and joint authors of that process.

(Mr. Kravets, Ukrainian SSR)

It is noteworthy that a number of representatives, as well as the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization, found it necessary to recall the fiftieth anniversary of the outbreak of the Second World War and to speak about its lessons. The Ukrainian delegation deems that appropriate and logical. The peoples of the Soviet Union, including the Ukrainian people, bore the brunt of the war and sustained its heaviest losses. At the same time, they made the most significant contribution towards saving the peoples of Europe from Fascist enslavement. The liberating mission of the Soviet Union is indelibly printed in the grateful memory of nations. To forget, let alone to ignore the fact, would be to desecrate the sacred memory of the fallen and to insult the living. The lessons of history shall not fall into oblivion.

The wheel of history cannot be reversed. The inviolability of post-war borders constitutes the foundation of peaceful relations in Europe. We share the clear and unambiguous position expressed in that regard by the Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, Mr. Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

We are encouraged and heartened to see the promising and positive changes in international relations gathering momentum and becoming ever more real and tangible. Tensions have eased and confrontation has diminished, fruitful political dialogue is emerging between States, confidence is growing and injecting an entirely new, peaceful note into international relations. There is a growing trend towards ensuring global security not through an arms build-up but through agreed reductions in arms. A new world order is taking shape based on the primacy of international law, the renunciation of confrontation and enmity in favour of confidence and good-neighbourliness, and mutual regard for the interests of countries and peoples. There is a growing awareness of the need to elaborate generally acceptable approaches to global challenges, to seek universal consensus,

(Mr. Kravets, Ukrainian SSR)

and to achieve comprehensive international security in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

The time has come for concrete action that would allow, without excessive reliance on methods involving military force, the activation of the mechanism of political and legal restraint, as well as the peacemaking potential of the non-military components of security. The United Nations can and should play a major role in that respect.

The Ukrainian delegation is in favour of making the most effective use of United Nations potential to prevent crises and maintain international peace and security. We are firmly convinced that it is through the United Nations and with its assistance that a secure and non-violent world can be established, the first outlines of which can be discerned even today.

The path leading to such a world is not an easy one. There remain many roadblocks, chief among which is the arms race. Only disarmament can ensure progress towards a secure future. The beneficial influence of the first practical results of disarmament on the overall political climate in the world can already be felt today. Those results are clearly stimulating negotiations in other areas.

The order of the day is nuclear disarmament. In that context, an early conclusion of an agreement between the USSR and the United States on a 50 per cent reduction of strategic offensive arms is of paramount importance, as is the eventual complete elimination of nuclear weapons. The strategy of nuclear deterrence is clearly indefensible. It essentially means the perpetuation of nuclear weapons with all the fatal consequences they entail.

The question of halting all nuclear testing has become of special importance. It is central in keeping the general nuclear-weapons situation under control. The Ukrainian delegation supports the calls for early consideration by the Geneva

(Mr. Kravets, Ukrainian SSR)

Conference on Disarmament of the problem relating to a comprehensive nuclear-test ban. The proposals to extend the 1963 Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water to underground tests could be considered as one way of addressing the problem. A mutual Soviet-United States moratorium on all nuclear tests could serve as a prelude to a verifiable comprehensive nuclear-test-ban agreement.

Should the arms race extend to outer space, international security would be undermined in an unpredictable way, and the threat of global catastrophe would increase immeasurably. Outer space must remain peaceful and open for international co-operation in its exploration for the benefit of all nations. In that context, we have high hopes for the Soviet-United States dialogue and the intensified effort towards practical results in the work of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament.

(Mr. Kravets, Ukrainian SSR)

Today real conditions exist for the total and global elimination of chemical stockpiles and a ban on development and production of these weapons. The encouraging progress achieved in Geneva, where work on a convention banning chemical weapons and eliminating stockpiles of them is in its final stage, as well as the Soviet-United States approach to this issue, are proof of that. The Ukrainian delegation believes that the General Assembly at its forty-fourth session must urge the Conference on Disarmament to bring negotiations to a successful conclusion at the earliest possible date. The conclusion of a convention would undoubtedly make a major contribution to the process of real disarmament, started by the elimination of Soviet and United States intermediate and shorter-range nuclear missiles, and would signify its diversification and its elevation to the multilateral level.

There should be no areas closed to disarmament talks. A comprehensive approach to solving disarmament problems would appear to be the most productive. The progress of negotiations in Vienna confirms that this is an entirely justified and realistic way of dealing with the issue. Proposals and counter-proposals advanced by the Warsaw Treaty and North Atlantic Treaty Organization member States have opened up a real prospect of reaching early agreement on a gradual switchover to a defensive military doctrine and to the development of armed forces on the principle of reasonable sufficiency.

As the socialist countries members of the Warsaw Treaty organization stated at the Bucharest meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, they see the immediate goal of negotiations to be the establishment, as early as in a first-stage agreement, of common ceilings, equal for both alliances, on the aggregate numbers of troops and the amounts of main types of armaments in Europe and its various parts. New levels would be considerably lower than the current lowest levels of either side.

(Mr. Kravets, Ukrainian SSR)

Drastic reductions of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe in the next few years, coupled with a phased reduction and, ultimately, elimination of tactical nuclear weapons, would be an effective means of reducing the risk of war. It would make the disarmament process universal and contribute to enhanced confidence.

On the subject of confidence-building measures, let me stress the special importance that the Ukrainian SSR attaches to developing and expanding such measures. We are in favour of extending confidence-building, observation and limitation measures to cover all kinds of military activity, including naval and air force activities. No kind of armed forces or armaments should be exempt from the negotiating process.

Our position of principle is to ensure a dynamic transition from individual confidence-building measures, openness and glasnost in international relations to a large-scale policy of confidence in all spheres of military activity without exception as an integral part of security and peace on Earth.

A sine qua non for ensuring international security is an effective verification régime. We are firmly convinced that it should embrace all aspects of the disarmament process, leading to the establishment of a comprehensive disarmament verification system. The United Nations can, and indeed must, make a substantial contribution to it.

Recently we have often heard concern voiced at the fact that multilateral disarmament measures are lagging behind bilateral ones. This situation should be remedied. Prospects of multilateral disarmament would look much better if the Security Council, pursuant to Article 26 of the United Nations Charter, were to take a meaningful interest in the "maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion ... of the world's human and economic resources" for the

(Mr. Kravets, Ukrainian SSR)

cause of armaments. In other words, it should seek to ensure security at the lowest possible levels of armament in individual States - levels sufficient for their defence but insufficient for offence.

The initial steps taken towards real disarmament open up prospects of channelling resources released in this way to meeting the needs of social and economic development. The problem of converting military production to civilian use is now being addressed in practical terms.

Conversion undoubtedly poses complicated problems, involving retooling and reorienting plants and re-employing and retraining personnel, and so on. It therefore seems all the more necessary to pool our efforts to solve those problems at all levels - national, regional and global - drawing upon the experience so far accumulated in this area.

We have every hope that the United Nations and its specialized agencies will conduct specific studies and make recommendations on individual aspects of the problem. It is essential, however, that the United Nations should be able to collect all information available and thus become a kind of center for developing a global strategy on converting military production. Many conversion studies conducted both in the East and in the West have demonstrated that conversion not only is feasible but will also have positive social and economic effects.

What is becoming increasingly clear is that military expenditures slow down economic, technological and social development. It is to be regretted that that these conclusions have not been supported everywhere. Nevertheless, we would like to hope that a conversion in thinking is not too far off either.

What we need is to share our experience on an international scale and to work out together approaches to, and criteria for, converting military production.

(Mr. Kravets, Ukrainian SSR)

Disarmament is important - and not just as an end in itself. It should become an additional resource for raising the living standards of peoples and giving them tangible benefits. In our view, the famous phrase "We shall beat swords into ploughshares" is an apt description of the indivisible triad of disarmament, conversion and development.

Now let me make one final point on the problems of disarmament. This concerns the role of the public, of parliaments - citizens' diplomacy. We should like to see the international public exerting even more vigorous efforts in the context of the World Campaign for Disarmament. The United Nations seminar on multilateral confidence-building and war-preventing measures held last September in Kiev proved that such projects were useful. The Ukrainian SSR intends to continue its support for activities related to the World Campaign for Disarmament.

Over decades the entire system of international relations has been in a state of tension generated by regional conflicts. The last year, however, has brought us the first gleams of hope.

We needed a policy that would take into account the realities of the nuclear age so as to make headway in attaining a political settlement of existing crises. We needed new thinking that would give us a view of the world not in the light of confrontation and a balance of forces, but in the light of a balance of interests.

We can now speak about a new situation. A chain reaction of positive changes, varying in scale and importance, has affected almost all regional crises. A kind of pattern for settling them is taking shape. Typically, it features a realistic approach to evaluating the actual state of affairs in conflict areas, the political

(Mr. Kravets, Ukrainian SSR)

will and readiness to reach compromise, a quest for national reconciliation with no external interference, the use by the major parties to the conflict of negotiating machinery with United Nations mediation and under its auspices, and the establishment of an institution of international guarantors.\*

---

\* The President returned to the Chair.

(Mr. Kravets, Ukrainian SSR)

We are highly appreciative of the contribution made by the United Nations to the drafting and conclusion of the Geneva Agreements on Afghanistan. The Organization should play a major role now as well, in ending the bloodshed and attaining political solutions in Afghanistan affairs, as provided for in the Geneva Agreements and the resolution adopted at the forty-third session of the General Assembly. The United Nations, and above all, its Secretary-General, are able actively to promote intra-Afghan dialogue and to establish the machinery for a political settlement enlisting the involvement of Afghanistan's neighbours.

The Foreign Minister of Afghanistan, Mr. Abdul Wakil, proposed here a clear and constructive plan for an Afghanistan settlement. Regarding the plan's external aspects, the situation around Afghanistan could be best settled by an international conference, to be attended by Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran, India, China, the United States, the Soviet Union and the country serving as Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. It would be convened for the purpose of reaching agreement on ending supplies of weapons to the warring parties and guaranteeing Afghanistan's status as a demilitarized and neutral State, friendly towards its neighbours. These provisions would be included in the country's new Constitution. Such an approach to, and a way out of, the crisis is fully in keeping with the imperatives and spirit of the times.

The general trend towards improved international relations, reduced tensions, and the diminished risk of war has cleared the way for a settlement in the Middle East. The world has, by and large, come to realize that this calls for collective efforts at an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations which would offer an opportunity for the parties to the conflict to reach a historic compromise. It could undertake an exhaustive examination of the proposals designed to attain a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East.

(Mr. Kravets, Ukrainian SSR)

Prospects for a non-violent solution to the impasse caused by a longstanding confrontation have emerged in southern Africa as well. At the same time, it is quite clear that the dynamics and endurance of a solution to the problems facing southern Africa are directly proportional to the speed with which the dismantling of the apartheid régime can proceed, for the régime is the root cause of the region's tensions. The international community must do its utmost to bar the apartheid régime's admittance to the third millennium.

Encouraging steps have been taken towards a real settlement in Central America. They make it incumbent upon all the members of the international community to support the still fragile process towards reaching a final settlement that would accommodate the interests of all the parties concerned. We commend highly the agreement reached by the five Central American Presidents as well as their awareness of the region's problems and their wisdom, audacity and realism. We welcome the constructive and flexible position of the Nicaraguan Government, which is complying faithfully and scrupulously with its obligations and showing its genuine interest in bringing peace to the region.

Like all other States, we have an interest in establishing a zone of peace, co-operation and neutrality in South-East Asia. The road towards this goal lies through achieving a settlement in Cambodia. The withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Cambodia creates the necessary conditions and prerequisites for a comprehensive settlement of the Cambodian problem. This involves measures to prevent civil war and genocide and to adopt international guarantees for Cambodia's status as an independent, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned State.

The implementation of proposals put forward by the People's Democratic Republic of Korea on the peaceful, democratic reunification of Korea and the withdrawal of foreign armed forces from the territory of that nation would promote

(Mr. Kravets, Ukrainian SSR)

peace and security on the Korean peninsula and clear the way for a unified Korea to join the United Nations.

We advocate broad and constructive interaction among all members of the international community in eliminating hotbeds of tension through political means on a just, honest and, hence, solid basis. All States, great and small alike, and international organizations - above all, the United Nations - have an important contribution to make to this end.

Our Organization has not yet fully tapped its potential in conflict-prevention. The resources of the Security Council and the possibilities of the Secretary-General have not yet been fully utilized. We share the conclusions in the report of the Secretary-General on the role and significance of preventive diplomacy.

While duly recognizing the current positive trends in political relations among States, we cannot but note the lack of real progress in the development of the economic interaction of States. The situation of the world economy remains unstable, and existing problems are getting worse.

The economic situation of developing countries is particularly disturbing. They are still suffering from backwardness, external debt, inequality in international trade and various kinds of protectionist and other unlawful measures used by the strong against the weak. The present system of international economic relations does not meet the interests of the overwhelming majority of States and is undemocratic.

The growing economic interdependence of States and the internationalization of economic life has set the stage for the development of co-operation and healthier international economic relations. These goals have been advanced by the production, at the United Nations, of the idea of international economic security, aimed at achieving an equitable, generally advantageous and generally acceptable

(Mr. Kravets, Ukrainian SSR)

state of the world economy and international economic relations and at creating conditions for peaceful coexistence and co-operation among all States, regardless of their level of development or of their socio-economic system.

In recent years the environment issue has firmly established itself on the list of international priority problems. The problem of environmental protection can be resolved effectively only at the global level. We very much appreciate the role of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) in mobilizing the efforts of the world community to prevent environmental catastrophe. We need to develop and improve the potential of the United Nations in monitoring, assessing and predicting threats to the environment and in providing relief assistance in case of environmental emergencies. The Ukrainian SSR supports the idea of setting up, within the framework of the United Nations, a centre for urgent environmental assistance. The work of that centre could bring the conservation efforts of international organizations to a new and higher level and would be a practical contribution to overcoming environmental crises.

The international conference on environment and development, scheduled for 1992, will have to draft a world strategy for environmental survival. The proposed mandate of the conference is almost perfectly in keeping with the goals and purposes of the international environmental security concept initiated by the Ukrainian SSR, together with Czechoslovakia and other countries.

We hear more and more people demanding that protection of the environmental health of the planet be placed on a solid foundation of international co-operation. That gives us the hope that environmental security will be ensured and that the environment will not suffer irreparable damage. As was pointed out at the Congress of People's Deputies of the Soviet Union, it is criminal to drain the world economy through the arms race and to ignore the need for preserving man's habitat.

(Mr. Kravets, Ukrainian SSR)

Today, more than ever before, the correctness of a country's historical direction is to be judged by the human dimension of its domestic and foreign policy.

A State's participation in United Nations humanitarian activities and its rejection of double standards is a clear indication that it cares about people and is striving to preserve universal human values. I should like to address just one aspect of this topic.

Virtually all those who have spoken during the general debate have voiced great concern about the problem of drug abuse. Possessing huge financial resources, criminal drug trafficking syndicates are undermining the political and economic foundations of States and are entangling governmental and judicial institutions in a web of corruption. Millions of people are losing their health, and even their lives, to drugs.

(Mr. Kravets, Ukrainian SSR)

No one can overcome this evil single-handedly. Only joint efforts can produce the desired result. International conferences on drug-abuse control have demonstrated that the world community is serious in combating this scourge. The Convention against Illicit Trafficking in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances and other instruments adopted to fight drug abuse were the result of the growing awareness among States of the global nature of this problem.

The international co-operation that has clearly emerged in this field must be developed further. What is necessary is close interaction and co-ordinated efforts in combating drug trafficking and drug abuse. We believe that the United Nations could take the next logical step in this direction by proclaiming a decade for combating drug abuse and illicit trafficking in narcotic drugs.

The Ukrainian delegation is prepared to submit a draft resolution on the subject for consideration at this session of the General Assembly. The General Assembly could ask the Economic and Social Council and the Commission on Narcotic Drugs to draft a programme for such a decade to be adopted by the General Assembly.

At the heart of such a programme, as we see it, there would be measures for the effective implementation of conventions to fight drug abuse and the 1987 Interdisciplinary Plan, as well as activities sponsored by the United Nations Fund to combat drug abuse, and the integration of efforts at the national level. The convening of an appropriate international conference could constitute one of the stages of the programme. The conference could review progress in implementing the programme for the decade and decide on further steps.

Finally, the Ukrainian SSR is prepared to co-operate actively with all countries in strengthening the international legal order and drafting specific measures to enhance the role of international law. In our view, a decade of international law, proposed by the non-aligned countries, could promote this objective.

(Mr. Kravets, Ukrainian SSR)

Our policy of asserting the supremacy of international law is intimately related to the process of creating our own State based on a genuine rule of law. Bringing the norms of domestic legislation into full conformity with its international obligations, the Ukrainian SSR stands in solidarity with all States that are also striving to achieve higher standards of legal protection for the individual.

The renaissance of the United Nations is linked with renewed hopes for a peaceful future. We hope that efforts to create a world in which peaceful, civilized relations among States and nations rule supreme will meet with the support of all delegations attending the forty-fourth session. We hope that the work of the General Assembly will impart a new impetus to progress towards a more secure future and help turn the United Nations into an effective instrument of peace.

Mr. AL-ERYANI (Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): Allow me at the outset of my statement to express to you, Sir, on behalf of the delegation of the Yemen Arab Republic and on my own behalf, our warmest congratulations on your election as President of the General Assembly at its forty-fourth session. We are fully confident that your wide knowledge, expertise and ability will contribute greatly to the success of the work of the session.

I am also pleased to express through you our heartfelt thanks and warm appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Dante Caputo, who displayed throughout his presidency over the forty-third session great ability in guiding the proceedings of that session.

The brilliant and efficacious efforts of Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar with regard to the issues facing the world last year and his good offices in finding suitable and just solutions impel me, on behalf of my country and on my own behalf,

(Mr. Al-Eryani, Yemen)

to express to him our deepest gratitude and wish him further success in all endeavours entrusted to him.

I wish also to congratulate the Under-Secretary-General and all those who work in this international organization, including the peace-keeping forces all over the world, who have dedicated their lives to the service of peace and the preservation of international security. I thank them for their sincere and meritorious efforts on behalf of peace and prosperity of mankind.

The comprehensive and valuable report presented by Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar on the role of the Organization and the tasks it has carried out throughout last year is cause for optimism. We are confident that our Organization, especially within the framework of the positive changes in the international arena, will be able to carry out its responsibilities in the maintenance of international peace and security and that its ability will be enhanced in order fully to assume the role for which it was founded and prove to the international community that it is the best alternative and the only authority to solve all problems confronting our world today. Thanks in particular to the efforts of the Secretary-General and his associates, the United Nations has proved that the language of dialogue is the only means for achieving justice and consolidating peace. This was made evident in last year's détente on the path of peace concerning a number of international issues, such as Afghanistan, Namibia, Cambodia, Western Sahara and, last but not least, the relative tranquillity manifested on the border between Iraq and Iran by dint of the efforts of the Organization's Observers supervising the cease-fire there, notwithstanding the lack of concrete progress in the peace negotiations between the two countries to achieve a lasting, just and honourable peace in that region, a region that witnessed the longest and most ferocious war since the Second World War.

(Mr. Al-Eryani, Yemen)

This session was convened in an atmosphere of satisfaction and optimism owing to positive developments in international relations and also to the détente achieved between the two super-Powers. Some of the most positive indications of this détente are the continuation of negotiations to reach an overall solution to halt the nuclear-arms race and for general and complete disarmament, together with a mutual understanding and fuller co-operation between the super-Powers in order to eliminate hotbeds of tension and extinguish the flames of war throughout the world.

(Mr. Al-Eryani, Yemen)

To that end, appropriate and just solutions must be found through peaceful negotiations and by other peaceful means. We believe that co-operation in achieving settlements of disputes by peaceful means, guaranteeing the just and legitimate interests of oppressed peoples, is the most ideal alternative to a policy of confrontation and escalation, which usually pushes the world to the brink of an abyss and therefore has serious implications for the peace, security and stability of the world. All the members of the international family fully realize that ending any conflict inevitably requires that representatives sit down at a negotiating table and remove themselves entirely from the policy of imposed solutions and hegemony.

In this respect, my country reiterates its full support for the total elimination of nuclear weapons by the nuclear-weapon States by the end of this century. We also support the repeated calls for banning nuclear-weapon tests and diverting the tremendous expenditures freed thereby to economic and social development in the interest of mankind as a whole, and particularly of the countries of the third world. No sooner had those countries freed themselves from the shackles of colonial domination than they fell victim to economic subservience as their resources became hostage to the debt problem. They are now subjected to the control of certain creditor States and creditor organizations by means of the prices that are set for their products.

Despite the optimism prevailing on the international scene as a result of the trend towards the peaceful settlement of regional and international problems, the situation in the Middle East is still fraught with danger and poses a threat to peace not only in the region but in the entire world. That situation is the result of the aggressive policy pursued by Israel against the Arab Palestinian people, whose courageous intifadah is about to enter its third year. That heroic people in

(Mr. Al-Eryani, Yemen)

the West Bank and the Gaza Strip has been confronting the brutal force and oppression of the Israeli occupation only because it is claiming its legitimate rights. The occupying forces respond to those just demands by murder, expulsion, torture, imprisonment and the demolition of houses. The ruthless oppression and suppression are carried out against that people in contravention of human rights and international law and norms. Despite all that, there are those who, while unceasingly proclaiming respect for human rights, at the same time ignore these barbaric practices. In addition, a super-Power abstains from voting on any resolution that condemns the Zionist entity, which the international community has unanimously denounced and condemned. Here I must pay a tribute to, and honour all, those steadfast heroes under the yoke of the Israeli occupation - all those men, women, children and the elderly.

The Yemen Arab Republic wishes to reaffirm its support for the efforts exerted to achieve a just and honourable peace in the Middle East, and in particular for the positive resolutions adopted by the Palestine National Council last November in Algiers. We agree with what was stated by brother Yasser Arafat, the head of the State of Palestine, at the forty-third session of the General Assembly in Geneva, when it convened to consider the item on Palestine. That session was held by our Organization to prove to the entire world the importance of this question and our responsibility in regard to it.

Despite the fact that a whole year has passed since the General Assembly adopted resolutions at that session, and despite all the proposals made by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestine people, displaying a flexible position in response to the call for reason, justice and peace, Israel continues arrogantly to refuse to comply with the international community's resolutions by occupying the Arab territories in the

(Mr. Al-Eryani, Yemen)

West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the Syrian Golan and southern Lebanon. Israel persists in its acts of aggression against the defenceless Palestinian people. It categorically rejects all the calls for peace based on United Nations resolutions and rides roughshod over such resolutions. This demonstrates once again that for more than 40 years it has been carrying out its colonial settler policy and has had recourse to all types of acts of ruthless oppression and arbitrary actions.

We call on the international community to shoulder its responsibility with regard to the deterioration of the situation in the occupied Arab territories and to compel the Zionist entity to respond to the call for peace by withdrawing immediately from the Arab territories that it has occupied since 1967 and to sit at the negotiating table with the parties concerned, foremost among which is the PLO, the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, at an international peace conference under the auspices of the United Nations, so that the Palestinian people may regain its right to return to its homeland, to self-determination and to establish its independent State on its national soil.

Moreover, we repeat that the major responsibility for achievement of that task rests, in the first place, with the five permanent members of the Security Council, in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter.

Proceeding from that premise, my country also reaffirms that it is not sufficient for one country to state that the ball is in Israel's court, while the leaders of the usurper entity continue to play with fire. The responsibility of those who are able to extinguish that fire is no less than the responsibility of those who set the fire and fan its flames.

With respect to the question of Lebanon, the good offices exerted by the tripartite Arab Committee established by the emergency Arab summit conference held in Casablanca give us a reason to be optimistic, because of the response made by

(Mr. Al-Eryani, Yemen)

all the parties concerned to the good offices of the Tripartite Committee and its endeavours. All the parties have demonstrated their sincere desire for a solution to the Lebanese crisis and their common conviction that it can be arrived at only through political dialogue and by peaceful means, and not by resorting to arms, which has proved futile for the past 13 years. We appeal to all peace-loving countries to exert every possible effort to ensure the success of the endeavours of the Tripartite Arab Committee to put an end to the Lebanese crisis, and to display solidarity with the Lebanese people so that it may preserve its national unity and sovereignty over its territory. An end must be put to the displacement of that people and the fear and suffering it has endured for many years. We also appeal to the international community to exert greater efforts and to bring real pressure to bear on the Zionist entity to induce it to withdraw from Lebanese territory, in accordance with Security Council resolution 425 (1978).

The Yemen Arab Republic appreciates the speedy acceptance by Iraq of Security Council resolution 598 (1987); the Islamic Republic of Iran did not accept it until one year after its adoption.

(Mr. Al-Eryani, Yemen)

Therefore, we wish to express our grave concern about the continuing state of no war, no peace between Iran and Iraq. Intensification of the efforts of our Organization and all peace-loving countries is necessary to move from this situation, so fraught with danger, to direct and continuous negotiations between the two parties concerned in accordance with Security Council resolution 598 (1987). We consider that that resolution provides a comprehensive framework for the achievement of peace and for the removal of all obstacles and barriers to its implementation in letter and spirit, including persuading Iran to accelerate the process of the exchange of prisoners of war between the two parties. That is the ultimate test of good will and reaffirmation of the genuine desire to achieve durable peace and to solve all disputes by peaceful means in order to reach an agreement on a comprehensive and durable peace between the two countries and the return of normalcy to relations between them.

The achievement of peace and stability around the Horn of Africa, the consolidation of the principles of good-neighbourliness and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries figure prominently in our regional policy. We therefore welcome the positive developments unfolding in relations between the States of the Horn of Africa. We also welcome the policy of co-operation and understanding between fraternal Sudan and the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. My country also supports the new peace initiative announced by the Ethiopian Government on the basis of which negotiations were launched under the auspices of former United States President Mr. Carter. My country welcomes the decision of the two negotiating parties to select San'a from among a number of other capitals as the venue for their negotiations, and reaffirms it will do its best towards the attainment of an honourable and just solution guaranteeing peace,

(Mr. Al-Eryani, Yemen)

stability, co-operation and national unity for the prosperity and progress of the peoples of the littoral States of the Red Sea.

Preservation of Afghanistan's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and of its people's right to choose its economic and political system without outside interference or coercion, and strict observance of the Geneva Convention on this issue, represent for my country the keystone of the process of reaching a comprehensive and definitive settlement of the Afghan issue. Taking that as our premise, we wish to express our great satisfaction at the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghan territory. We appeal to this international Organization and its Secretary-General to intensify their efforts and make greater use of their good offices to assist in the reaching of a convergence of views between the Afghan parties in conflict so that security and national unity may be restored to the Afghan people and peace and stability may prevail in the region.

In our opinion ongoing negotiations and dialogue between the two Cypriot communities is the only way to achieve concord and the restoration of unity in Cyprus. The Organization's efforts to achieve a convergence of views between the two communities leading to settlement of their disputes must have our support so that the sovereignty and unity of Cyprus and the security and stability of the region may be preserved.

The negotiations and meetings aimed at settlement of the Kampuchean crisis give us reason for optimism, especially after Viet Nam's declaration on the withdrawal of its troops from Kampuchea. This augurs well for settlement of the crisis in the near future so that the Kampuchean people may exercise its natural right of freedom and sovereignty on its territory in the absence of foreign intervention.

(Mr. Al-Eryani, Yemen)

As regards the situation on the Korean peninsula, we support efforts to achieve Korean reunification peacefully and democratically.

Apartheid and the racial discrimination practised by the Pretoria regime is the root cause of the conflict, the continuing state of war and the destabilization in southern Africa, and constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security. The racist Pretoria régime still denies the most fundamental rights to the black majority in South Africa. It is pursuing a policy of aggression and interference in the affairs of the States of the area. This has led to destabilization in those States and is a hindrance to the efforts at economic development of the peoples of the region. The international community is duty-bound to provide moral and material support for the militant people of South Africa and to bring full pressure to bear on the racist South African régime to make it comply with the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

Positive steps have been made towards implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, credit for which goes to the efforts of our international Organization and its Secretary-General in the face of the challenges and barriers set up by the racist Pretoria Government to prevent the Namibian people from gaining its freedom and independence. On behalf of my country, I express gratification at the launching of the United Nations plan for Namibian independence, and at the same time I call on all the countries of the world, especially the major Powers, to stand by the efforts our Organization is making under the Namibian independence plan in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978) to provide a favourable environment for free and fair elections to be held in all the provinces of Namibia.

(Mr. Al-Eryani, Yemen)

The important and positive developments taking place in Latin America are characterized by democratic principles and political harmony, and the settlement of disputes by peaceful means. Moreover there is mutual respect for the right of the States of the continent to choose political and economic systems that suit their conditions and realities. There also exists a commitment not to interfere in the internal affairs of any State. All this requires that our Organization and the countries of the world support such efforts aimed at the achievement, once and for all, of peace and stability.

The halting and banning of nuclear tests is one of the priorities of nuclear disarmament. In this respect we welcome the efforts of more than 40 countries directed at the holding of an international conference to amend the Partial Test Ban Treaty and make it a comprehensive convention banning nuclear tests.

(Mr. Al-Eryani, Yemen)

We also support the call to prevent an armaments race in outer space. As it is the common heritage of mankind, it should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. Proceeding from this premise, our international Organization has to play its rightful role in the field of disarmament and the non-militarization of outer space, together with the establishment of a stringent inspection system, to pave the way for further special sessions on disarmament.

We in the Arab Yemen Republic are keen on reaffirming each and every year from this rostrum our stance on the paramount importance of keeping the Indian Ocean and its natural extensions free of the military presence of any foreign State and to turn it into a zone of peace, security and international co-operation, free of the threat of nuclear and chemical weapons. We also support the proposal to hold an international conference on this subject in the city of Colombo, capital of Sri Lanka, next spring.

The progress achieved at the Paris Conference on Disarmament on the complete elimination of chemical weapons in which the signatories to the Geneva Protocol of 1925 and other interested States participated, has proved beyond any doubt that the States of the world are convinced of the necessity of signing a general and comprehensive convention on the banning of the production, development, use and stockpiling of all chemical weapons and on their final destruction.

In this respect my country wishes to express its deep concern over the international community's indifference to the Zionist entity's refusal to subject all its nuclear installations to international control which has encouraged this entity to continue in this course and to conduct tests on long-range missiles, increasing the anxiety and destabilization hanging over the Middle East and the eastern Mediterranean, the main cause of which was and still is Israel.

Significant events relating to international security have taken place and led to new directions in international relations. Serious negotiations have replaced

(Mr. Al-Eryani, Yemen)

direct conflicts. However for peace and security to prevail, the international community has to intensify its efforts. All countries of the world should participate and contribute equally in this respect.

I wish to reaffirm on behalf of my country that there is a close link between disarmament and international détente and respect for the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. If this is coupled with the strict observance of the principles of equality in sovereignty among States, the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, non-recourse to the threat or use of force in international relations, respect for the right of all countries to self-determination and national independence, endeavours to achieve economic and social development, the elimination of colonialism, Zionism, racial discrimination, non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, and respect for human rights, peace and security can prevail.

International peace and security cannot be achieved without the economic development of all countries of the world. The exacerbation of the development problems of developing countries threatens the positive gains that have been made in the field of international relations.

The acute discrepancy between the astronomical military expenses on the one hand and the dire poverty in many developing countries on the other reaffirms the importance of stressing the concept of the link between disarmament and development in the third world; but the bitter fact remains that the present international economic situation is still criticized and characterized by disequilibrium. The gap between the developed and developing countries is ever widening as a result of the disequilibrium in the terms of trade, the debt crisis, the higher interest rates and the collective trade barriers to which the developed countries have recourse.

(Mr. Al-Eryani, Yemen)

In addition, the reverse flow of resources from the developing countries to the developed countries poses a danger to international peace and security and a concrete barrier to the growth and development of the developing countries. Therefore, as much as we are interested in the outstanding political problems of the world, we are equally interested in the world's economic problems. Hence, we wish to reaffirm that the present international economic system needs to be amended and a new international economic order established based on equality amongst all the countries of the world, a system which would narrow the gap between the industrialized rich world and the impoverished third world.

My country maintains that the suffering of the third-world countries through a stifling economic crisis and an economic situation characterized by disequilibrium and inequity requires that the international community intensify its efforts and strengthen co-operation in order to rebuild international economic relations on the basis of equity, justice and equal opportunity.

We also maintain that it is necessary to hold an appropriate international forum, under the auspices of the United Nations, with the participation of the international financing institutions and the international banks, with the aim of defining concrete solutions to the crisis resulting from the foreign debt problem, in the framework of a favourable environment for continuous development and relief of the debt burden of developing countries which blocks their development and progress.

In conclusion, I wish to indicate that the democratic march on the path of development and the achievement of Yemeni unity is increasing and becoming more solid day after day due to the wisdom of its political leadership, as represented by President Ali Abdullah Saleh, President of the Yemen Arab Republic, Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces and Secretary-General of the General Popular Conference.

(Mr. Al-Eryani, Yemen)

I also wish to commend the historical steps taken by my country, together with the brotherly countries of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, the Republic of Iraq and the Arab Republic of Egypt, in February of this year by establishing the Arab Co-operation Council, which aims at achieving the highest degree of co-operation, co-ordination and integration amongst its four members in the economic, cultural and social fields. The aim is to achieve comprehensive co-operation and integration amongst all the Arab countries, especially with the Gulf Co-operation Council and the Maghreb Union.

In conclusion, I wish to reaffirm our readiness to co-operate with you, Sir, in order to achieve the goals and purposes of this session of the General Assembly, through which we are seeking the prosperity, security and progress of humanity.

The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the next speaker, I should like to express my personal appreciation to the Foreign Minister of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic for following the procedure we agreed upon yesterday for congratulations. I hope others will follow his excellent example.

Mr. SHAMUYARIRA (Zimbabwe): I should like at the outset to express my delegation's satisfaction and pleasure at your election, Sir, to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-fourth session. The unanimity of that decision reflects not only your own distinguished record as Foreign Minister and Permanent Representative of your country to the United Nations but also the prestige of your country, Nigeria, of which all of us in Africa are proud.

The outgoing President of the General Assembly, Mr. Dante Caputo of Argentina, shouldered the responsibility of his office with distinction in a momentous and difficult year. We wish to acknowledge our debt to him.

Our Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, has been at the head of our Organization during some of its most troubled and also some of its most productive and successful years. The turn-around in the fortunes of the United Nations during his watch owes much to the skill of the helmsman and we want to reassure him of our continued confidence.

The current session of the General Assembly must seriously address itself to problems affecting the world economy. In the vital field of international economic relations, the fresh breeze that has led to such excitement in international political relations has not even made a ripple. The direction of the world economy is still determined by a small circle of rich and powerful nations for which short-term expediency and the requirements of individual national economies have all too often taken precedence over the steps required for a healthier world economy from which all States would benefit in the long run. For the smaller countries the result has been a collapse in commodity prices causing severe prejudicial terms of trade, where several times the volume and quality of produce is now required to purchase the same amount of manufactured goods from the North than was required only a few years ago. In addition, the necessary borrowing on the part of the developing countries, coupled with high interest rates, has

(Mr. Shamuyarira, Zimbabwe)

resulted in a debilitating debt-service burden for those countries that has culminated in a net reverse transfer of resources from South to North in the order of nearly \$50 billion annually according to the calculations of international financial institutions. Fifty billion dollars annually is a very big amount to owe and we are informed that more money is still continuing to flow from the developing countries to the developed countries.

How can we, in all conscience, talk of kinder, gentler times and continue to countenance the continual transfer of such a phenomenal amount of resources from the poor and the hungry to the rich and the affluent?

We welcome the positive developments on the international political stage and we believe that all peoples should enjoy political and civil rights. Conscience, however, enjoins us to submit that these rights are not enough. People have economic and social rights as well: the right to good health, the right to food and shelter, and above all the right to a decent standard of living. It should be the lot of no one to suffer the degradations of illiteracy and poverty. Human rights are a package the elements of which are mutually reinforcing, and the denial of any of them weakens the entire package. A poor man, a sick man and an illiterate man are just as manacled as the man who is denied individual freedom or the right of free speech. It is the package that is important, for it goes beyond the selective, and at times cynical, championing of this or that right to the core of the purpose of existence: the right to a decent and meaningful life. Any attempt to separate one from the other or to compartmentalize these rights and champion one right at the expense of the other is to sow confusion and set the stage for futile recriminations.

All States represented in the Assembly should subscribe to that view and attempt to pursue the objective of a good and decent existence for all human

(Mr. Shamuyarira, Zimbabwe)

beings. The pursuit of a healthier world economy, of growth and development of the poorer countries and of fairer terms of trade between the North and the South is fundamentally a struggle for human rights and for the right of people to a decent existence.\*

In our interdependent world that struggle must involve a concerted approach, including greater recourse to multilateral mechanisms on the part of all States. Nations must act together to solve the global and interrelated problems of the world economy, such as low commodity prices, high interest rates and acute external indebtedness. The politics of inclusion that appear to be gaining ground in international political relations, particularly through professions by the big Powers of their readiness to give a larger role in the management of international affairs to the United Nations, should also be reflected in international economic relations.

The initiative taken by the developing countries in urging the Assembly to hold a special session on economic co-operation, in particular for the revitalization of the growth and development of developing countries, in April 1990, is a timely development. The special session should focus on the need to renew the stalled North-South dialogue and on the direction of the world economy. I am pleased to note that the recent summit Conference of the Countries of the Non-Aligned Movement, held at Belgrade, endorsed this suggestion and all the member States of the Non-Aligned Movement will be co-operating in the exercise. In this era, when economic mega-blocs are in the process of being formed in North America and in Europe, and where East and West are drawing closer in many spheres, it is essential that developing countries are not left out of the discussions and

---

\* Mr. Vraalsen (Norway), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Shamuyarira, Zimbabwe)

the mechanisms that will affect the future course of international economic and political relations. We also note that preparations are under way for the elaboration of the international development strategy for the Fourth United Nations Development Decade. We wish to stress the complementarity we see between that process and next year's special session on economic co-operation, to which I have already referred.

Following the 1986 special session of the General Assembly on the critical economic situation in Africa, the Assembly adopted the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development 1986-1990. That Programme represented a compact between the African countries and the international community, especially the donor countries. The African countries were to take steps to redress their economies through structural adjustment programmes, which they have done - often at a significant social and political cost - and the international community undertook to create an international environment conducive to African recovery by facilitating an increase in commodity prices and resource flows to the continent. The mid-term review of the implementation of the Programme, annexed to resolution 43/27 of 1988, clearly states that the international community has not kept its side of the bargain. The African States have made the adjustments that were required of them. Let me echo the words of Mr. Michael Manley, Prime Minister of Jamaica, when he said recently: "We have done everything that was asked of us. But what has the other side done?" Commodity prices have continued to fall and resource flows to Africa have not increased in any appreciable way. Given the sacrifices the African countries have made to keep their part of the bargain, it is important that the Programme be made to work. Since the review of the Programme will take place in 1991, and the

(Mr. Shamuyarira, Zimbabwe)

Programme itself is to run only up to 1990, it is important that the Programme be mandated to run until the final review, and we hope that decision will be taken at this session.

Problems of the environment affect the entire globe, which is our common abode, and many speakers have referred to this important factor. From the depletion of the ozone layer to the poisoning of the atmosphere and the rivers, the degradation of the environment affects all of us.

(Mr. Shamuyarira, Zimbabwe)

The global warming of the general climate affects countries in Europe, in the Americas, Africa and everywhere. For us in Africa the problem of the environment is important as we face what one representative has described here as the encroaching deserts. We have heard from many delegations of the encroachment of the desert on to their own fertile lands. We also have the related problem of the dumping of nuclear and toxic wastes which have been the subject of resolutions by the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the International Atomic Energy Agency and the General Assembly itself, last year. Greater responsibility is needed in the way the world uses its natural resources and disposes of the dangerous waste products of its factories. In the last year representatives will have read press reports about the very dangerous dumping of wastes in certain African countries, which action was rightly condemned by the OAU and other internal forums. We therefore welcome the intention to hold a special international conference on the environment in 1992.

We are also aware that all too often the weak are made to pay for the sins of the strong - if only because controlling the strong is so much more difficult. It is important that the burden attendant upon safeguarding the environment should be shared judiciously according to resource usage, waste production and need. Particularly, it is essential that no new obstacles are put in the path of the economic progress of the developing countries, which are already at the receiving end of the imbalances and inequities of the present international economic order and of the abuse and misuse of the international environment.

Respect for the right of peoples to self-determination and independence is not only just; it is also good politics and essential to the attainment and maintenance of world peace. The General Assembly clearly recognized that fact when it adopted

(Mr. Shamuyarira, Zimbabwe)

the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples way back in December 1960. Yet today, nearly three decades later, colonialism is still very much in evidence. Again, that is a practical reality of our times. The right of peoples to decide their own destiny is being denied not only in the well-publicized cases of southern Africa and the Middle East, especially Palestine, but also in countries in the Pacific, the Caribbean basin and elsewhere.

However, the major issue facing the Organization this year is the decolonization of Namibia. That is as it should be. The birth of a new nation is a supreme event in international affairs. And when the United Nations is the appointed intermediary the event becomes even more special to all of us. We are now entering the home stretch in the implementation of the Namibian independence plan. Much ground has already been covered and much reference has been made to this phenomenon in speeches we have heard in the last two weeks. But a lot more still remains to be done in the remaining four-and-a-half weeks. Pretoria and its functionaries in Namibia are still refusing fully to comply with Security Council resolution 435 (1978); the South West Africa Territory Force (SWATF) command structure has not been disbanded, and we are told that it has only been stood down; the so-called disbandment of Koevoet on 30 September has proved to be illusory; restrictive laws, in particular AG-23, continue to inhibit freedom of assembly and the registration, electoral and constituent Assembly proclamations leave much to be desired. These proclamations were effected only last week, and more information is still being given as to what exactly has been agreed to. Some improvements have been made, some changes have been recorded, and we commend the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) for this, but we need to be vigilant and to ensure that in the next four-and-a-half weeks nothing will be done to reverse the clock. Intimidation of followers of the South West Africa People's Organization

(Mr. Shamuyarira, Zimbabwe)

(SWAPO) by the South-African-sponsored Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) and the South West African Police is regularly reported. In fact, if members read Namibian newspapers they will find they are full of reports of attacks on SWAPO men and supporters, at times with the police just standing by. UNTAG police units are stretched to the breaking-point we are told, and the assassination of SWAPO leaders has actually taken place.

So, while we are on the home stretch, a grave situation still surrounds events in Namibia, and it is important that we should all keep our guard and remain vigilant. As we enter these final weeks of the election campaign the desperation of the anti-SWAPO forces in Namibia is becoming evident daily. It is important, therefore, that urgent action be taken to strengthen UNTAG police units and to increase the number of projected electoral monitors. We are very pleased that a number of States represented here have agreed and are going to send observers, monitors and guests to Namibia over the next few weeks to observe what will be happening. The more observers, the more guests, the more people we can have in that country, the better. We welcome the effort being made by many States around the globe.

Meanwhile, the United Nations must prepare well-thought-out plans for the post-election period in Namibia, assuming the election proceeds satisfactorily. For there can be no doubt that, as the decolonizing authority, the United Nations has a continuing responsibility to see that Namibia's independence is a success. A good mother does not give birth only to abandon the baby immediately. This session of the General Assembly must ensure that the United Nations prepares itself to be a good mother. My delegation is ready to contribute in the process of clarifying the United Nations role during the transition period following the elections and in the elaboration of a continuing United Nations responsibility to ensure that Namibian

(Mr. Shamuyarira, Zimbabwe)

independence is a success. These are urgent tasks which require our immediate attention. Every effort has been made to draw the attention of the United Nations Secretary-General and of the United Nations generally to these matters, especially the question of convening the Assembly after the elections. Whoever wins the election, it is not yet clear how the Assembly will be convened and how it will proceed to draw up the constitution leading to independence. We would be pleased if the United Nations would remain seized of these problems and would continue to provide solutions until the time of independence itself.

In South Africa itself, apartheid, the root cause of all the problems in southern Africa, continues to be firmly entrenched. The state of emergency still continues; Mandela and other political prisoners remain incarcerated; liberation and mass democratic movements are still proscribed; the Group Areas Act and other obnoxious legislative acts continue to be on the apartheid statute books.

That is the reality of the situation in South Africa itself.

President de Klerk's talk of reform so far remains only mere talk. It is important that the Pretoria régime be urged to go beyond rhetoric to concrete action. The liberation movements are ready to engage President de Klerk in serious negotiations. They have formulated an imaginative negotiating platform which was adopted by the OAU Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa, in Harare, on 21 August 1989, as well as by the ninth non-aligned summit conference in Belgrade. It is on the table for South Africa to take advantage of. This is an olive branch from the liberation movement. It outlines a number of confidence-building measures needed before negotiations can begin and sets out the fundamental human rights that should guide the formulation of a new constitutional dispensation for a future South Africa. It is quite obvious of course that negotiations, or any form of dialogue, cannot take place while the leaders are incarcerated in gaols or while

(Mr. Shamuyarira, Zimbabwe)

the present restrictions emanating from the state of emergency remain. The international community has warmly welcomed this important initiative for peace, to which I have just referred, taken by the liberation movement. So far Pretoria has remained mum on this proposal.

(Mr. Shamuyarira, Zimbabwe)

We are told that certain of the seven leaders who are now incarcerated may be released sooner or later. That might be a palliative, but what we need is a complete and full constitutional dispensation that can bring peaceful conditions in which negotiations can truly take place for the future of an independent South Africa.

Until Pretoria dismantles apartheid it is important that the international community intensifies its pressure on it and increases the sanctions against it. There is no secret about it: the fact that Pretoria is now talking reform is directly related to the impact of international sanctions and the pressure exerted by the liberation forces and other democratic forces in South Africa. There is no doubt whatsoever that sanctions are working and can continue to work. They have damaged the South African economy to a great extent, as has been admitted by the economic spokesman for that régime. Therefore, more sanctions will certainly put more pressure on the régime. The medicine is slowly taking effect. We appeal to those friends of Pretoria who oppose sanctions to join the rest of the international community in bringing meaningful pressure to bear on Pretoria by applying sanctions and supporting the liberation movement.

To the international banking community we say that 1990 will be a critical year for the apartheid régime, because in that year it has to reschedule its debt. Rescheduling the debt is not an automatic right for the racist régime; let it be a favour, granted as an inducement to meaningful change in South Africa. The concatenation of events makes the coming rescheduling exercise a particularly potent force for positive political developments in South Africa. We urge the bankers to use it. We have given them adequate information to ensure that they are quite clear about the choices before them.

(Mr. Shamuyarira, Zimbabwe)

Elsewhere in southern Africa, there are regional efforts to bring peace to Angola and to Mozambique. The Assembly has heard statements by the Foreign Ministers of both those countries, elaborating on those measures. We in Zimbabwe appeal to outsiders to stop supporting rebel elements in Mozambique and Angola, especially UNITA in Angola, which has created difficulties in the process of reconciliation. We are seeking African solutions to African problems. The Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the United Nations can help as requested and as required, but we ask them to give these initiatives a chance.

We also seek peace efforts in the dispute between Mauritania and Senegal, the situation in the Sudan and the situation in Ethiopia. African solutions, initiated by the OAU, are at work in those situations, and we again appeal to outsiders not to interfere in the processes of reconciliation that are taking place. We are satisfied that the initiatives taken by the Organization of African Unity, if given time to mature, will provide solutions and bring peace to the three areas I have mentioned.

We are also anxious to see Western Sahara's independence consolidated with speed and firmness. The Secretary-General's efforts to bring permanent peace to Western Sahara are commended. We also commend the meetings that took place earlier this year between the King of Morocco and the POLISARIO Front. We hope these efforts will continue.

The denial of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination is a continuing sore in international relations. We deplore the heavy-handed methods of the occupation forces against the aggrieved heroic Palestinian nation. We wish to reiterate our conviction that only an international peace conference under United Nations auspices, with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as an equal

(Mr. Shamuyarira, Zimbabwe)

partner, and addressing all aspects of the Middle East crisis, can bring peace to the region. The proclamation of a Palestinian State last year was an important development in this area. We commended, and commend, the PLO for the step it took, and we are pleased that over 85 countries have recognized the Palestinian State. From that strong position, the Palestinian leadership should be able to proceed to meaningful negotiations with big Powers, small Powers and others in the region that are seized of the problem of Palestine. The independence of Palestine has been long delayed, and we should like to see the Palestinian people take their place as equal citizens alongside the peoples of other nations.

In Central America, we welcome the decision to disband the contras and the scheduled elections in Nicaragua, which are to be monitored by the Organization of American States, the United Nations and a host of other international observers. We are pleased that a dialogue has resumed between the Salvadorian Government and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front aimed at bringing peace to El Salvador. We urge flexibility on both sides so that a peaceful solution can be found to their conflict. The only warning we as outsiders would issue regarding the Central American situation again takes the form of urging outsiders not to interfere in the processes that are taking place there. The effort being made by the leaders of Central America to come together and produce plans that enable them to enjoy self-determination and full human rights and provide peace for their own territories is commendable - if only outsiders do not interfere. In that respect, the main instigator of problems that have arisen in Central America is, of course, the United States, which has continued to fish in troubled waters in Latin America.

(Mr. Shamuyarira, Zimbabwe)

In Afghanistan, we again urge all outside Powers to stop supplying arms to the opposing sides, and we call upon the Afghan people to negotiate an end to their civil war in a spirit of national reconciliation. We are pleased to note the departure of Soviet troops, and we are also pleased to note the confidence and patriotism that act brought to the Afghan people themselves. We hope that sooner or later they will convene a shura - an assembly - that will make it possible for all Afghans inside and outside Afghanistan to get together to resolve their problems. We believe all Afghans can solve their problems in peace in a shura, their traditional assembly which had met periodically over the past 300 or 400 years.

On the question of Kampuchea, we welcome the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces and urge the parties concerned to negotiate their differences among themselves in order to arrive at an acceptable solution. We noted with disappointment the failure of the recent Paris Conference. We also noted with disappointment that both the Vietnamese and the Phnom Penh delegations to that Conference refused to accept the international mechanism that was suggested: a United Nations peace-keeping force. We have made it clear to them, and we make it clear now, that we do not see any possibility of disarming the rival forces, bringing peace to Cambodia and holding elections there without the active participation of the United Nations. The United Nations has much experience with peace-keeping forces around the world, and, in our view, is the only organization that can assist in the peace-making and peace-keeping process.

(Mr. Shamuyarira, Zimbabwe)

With regard to the Korean peninsula, it is our view that the Korean people should be left alone to negotiate their reunification without outside interference. We urge that the military manoeuvres by outside forces that often take place on the peninsula or in waters near it be stopped.

With regard to Cyprus we appeal again to both parties to co-operate with the Secretary-General in the search for a lasting solution. We commend the meetings that have taken place under the chairmanship of the Secretary-General between the President of Cyprus and the representative of the Turkish Cypriots. Again, we call on outside Powers to cease interfering in the internal affairs of Cyprus.

In Belgrade the leaders of the non-aligned countries called for self-determination for the remaining colonies of New Caledonia, Malvinas, Diego Garcia, Mayotte and a dozen other territories scattered across the globe. The forty-third session of the General Assembly declared an International Decade for the eradication of the retrograde system of colonialism. We repeat that call from this rostrum.

As can be seen from the problems I have just touched upon, we have not yet reached the Promised Land, the new détente notwithstanding. Much remains to be done, and in that the United Nations must play a central role. We therefore welcome the declarations that have been made from this podium by the great Powers, renewing their faith in the United Nations. These days of change also mean a period of uncertainty, a period of opportunities, yet also of danger. In such a period, recourse to and respect for the Organization and its agencies becomes more indispensable than ever before.

It was in recognition of that fact, and motivated by the desire to strengthen peace and the rule of law, as well as to bring the age of reason to international relations, that the non-aligned countries convened at The Hague, from 26 to

(Mr. Shamuyarira, Zimbabwe)

30 June 1989, a Conference on Peace and the Rule of Law in International Affairs. We were pleased by the wide attendance at that Conference, which included important countries not members of our Movement. The Conference was a landmark in the struggle to bring the rule of law and the role of the World Court to the centrality they should enjoy in the resolution of conflicts and in the management of international relations. An important initiative was taken at the Conference to have the General Assembly declare at its current session a decade of international law from 1990 to 1999, leading to a third Hague Peace Conference. That is one of the concrete acts that can be achieved at this session of the General Assembly in the cause of peace, justice and the rule of law. We urge all Member States to support that noble initiative by the non-aligned countries. I am informed that a concrete proposal has already been submitted to the Sixth Committee and that it is now being debated.

Last - but by no means least - is the all-important issue of nuclear disarmament, to which I have not referred extensively in my statement. We have all had the opportunity to welcome the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles - INF Treaty - in 1987. That was a truly significant step in the right direction, but what remains to be achieved is even more formidable. In comparison to that, the INF Treaty is indeed only the tip of the iceberg. The super-Powers have a special responsibility in this regard. As the possessors of the largest arsenals of nuclear, chemical and other weapons of mass destruction, they have a duty to take the lead in the disarmament process.

But of course we of the non-aligned movement, as well as the Organization of African Unity, can take some credit for the fact that at the special session of the General Assembly convened last year to discuss the question of disarmament we made our position abundantly clear. We indicated the hazards of war with which the

(Mr. Shamuyarira, Zimbabwe)

road to disarmament is replete, and we are pleased that our call has been heeded in some quarters.

Today the world still has many problems, but in 1989 there is a window of opportunity to address some of them. History will judge us harshly if we miss that opportunity.

The meeting rose at 12.15 p.m.