



## General Assembly

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Forty-fourth session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVIS IONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SEVENTEENTH MEETING

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

President: Mr. GARBA (Nigeria)  
later: Mr. FEYDER (Luxembourg)  
(Vice-President)

- Address by Mr. Francisco Rodriguez, Provisional President of the Republic of Panama
- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements made by

Mr. Srithirath (Lao People's Democratic Republic)  
Mr. Yilmaz (Turkey)  
Mr. Combosuren (Mongolia)  
Mr. Errázuriz (Chile)  
Mr. Mocumbi (Mozambique)  
Mr. Tsering (Bhutan)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.10 p.m.

ADDRESS BY MR. FRANCISCO RODRIGUEZ, PROVISIONAL PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF PANAMA

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

Mr. Francisco Rodriguez, Provisional President of the Republic of Panama, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the Provisional President of the Republic of Panama, Mr. Francisco Rodriguez, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

Provisional President RODRIGUEZ (interpretation from Spanish):  
Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of Panama I should like to convey to you our heartfelt congratulations on your well-deserved election, which has put in very capable hands the responsibility of directing the debates of the General Assembly. In offering to you, Sir, the President of the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly the support and co-operation of the Panamanian delegation, we acknowledge that the success of its work will depend in great measure on your vast experience and known dedication, particularly in matters concerning the solution to problems of great significance to the Members of the Organization, such as safeguarding peace and the sharing of efforts leading to the eradication of that affront to humanity apartheid. Your inaugural address revealed a clear perception of the problems of the third world, which gives us renewed hope for the fulfilment of our tasks in the Assembly.

I am also pleased to congratulate the Secretary-General and his staff for the excellent report he has made available to us on the work of the Organization. Its contents are clear proof of the arduous and intelligent work that has been done to solve some of the most difficult problems confronting our world today.

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As Provisional President of the Republic of Panama, I shall now refer to a matter of importance, especially to small nations, and reiterate denunciations and concepts that have been expressed by other Panamanian rulers before this forum for the greater part of this decade.

Indeed, once more we denounce the continued violation by the Government of the United States of the terms of the Panama Canal Treaties. It is disrespectfully ignoring the norms of international law which relate to civilized coexistence among sovereign States. Not even the Host Country Agreement between the United Nations and the United States Government has been able to curtail the cruelty with which we are being persecuted. Panamanian diplomats and officials with me here are not all of those who were to accompany me. Entry visas to the United States were refused to the others. Prior to this, a visa was also denied to a Panamanian Ambassador on special mission for the meeting of the Security Council on 11 August this year, in violation of the obligations of the United States Government to the Organization.

Denunciations presented by Panama - even before the current crisis in Panamanian-United States relations - in this and other world forums, still prevail concerning the so-called Law 96-70 passed by the United States Congress, as well as the other impositions and practices which this and previous Governments have used insistently to avoid compliance with such Treaties, undermining my country's sovereignty, security and economy, in detriment of the interests and security of the international community, which benefits from the services of the Canal.

During the past 27 months my country has been subjected to the most intense disinformation campaign concerning its reality in order to discredit its Government authorities and to undermine our national struggles. This is part of a brutal programme of political, diplomatic and financial pressures, interference in our internal affairs, intimidation and military threats. The aim is to subjugate

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us by denegrating, isolating and impoverishing our people, in order to subvert the institutional order of the Republic and place us at the will of United States regional strategy.

These facts demonstrate that there are still centres of power in the world which make it difficult and costly for a small nation to cling to its identity and procure its own social and political answers according to its human idiosyncracies and in search of its own destiny.

Nevertheless, notwithstanding these obstacles, in the last years of the decade of the 1960s, a transformation movement was instituted in Panama, a movement which did not fit traditional schemes.

In 1968, under the leadership of General Omar Torrijos, Panama began a new governmental effort whose principal characteristics were a marked emphasis on popular reforms freeing the people from ignorance, from backwardness and from despair; in other words, a process of democratizing the opportunities of progress and welfare for all sectors of our society.

However, our effort was viewed not only as dangerous, but as ever more dangerous, because one could not wave the banner of anti-communism against it.

The social results of the last two decades are self-evident. In 1968, life expectancy at birth for a Panamanian was 64.3 years; in 1987, when the stage of open aggression was reached, life expectancy was 72 years. Infant mortality, which had been 51.6 per thousand live births, had been reduced to 22.9. We increased the medical facilities from 189 to 608. The percentage of population covered by our social security programme, which includes free medical and dental care and had been 16.5 per cent, reached 62.5 per cent. The percentage of population to which drinking water was available climbed from 65 per cent to 86.2 per cent. Enrolment

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of university students in 1968 was 11,992; in 1987 it had reached 56,567, while the rate of illiteracy went from 20.7 per cent in 1970 to 13.2 per cent, according to the 1980 census. And in this decade, literacy programmes have multiplied and telephone service and electric power have been extended to practically the entire country.

To this we should add that in June 1987 projections for real economic growth were estimated at 6 per cent, one of the highest in Latin America for that year. As a result of aggression, the national economy experienced extraordinary losses: an estimated 20 per cent reduction in the gross national product and of 40 per cent reduction in tax revenues, and a doubling of the unemployment rate. Thousands of small businesses went bankrupt, more than 70,000 workers lost their jobs, and there was a shortage of basic food products, medicines and hospital equipment. Aggression was meant to impose suffering upon our people in order to modify their political conduct.

To these actions we must add the extreme interference in the internal affairs of our country. Among other things, the Government in Washington seized funds belonging to the Panamanian nation in the United States, ordered its companies and the Panama Canal Commission to withhold payment of taxes to Panama, and suspended making payments to which it is committed pursuant not only to the Treaties subscribed to by both countries but also to the laws of the United States. To this we add the orders given to United States capital firms in our country illegally to sequester bank monies and to impede payments to those on a blacklist of functionaries and others accused of continuing to defend Panama's interests. Persecution at the international level, not excluding multilateral agencies of which we are a member, is intended to put an end to national efforts to achieve economic recovery and meet the basic needs of the Panamanian people.

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As a result, Panama today has become living evidence that the Government of the United States means to impose upon Latin America and the Caribbean a new model of colonization by establishing dependent and weak governments, coerced by economic crisis and financial terrorism. Such governments would in many cases be established through manipulating the people with disinformation campaigns, economic blackmail and political interference so that, in the final analysis, they would become States whose sovereign powers could only be exercised depending on the need to preserve United States interests.

What my country is enduring is only an early manifestation of a strategy for continental domination whose purpose is to deform our historical ideals of independence and annihilate our aspirations to true democratization.

United States aggression has met with an intense patriotic mobilization of our people, unequivocally reaffirming our nationalism.

Faced with the failure of its purposes, the Government of the United States has reverted to other, equally ignoble, means. In another flagrant violation of the Panama Canal Treaties, it has sent fresh personnel contingents and additional military equipment to its military installations located in our country, and it has multiplied its shows of military force which, in addition to being illegal and unjustified, are dangerously targeted to intimidate, threaten and provoke the Panamanians.

Arguing a posteriori that these are military "exercises" to which they allegedly have a right, alluding to feeble pretexts, or simply without any justification at all, troop contingents, artillery and armoured vehicles, accompanied by combat helicopters, have frequently trespassed into areas under exclusive Panamanian jurisdiction. They have gone so far as to close national roads and highways and militarily to seize the most important water

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treatment facility that supplies drinking water to a third of the population of the country. In addition, they have mobilized, in privately registered vehicles, troops wearing civilian attire but carrying combat equipment, through densely populated neighbourhoods in our nation's capital.

Last August, these acts of intimidation were intensified both in frequency and gravity, while at the same time there was open discussion of an armed attack against Panama in the United States Congress sub-committees, and the Chief of the Southern Command - illegally installed on Panamanian soil - boasted publicly of his willingness to decimate the country by blood and fire, in a matter of hours.

Actually, as proof of all this the printed text which I am delivering to the Assembly today does not include the most recent examples of United States belligerent provocations in my country. Last weekend military personnel from the Southern Command arrogantly and threateningly prevented my compatriots from engaging in an act of elementary human solidarity: going to the aid of American soldiers trapped on board a helicopter that had just crashed into the sea after buzzing our coast, sowing panic among hundreds of bathers at a beach under Panamanian jurisdiction. As a result, none of the crew members survived and the Government today has had to control a new attempt at subversion frustrated by the firm resistance of our people and armed forces.

Previously, at the height of interventionist strategy in our electoral process - as the United States Administration has now admitted - they delivered to the Panamanian opposition over \$10 million, and as if this were not enough, the United States went so far as to condemn the results of our elections in advance, and publicly to air the possibility of sending in its troops to kidnap the Commander-in-Chief of the Panama defence forces, an act of state terrorism repeatedly condemned by General Assembly resolutions.

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The United States, as an active participant in the Panamanian elections, affected the integrity of the voting to such a degree that the Electoral Tribunal decided to nullify the elections by a resolution which has since been upheld as constitutional by the unanimous vote of the Supreme Court.

All those actions are serious violations of international law and the United Nations Charter and, furthermore, they have been committed with ostentatious arrogance in the presence of dignitaries from the regional organization.

Panama hopes that the community of nations will weigh the potential consequences of a heightening of the United States military threat against my country, as this could affect peace and the continuance of international juridical order. If the people and the Government of Panama have not capitulated in these 27 months of siege on the part of the West's foremost Power, we shall not yield now, and this fact heightens the imminent danger to the region. The Panamanian people's patriotic mobilization has led to the formation of volunteer civilian brigades with a firm willingness to resist at whatever cost in defence of our national sovereignty and self-determination.

In order that the nature of the conflict should be perfectly clear, I must denounce that, in our case, the United States cannot invoke the pretexts that it has generally used to justify its military interventions. In 27 months, there has not been a single incident which could, in the least, affect the efficient functioning of the Panama Canal and, in the whole of the Panamanian territory, there has not been a single death of a United States citizen, civilian or military, attributable to the act or will of a Panamanian citizen. The absurdity of such allegation would be compounded by the fact that for 86 years the people of Panama have lived in close contact with United States personnel. Even under affront and humiliating practices of discrimination and arrogant treatment, not a single act of terrorism against a civilian or military citizen of the United States, nor against



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its property, has ever been committed by a Panamanian citizen or by a citizen of another nation in Panamanian territory. I can proudly and rightfully state that citizens of the United States are far safer in Panama than they are in their own country, in their own cities, and this statement is supported by our statistical data and theirs.

There are few people so free of rancor, so committed to agreements based on sacrifices required by reciprocal concessions, as the Panamanian people. For these reasons, we continue to set an example of peace in the midst of the desolation and violence which has, regrettably, marked the history of the American continent in the last decades.

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These expressions of our special nature reveal very particular characteristics of the national identity we are in the process of forming but they are also conditioning factors in our process leading to a genuinely Panamanian democracy. If the past few decades are impartially assessed in terms of how human rights are observed in Panama, without making comparisons with governments on this or other continents, the figures show that there is a profound respect for human dignity as the backbone of our liberation movement. Even during the last three years of artificially induced discord in our society, there have been no political murders or disappearances and there have been no torture chambers, while the total number of police arrests and actions is so tiny that it has been exceeded elsewhere by factors of ten or a hundred in a matter of days.

Our defence forces in no way represent a traditional army organized as a repressive force; on the contrary, they are a genuine expression of our people. Our military personnel are preparing themselves the better to carry out the requirements of the Panama Canal Treaties, which legally require us to assume increasing responsibilities for protecting and defending the Canal with a view to taking over completely from the United States forces, which are temporarily stationed in Panama solely for these legal purposes. Those who attempt to denigrate or hinder the formation of our national armed force are at the same time concealing their intention to fall back on the argument that we are unprepared as a justification for prolonging military presence. This is the reality behind the political and propaganda rhetoric which is being used against Panama to disguise interventionist and aggressive acts by means of sordid accusations aimed at the social role of the Panamanian defence forces.

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Panamanians are aware that the only links that the leader of a great Power has with world realities are determined by the many levels of the hierarchy beneath him. We know that it is at those levels in the sinister cores of closed governments that many abuses originate, and we know that we have to penetrate to those levels in order to put an end to the present insistence on continuing with the punishment which is supposed to prevent the continent from being "infected" by the nationalist example of resistance set by the Panamanian people.

For this reason, I shall avail myself of this solemn occasion to reiterate what I said at my inauguration as Provisional President of the Republic of Panama: notwithstanding military aggression and the constant threat that force will be used against us, we have no intention of heading or promoting any movement against the lives or economic interests of citizens of the United States and we are prepared to re-establish the ties of friendly association without rancour; on the condition, however, that no sacrifice of our sovereignty or lessening of our independence is imposed on us.

During these past months, the Panamanian Government has on many occasions shown its willingness to pursue dialogue both with Washington and with our internal opposition with a view to achieving honourable and equitable formulas of understanding in order to ensure that the life of the country will return to normal without foreign interference, aggression or threats. Only in this way will it be possible to find a satisfactory solution and continue the democratization process in a genuinely Panamanian manner. If these efforts have not borne fruit, the primary responsibility must fall on the obstinacy with which the Government of the United States is clinging to a misguided policy that ignores Panamanian reality.

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In an unmistakable spirit of continental brotherhood and in the awareness of the limits on authority clearly established by the Charter of the Organization of American States, the Government of Panama heartily welcomed the efforts of the regional Organization to mediate in seeking solutions to the internal aspects of the present conflict between Panama and the United States. We are co-operating very willingly, and without cavilling at making considerable concessions, in order to establish valid channels for negotiation and we are continuing to keep those channels open. At the same time, the Provisional Government of which I am President has initiated the widest possible debate on an economic and social plan to consolidate the recovery which we have begun to achieve and it is also taking steps towards resuming the democratization process by means of elections to ensure that the will of the people is freely expressed. However, the free expression of the will of a people is unthinkable while they are enduring economic strangulation and living day after day under the threat of a military attack. What right does anybody have to talk about free elections when at the same time they are sabotaging the democratic development of an electoral debate by threatening to cut our throats?

In this context, I should mention the fact that amongst the intellectuals and politicians, journalists and diplomats, community leaders and envoys from organizations who come to Panama from abroad, the most frequent reaction we see when they arrive in Panama is one of surprise at finding a reality which is the reverse of the one shown by the disinformation networks. Not only are the basic structures of democratic coexistence still intact, but our institutions have undergone only the inevitable changes brought about by military threat and the most outright and blatant interference by one nation in the internal affairs of another in order to impose an artificial and arbitrary political model.

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he Provisional Government is not only performing its duties of ensuring control over its territory and acting in its capacity of acquiring and fulfilling its international obligations, it is doing so in a climate of peace and without imposing its authority by force. However, my Government is under no illusion that continuing a permanent conflict between our small nation and a Power such as the United States is either convenient or positive. If indeed the numbers of Panamanians - inside my Government and outside it, within the armed forces and out of uniform - willing to defend our country at any price are high enough to safeguard our national identity before the world, we do not have to shirk our commitment to democratization or waver in our determination to bring it about.

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The Government of the United States has kept Panama in a state of emergency for 27 months and has threatened the very existence of the Panamanian State. None of our efforts, none of the sacrifices we have made in our commitment to the process of democracy has been recognized or taken into account. On the contrary, not only has the reality in our country been concealed, but persecution has increased. That is why I ask the United Nations to contribute to our efforts by carrying out, through applicable mechanisms, a careful and detailed verification of the path which my Government is following towards our own democracy, and to testify to the actions other Governments are taking to obstruct or strangle those efforts.

It is not my intention to dramatize our situation, but only to present the facts. Panama has this alternative: to consolidate its presence in the community of free nations, or to become a protectorate, a new form of colony, albeit disguised in flowery language. We represent somewhat more than the simple longing of a country to develop its own plans for the benefit of its citizens. We are an invaded country whose primary commitment is to break the shackles of coarse interference in its internal affairs, which undermines its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and threatens the basic rights of its citizens.

The aggression which we are enduring is the result in no small measure of Panama's loyalty to the principles of non-alignment and to our commitment to neutrality and friendly relations with all nations of the world. It is also the result, in large part, of our refusal to allow our territory and military resources to serve the purposes of foreign military aggression against a country with which we have fraternal bonds. It is the result of our rejection of any form of foreign occupation; it is the result of our unreserved defence of the right of all nations to choose their forms of government without interference of any kind.

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The current struggle of the Panamanian people does not make us forget others but, rather, strengthens our satisfaction at the advances taking place in other parts of the world. My country decisively supports all efforts to eradicate apartheid once and for all.

We are against racism not only because this is a humanitarian question but also because of our experience as a society where there is not the slightest trace of racial discrimination.

In a spirit of honour and duty, my country has sent a delegation of the Panama Defence Forces to join the contingents supervising implementation of the agreements which will guarantee Namibia's independence. We would express the warning that in the elections to be held in Namibia, as well as those to be held in Nicaragua, we must avoid any type of foreign intervention that could interfere with the sovereign expression of the will of the citizens of those countries - as happened recently in the case of Panama.

How can anyone speak of free elections when a nation grants financial, organizational, promotional and news-media assistance to one political faction in a foreign country, when in other neighbouring nations information and communication systems are set up to brainwash the citizenry, and when the secret services of a foreign Government establishes infiltration and bribery networks in all the organizational units of the country getting ready to elect a government by popular vote? A genuinely democratic contest cannot be conducted when a foreign Government is resorting to coercion by hunger and extreme deprivation, as well as to the outright buying-off of the leaders of other Governments, and when, in addition to an overwhelming apparatus of psychological warfare, the voting population is subjected to the threat of destruction, terror, grief and ruin.

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We also hope for the success of the joint plan of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity for the decolonization of Western Sahara, so that the independence and self-determination of the Sahraoui people can be ensured for ever.

We call for negotiated solutions in Kampuchea and in the Middle East. We cannot forget that progress in lessening tensions everywhere is directly related to recognition of the inalienable rights of the people. In that respect, Panama continues to offer its solidarity to the people of Puerto Rico in their struggle for self-determination. We urge all parties to continue supporting the efforts of the Secretary-General to fulfil the aspirations of the Cypriot people to independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and the Panamanian people embraces the Cypriot people's struggle as its own. Panama also desires the prompt reunification of the Korean peninsula.

Central America, understandably, has a special significance for us. We welcome the agreements reached by the Heads of State of the region, and we hope that they will not again be obstructed by the arbitrary and unjustifiable decisions of other countries. We remain convinced that the Malvinas islands are an integral part of Argentina, and we therefore place our hopes in the prompt renewal of ties between Buenos Aires and London, and in a greater response to the requirements of the process of decolonization prevailing in the world.

The advances which we mention today - the lessening of tensions between the super-Powers, the agreements to eliminate intermediate-range missiles, the Geneva Agreements on Afghanistan, and the cease-fire between Iran and Iraq, which we hope will ultimately lead to a permanent peace treaty - should not be interpreted to mean that all the major problems are on their way to final solution.

Many of the peoples of the world continue to endure the harsh conditions and dangers caused by a terrible plague: drug consumption and trafficking, a serious



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threat to the future of mankind as well as to the stability of institutions and States. We see criminal organizations controlling sums of money which exceed the gross national product of many nations, a handful of criminals amassing so much material power that they can defy legitimately constituted authorities and unleash insurrections that take on the dimensions of internal warfare. We must therefore open our eyes to this radical distortion of the basic concept of human association in national States. This is the moment to identify the real roots and rationally agree on the cure, without demagoguery.

On the other hand, third-world countries, particularly the Latin American nations, are weighted down by the burden of their foreign debts and by pressures which increasingly require the sacrifice of national sovereignty and the national heritage, while the needs of their peoples are becoming more urgent and pressing. In these circumstances, new forms of neo-colonial subjugation are beginning to emerge, as if humanity's progress in certain areas must be paid for at the cost of setbacks in others.

It is unjust for small and poor countries that are struggling to meet their obligations in the international community, playing the game honestly, still find themselves the victims of those who cheat. My country's situation is a good example. I was the Comptroller-General immediately before assuming the presidency, and I can vouch for the scrupulous manner with which we complied with our obligations until 1987. But solely because of the unjust sanctions imposed by the United States Government, Panama has been unable to meet its commitments since that date. Faced with the choice of not paying our foreign debt and seeing our people starve, we have opted for the former, as befits a Government conscious of its moral and social responsibilities.

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Once again before this Assembly I request the world community to direct its attention to the case of Panama.

If the self-determination of the Panamanian people, their ability to engage in peaceful labour and their commitment to neutrality and friendship with all peoples and nations were to be fully and effectively realized, that would mean more wealth and welfare for the people of the United States, greater distinction for its leaders, and greater splendour for the ideals it professes, than would our subjugation into slavery through the use of military force. The cost of the second option is clear, given our unwaivering determination to defend our country.

The first path, towards which world direction and history is heading, is the one which will lead to lasting and fruitful yields. By abandoning arrogance and coercion, the United States will have greater assurances of always being able to count on friends in the heart of the Americas, on people who, in moments which require reciprocal concessions of interdependence, will be more willing and more understanding, than it will by carrying out a terrible aggregate of siege, privation, humiliation and injury.

We are a nation with such great potential that citizens of many other countries may find among us plentiful opportunities for fortune and happiness. Changes in world trade, in transportation and in communications systems enhance the increasing importance of Panama's geographical characteristics. My Government is fully aware that the rapid development of the wealth of that great natural resource for the benefit of the Panamanian people is inseparable from equitable and respectful association with other nations and other peoples.

Mr. President, it is now my duty, with which I happily comply, to convey the timeless debt of gratitude which the Panamanian people feel towards Your Excellency

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for the words with which you referred to the situation in Panama in your inaugural address to this forty-fourth session of the General Assembly.

Indeed, the current conflict between the United States and Panama is incompatible with peace, but a prompt solution depends on allowing Panamanians to carry out our daily tasks in a secure environment, free of violence.

Before this forum, I solemnly reiterate my Government's best willingness to peacefully resolve our differences with the Government of the United States, based on mutual recognition of the legitimate interests of both nations.

To establish a climate of good will, the first step should be for the United States to comply with the provisions of the Panama Canal Treaty of 1977, and appoint the Panamanian Administrator proposed by the us, who is to assume office on 1 January 1990, in less than three months. On our part, what I am about to state will leave no doubts in anyone's mind as to our own good faith.

The idea of establishing a multinational force to combat drugs is being debated by several Governments. We believe that this proposal merits deep analysis for we must weigh the difficulties of establishing such a force against the incredibly destructive power amassed by these criminal networks.

If formulas could be devised so that a multilateral action of this nature became the subject of an international convention, with adequate mechanisms to safeguard national sovereignty and avoid threats to the independence of any nation, then the Republic of Panama would not only render its enthusiastic support to the initiative, but would go further.

Given our long experience in fighting illegal drug traffic, because we are neither a producing nor a consuming country, and because our successes in this area have been recognized by the entire world, the Republic of Panama would be willing to accept the headquarters of such a multinational force in our territory, as

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another service that the Isthmus' strategic position would offer to the international community.

If the United States desires a new relationship with Panama concerning military bases, why does it not state that openly? Let the United States make such an announcement, without disguising it in an attempt to impose it using the formula of force without war.

In any case, whether with my Government or any other Government of Panama, decisions must reflect the will of the Panamanian people pursuant to article 310 of our Constitution, which establishes a referendum procedure for the ratification of international agreements of a nature so vital to the Republic. The people themselves must be the contracting party.

The Republic of Panama has been made into a giant experimental laboratory by the most powerful nation in the world, one that proclaims itself the leader of human rights.

In my country, essential elements for the taking over of governments and territories have been put into practice. They are based on low intensity warfare and include tactics such as psychological warfare, economic aggression through the seizure of goods and property of poor nations, the indebtedness of countries without great resources for future collection with inflated interest, using a form of blackmail which undermines their sovereignty and dignity.

To this one must add military threat and aggression under terms dictated by the arrogance of superior weapons and provocations targeted against a traditionally peaceful people.

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This laboratory, which produced the so-called Panama crisis, extends to other nations, intimidating them in order to exert pressure and force them to isolate 2 million Panamanians who have never had, and do not have, a background of hostile attitudes, or racism, or aggressiveness, or plans for offensive expansion, and whose only sin is to raise a banner against neo-colonialism, against apartheid and against any form of imperialism.

Two million Panamanians aspire only to be left in peace, to work in peace, to share and enjoy the fruits of our efforts, free and in peace.

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

Mr. Francisco Rodriguez, Provisional President of the Republic of Panama, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

## GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. SRITHIRATH (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (interpretation from French): Allow me first on behalf of the delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic to congratulate you, Sir, most warmly on your unanimous election as President of the General Assembly at its forty-fourth session. My delegation is convinced that under your skilful guidance the work of this session will be crowned with success.

I should also like to take this opportunity to express to the Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, our feelings of renewed confidence in the tireless efforts he has made to promote and strengthen peace and co-operation among nations.\*

The general international situation has seen a certain easing of tension following the resumption of the dialogue between the two main Powers, the Soviet Union and the United States of America, which made possible the signature and entry into force of the Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles. With this very welcome step the world now awaits the conclusion of other agreements on disarmament, particularly one relating to the reduction by 50 per cent of strategic offensive weapons as mentioned encouragingly by the delegations of the Soviet Union and the United States in their statements last week.

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\* Mr. Feyder (Luxembourg), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Srithirath, Lao People's  
Democratic Republic)

The deadly capacity of conventional and chemical weapons also requires full attention from us all. There are grounds for hoping that an agreement will be concluded as soon as possible.

While the general international situation has seen positive changes, nevertheless it remains complex and full of contradictions. We still see the stockpiling and modernization of weapons, continuing nuclear tests and also research into the militarization of space. Certain Western circles do not seem to be willing to give up their ideas of aggression, interference, the use of force and confrontation, which date back to the dark years of the cold war. Thus the concept of nuclear deterrence reaffirmed by certain great Powers at a time when all our energies are being channelled into building a non-violent world free of nuclear weapons is a threat to the interests and security of all peoples and nations of the world. It should be noted, moreover, that in certain regions conflicts that have lasted for decades have not only not been resolved satisfactorily but are becoming ever more convoluted and tragic; military bases are not being dismantled and continue to threaten the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States.

In the Persian Gulf area, the political wisdom guiding the leaders of Iran and Iraq has enabled those two fraternal countries to conclude a cease-fire, thus putting an end to a destructive and agonizing war which tore them apart for nearly eight years. We are convinced that the various efforts being made to implement Security Council resolution 598 (1987), efforts broadly encouraged and supported by the international community, are sure to achieve the hoped-for result, namely, a final, just and lasting solution to the conflict.

The situation in Afghanistan continues to concern us greatly despite the successful conclusion of the Geneva Agreements in April 1988 and the total withdrawal from that country of Soviet troops. While to date the Republic of

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Afghanistan and the Soviet Union have properly applied and implemented these Agreements both in spirit and in letter, it is to be regretted that the other signatory countries have not suitably honoured their commitments and have chosen to torpedo them deliberately, which means that Afghanistan at this time is in the grip of a murderous, fratricidal war which sows devastation and grief among the innocent civilian population, the consequences of which will reverberate well beyond the borders of that country.

The climate of understanding which developed last year in the Maghreb also encouraged the hope that the problem of Western Sahara would see a happy, acceptable solution through constructive and steady dialogue guaranteeing the courageous Sahraoui people the exercise of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

As for the situation in southern Africa, we are pleased with the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia under the leadership of the courageous South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). However, it is deplorable that given this positive development the Pretoria régime still continues to practise the inhuman and criminal policy of apartheid against the black African population and the front-line States.

In Latin America and the Caribbean we appreciate to the full the efforts of the Contadora Group and its Support Group and their contribution to peace. The Guatemala Agreement of 7 August 1987 and the Tela Declaration of 7 August 1989 which followed testify to the will of the peoples of this region to reach a peaceful settlement of their conflicts without external interference. Any attempt to supply assistance to the contras in Nicaragua and to carry out policies of coercion and blockade against other countries by any foreign Power will merely



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seriously compromise the peace efforts being advocated, and the process of democratization and of national reconciliation under way in Nicaragua and in other countries will also be jeopardized.

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In the Indian Ocean region, the existence of military bases of foreign Powers equipped with nuclear weapons is a constant threat to the independence and security of littoral and hinterland States. The convening of the International Conference on the Indian Ocean, in accordance with the decision of the General Assembly of the United Nations, thus remains necessary, indeed essential in order to guarantee peace and to promote co-operation among peoples.

The Lao People's Democratic Republic welcomes and supports the initiative taken by the coastal countries of the Mediterranean to transform that region into a zone of peace, security and co-operation free of any foreign military presence.

As regards the situation in Cyprus, the Government and people of Laos commend the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, whose mission of good offices has made it possible for the leaders of the two Cypriot communities to begin the process of direct negotiation in order to achieve a just and lasting solution to the problem dividing them.

In the Middle East, the situation remains disturbing, owing to the intensification of the occupying Power's implementation of a repressive policy against Palestinian Arabs in the occupied territories. The popular uprising - the intifadah - which is the expression of the determination and courage of the oppressed Palestinian people, certainly enjoys the sympathy and firm support of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. We also support any initiative aimed at the urgent convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East, with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization on an equal footing with the other parties directly concerned.

In the Korean peninsula, the artificial division imposed from outside and the presence of foreign armed forces in its southern part are the major obstacles to

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the peaceful reunification of Korea. Any attempt to admit either part of Korea to the United Nations will merely complicate the situation.

The situation in South-East Asia has currently become the main focus of international public opinion. It will be recalled that each year during the debate on the question of Kampuchea in the Assembly, some claim that the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia is a sine qua non for the settlement of that question. Now, that withdrawal has been fully effected. It was concluded less than a week ago in the presence of many international delegations and with coverage by the world's mass media. It was carried out in accordance with the timetable established by the State of Cambodia. But the situation in that country remains unclear, owing to the attempts by some to help Cambodian factions and by others to return the genocidal Pol Pot régime to power through so-called power-sharing. Meanwhile, the Khmer Rouge have already resumed their recidivist actions in the field against innocent civilians, thus terrorizing all foreign nationals, including Laos, in that country. At the military level, convinced that the Vietnamese retreat will weaken the State of Cambodia, the armed elements of the so-called democratic coalition have not hesitated to begin encroaching on the frontiers of the latter, particularly in the region of Pailin, near the Khmer-Thai border. Given all that, it is a mistake, not to say an illusion, on the part of the analysts of those who believe that, after the Vietnamese withdrawal from Cambodia, rebel forces will be able to seize some of the land in order to negotiate from a position of force. The case is the same in Afghanistan.

Given such a situation, can we, as supporters of peace and stability, remain indifferent? The Jakarta Informal Meetings were of the view that the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops is linked to the non-return of the genocidal Pol Pot clique to power and to the halting of foreign assistance to Cambodian parties, in order to

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avert civil war and to promote national reconciliation. The international Paris Conference that accompanied those meetings led to new positive elements. At this stage of development, we still need to find the most reasonable means for translating those well-known formulas into actions, to prevent the resumption of armed hostilities, and to avoid actions that might alienate the efforts of countries in the region and those of the co-chairmen of the Paris Conference, who have striven tirelessly to unite the Cambodian parties round a table. My delegation appeals for a turn to the better and for a display of realism.

As for the situation in my country, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, we have seen new, positive developments following the adoption a few years ago of a policy of openness consisting of promoting and encouraging foreign investment through the subsequent restructuring of various administrative and juridical branches able to respond to that new need. This policy, it is generally felt, has contributed actively to improving the climate of relations among countries in the region. It is also comforting to stress here that relations between my country and Thailand are steadily improving, although the border dispute has not yet been settled definitively.

The international political climate has certainly improved over the last few years. However, contrary to expectations and hopes, the world economy continues to go through a serious crisis in its development. Far from resolving itself, the present structural crisis in the world economy offers an uncertain future. In fact, the crushing burden of debt continues to oppress the third world. Commodity prices continue to plunge, terms of trade have deteriorated, and discriminatory practices against the exports of developing countries have further increased. In that truly disastrous external environment, developing countries have undertaken

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large-scale reforms and have agreed to broad adjustment measures, which have in certain cases entailed extremely high social and political costs. Those countries deserve the full support and sympathy of the international community. It is true that a certain degree of recovery has been noted in certain Western developed countries, but that has had scant influence on the effort to improve the health of the world economy.

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In the light of today's reality, when the interdependence of States is more obvious than ever before, international economic problems can be solved only if we co-ordinate our actions and if we all, developed and developing countries, act together. For in the new age no country or group of countries can by itself develop and protect itself from the repercussions of world social, economic and ecological problems. In that spirit we support a united and multilateral approach to seeking lasting and effective solutions to present-day problems. If that goal is to be attained, there is a pressing need for serious and constructive dialogue between North and South to begin, and from that viewpoint everything should be done to ensure the success of the special session of the General Assembly, planned for April 1990, devoted to international economic co-operation, and particularly to the resumption of the developing countries' growth and economic development.

At a time when the world economy is facing an unprecedented crisis, certain industrial countries are continuing to adopt coercive measures against third-world countries, in violation of ethical principles and of the relevant United Nations resolutions. The international community must do all it can to put an immediate end to such unfair practices.

The drug problem, one of the greatest scourges of the century, continues to be a source of world concern. The Lao Government fully shares that concern and has taken various measures designed, on the one hand, to bring a gradual halt to the traditional cultivation of poppy by those who engage in such cultivation and, on the other hand, to replace it by a substitute crop. We have developed projects for co-operation in this sphere with such international organizations as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control (UNFDAC), as well as with various interested countries. We plan to expand that co-operation, which should be based on strict respect for the independence and

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sovereignty of each State. It is true that in the struggle against drug abuse the non-production of narcotics is of great importance. However, the effective response to the problem is reduction and elimination of demand. The most powerful drug cartels in the world will ultimately founder if all of our children learn just to say "No" to drugs.

In conclusion, my delegation wishes to assure the President that he will have our full co-operation and that we shall work in a constructive spirit with other delegations to contribute to the success of this session of the General Assembly.

Mr. YIIMAZ (Turkey): At the outset I extend my warm congratulations to the President on his election to preside over the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly. This session is being held at a time when encouraging changes are taking place on the world scene. I am confident that under his guidance the session will contribute to the improvement of the international atmosphere by addressing the issues before it with courage, vision and realism.

I should also like to pay a tribute to the President of the forty-third session of the General Assembly, His Excellency Mr. Dante Caputo, who carried out his duties with competence and wisdom.

Since it came into being 44 years ago the United Nations has embodied the hopes and aspirations of mankind for a peaceful and prosperous existence on this planet. Unfortunately, the years of the cold war and East-West tensions prevented the world body from properly addressing those universal aspirations.

We now appear to be entering a new phase in international relations, one that is characterized by a keener awareness on all sides that to achieve the objectives sought by the founders of the world body co-operation must replace confrontation, mutual confidence must replace historical suspicions and constructive dialogue must replace propaganda and invective. Those are the trends that have become

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discernible on the international scene in recent years, and the resulting greater East-West co-operation has seen a blossoming of activities within the United Nations that are bound to make our world a better and more peaceful environment for all of us.

The new international atmosphere has made it possible for the United Nations to tackle more purposefully the still-too-many sources of regional conflict. Important advances, even breakthroughs, have been achieved in that area.

The Organization is also tackling the very important economic-development issues of our day with new vigour and much greater realism. We are hopeful that the fourth United Nations development decade will reflect that new spirit and that creative and innovative solutions will be sought to alleviate the debt burden that weighs so heavily on so many Members of the Organization.

As the spirit of the new era asserts itself, we expect to see the Organization become more active in the important field of human rights. Human rights is one of those areas where the interests of all mankind converge, and it is natural that that universal concern should be reflected to a much greater extent in our debates.

We are confident that that trend will continue and that this session of the General Assembly will be an important milestone in our search for a better and safer world.

As the climate of East-West relations continues to improve, the momentum initiated by the United States and the Soviet Union towards the consolidation of that climate is universally welcomed. All countries, notwithstanding their size and policy orientation, have an indisputable stake in the furtherance and expansion of this propitious atmosphere. That is why we must all strive to make our contributions to the transformation of the political, economic, social and ecological environment.



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In this spirit Turkey will continue to make its contribution towards overcoming the challenges facing mankind. This is a huge undertaking that can be tackled only in a gradual but progressively expanding manner. Guided by this philosophy, Turkey will continue to pursue actively a policy aimed at creating in its region relations based on mutual confidence that would help foster beneficial co-operation.

Times of change are times of opportunities. We are happy to note that these opportunities are being seized.

The successful conclusion of the follow-up to the Vienna Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) opened up the way for the negotiations on conventional armed forces in Europe. Since the beginning of this new process of negotiations between the 16 members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the seven members of the Warsaw Pact, promising proposals have been put forward to establish a conventional balance at lower levels. This new and realistic approach to arms reduction negotiations, reflecting the constructive spirit that has begun to prevail in East-West relations in recent years, will have a positive effect on the future of multilateral arms control and disarmament efforts in general.

The implementation in good faith of the Helsinki Final Act and its concluding documents in all their aspects will decisively contribute to the attainment of an atmosphere of confidence and good will in Europe and thus to the smooth progress of the negotiations under way in Vienna.

The Preparatory Committee for the Fourth Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, to take place in Geneva in August and September 1990, has already held its first and second sessions and completed an important part of its work in conformity with its mandate.

As a party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, Turkey holds the view that strict adherence to the Treaty is of vital significance. While

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the Treaty has so far performed its function, the need remains to strengthen further the non-proliferation régime. Similarly, increasing international co-operation in nuclear safety and the promotion of peaceful uses of nuclear energy should be given firm and universal support.

We welcome the proposals made by President George Bush in his statement regarding the elimination of chemical weapons. We welcome also the positive Soviet response contained in Mr. Schevardnadze's statement. We consider this an auspicious step in the arms control process.

The convening of the Conference on the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons in Paris in January 1989 and the unanimous adoption of a Final Declaration encompassing various aspects of this important problem constitute yet another major development.

We hope that the Conference on Disarmament will move ahead faster to an early conclusion of a comprehensive convention that would globally ban the development, production, stockpiling, transfer and use of chemical weapons under effective verification.

Turkey does not have chemical weapons in stock nor does it aspire to possess any in the future.

After the entry into force and the ongoing implementation of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty, it is with great interest that the hopes of the international community are pinned on the successful completion of the strategic arms reduction talks (START). A satisfactory START treaty would contribute significantly to the maintenance of the momentum of the arms control negotiations.

Turkey attaches importance to the success of the arms control and disarmament process as a whole, which it views as a comprehensive, integrated endeavour

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encompassing nuclear as well as conventional and chemical weapons, and confidence- and security-building measures.

We support all realistic initiatives in this field that hold the chance of being translated into concrete, balanced and verifiable measures without diminishing the security of any country or group of countries.

Last year witnessed great achievements in the CSCE process. The crowning of efforts undertaken by the participating countries in producing a balanced document in Vienna constitutes yet another stepping-stone on this long and arduous path. By retaining the indispensable balance between all three baskets, the Vienna document has covered further ground, especially in the field of human rights, since security and confidence presuppose strict adherence to human rights and fundamental freedoms. In fact, without addressing the sanctity of the individual and his basic right to freedom, achieving security in the military sense will fail. We are heartened that today respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms has become a universal concern, a concern that transcends all boundaries. Today no country can evade its responsibilities in the field of human rights by hiding behind the shield of national sovereignty. Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms has become the principal attribute of modern statehood.

In this connection I feel obliged to bring to this Assembly's attention a most serious issue that threatens to undermine the efforts to create an atmosphere of confidence, peace, stability and co-operation in Europe. It also affects the lives and well-being of 1.5 million people.

Bulgaria has been pursuing an inhuman assimilation and repression campaign against its Turkish minority since the end of 1984. Following the brutal and bloody repression of the mass hunger strikes and peaceful demonstrations staged by ethnic Turks in May 1989, the Bulgarian authorities have resorted to the deportation of our kinsmen in large numbers. Bulgaria's policies have resulted in

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a mass exodus to Turkey of more than 300,000 people, fleeing their homeland to escape oppression. This figure alone can give some idea of the intolerable dimensions of this colossal humanitarian problem. We believe that the sheer magnitude of this tragedy transcends the religious, ideological, political and cultural differences among nations. All nations should join in condemning the shameful policies that forced hundreds of thousands of men, women and children to emigrate to Turkey, leaving behind their lands, homes, possessions, social rights and, in some cases, even their sons of military age and other close relatives. We know that decent people everywhere share our indignation. No human being respectful of human rights and upholding the principles enshrined in the very foundations of the United Nations can be oblivious to this enormous human tragedy.

We are not seeking to undermine the sovereignty or the well being of Bulgaria. We do seek, however, a peaceful and just solution to end the sufferings of our kinsmen whose rights and existence are safeguarded by various bilateral agreements and multilateral documents. We insist that Bulgaria honour its international obligations, including its commitments under the CSCE.

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In this regard, we have only two objectives - and they are peaceful and humanitarian. First and foremost, we demand that the usurped human and minority rights of Bulgarian citizens of Turkish origin be restored and respected. Secondly, we wish to negotiate with Bulgaria with a view to concluding a comprehensive agreement on emigration to safeguard the rights and family unity of those ethnic Turks who have already arrived in Turkey and to enable all those who may wish to emigrate to our country in the future to do so in an orderly manner and without having to relinquish their social and property rights in Bulgaria.

To avoid any misunderstanding, let me stress here that our preference, of course, is not to see any more of our kinsmen uprooted from their homes. We would rather have them living in Bulgaria as loyal citizens of their country and enjoying fully their human and minority rights. Let me reiterate, however, that Turkey is ready to receive, within the framework of a comprehensive emigration agreement, all the ethnic Turks in Bulgaria who may wish to leave that country.

Most regrettably, our repeated appeals to the Government of Bulgaria to enter into serious dialogue to bring about a satisfactory solution to this humanitarian problem have so far yielded no results owing to Bulgaria's intransigent attitude and its refusal to acknowledge the very existence of the problem. That is a clear indication that Bulgaria's real purpose is not to facilitate the emigration of ethnic Turks to Turkey but to eliminate the problem by evicting these people from the country, to allow emigration only under its own specific terms and to assimilate the remaining Turks in due course.

Turkey has therefore decided to revert to the existing visa régime between the two countries by putting an end to the exceptional practice, in use since the beginning of June 1989, of allowing Bulgarian citizens to enter Turkey without a visa.

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This unfortunate minority question is not simply a bilateral problem between Turkey and Bulgaria, but is an issue of principle between Bulgaria and the entire community of nations. That is why a large number of countries have voiced their objections to Bulgaria's unacceptable policies and urged it to heed reason. That is why international bodies, including the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Council of Europe and the European Parliament, have adopted unambiguous resolutions to the same effect. That is why the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Organization of the Islamic Conference will hold an extraordinary meeting here in New York tomorrow on the tragedy of the Turkish Muslim minority in Bulgaria.

I should like to use this occasion to call upon my colleagues assembled here today to redouble their efforts to persuade Bulgaria to alter its anachronistic practices. The Government of Bulgaria must be assisted - and effectively - to realize that to abandon those policies would not be a sign of weakness but a virtue. And Bulgaria knows full well that should it display the courage and wisdom not to persist in its untenable stand, Turkey, mindful of the once mutually beneficial relations of good-neighbourliness and co-operation between the two countries, will not hesitate to take reciprocal steps conducive to the normalization of Turkish-Bulgarian relations.

I listened attentively to the statement made this morning by the Foreign Minister of Bulgaria. Mr. Mladenov referred, as we do, to dialogue as the best means for the mutually desired normalization of Turkish-Bulgarian relations. He neglected, however, to acknowledge that the tragedy imposed on ethnic Turks in Bulgaria was and remains the only reason for the present tension. He also forgot to note that the implementation of the Belgrade Protocol to which he referred was inconclusive owing to the refusal of the Bulgarian side to discuss this humanitarian issue. Therefore, I must say - and with regret - that his statement today contained no new elements, despite the optimistic note he attempted to strike.

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But, of course, if through that statement the Bulgarian side implies that it is ready and willing to enter into a dialogue with us with a view to putting an end to the plight of the Turkish Muslim minority in Bulgaria in all its aspects, we would, as I stressed earlier, not hesitate to reciprocate. But, clearly, we cannot build castles of hope on vague positions; we cannot invest hope in calls for dialogue in a vacuum. Turkey, therefore, will wait for Bulgaria to demonstrate through concrete and significant steps its will and commitment to contribute to the solution of the problem it has created. We shall wait for the Bulgarian Government to declare unambiguously its readiness also to discuss this particular issue in the negotiations the entire community of nations has been calling for. Otherwise, the positive mood the Foreign Minister of Bulgaria tried to create in this Hall will wither away before long.

By virtue of Turkey's geographical location and its historical ties, the Middle East and the fate of the people of that region are of particular interest for us. We have been following with concern the increasing tensions in the area. Turkey has on several occasions expressed, from this rostrum, its firm stand on the question of Palestine, which constitutes the crux of the Middle East conflict.

After more than two decades of occupation, the West Bank and Gaza have erupted into open rebellion. The frustration of the Palestinians is not a matter that can be dealt with by the use of force. The death toll and the level of violence are bound to increase so long as the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinians are suppressed. Since December 1987 events have demonstrated that the Palestinians will not be intimidated by violence and that the intifadah will not peter out. We are appealing once again for the end of harsh repressive measures.

The Palestine Liberation Organization has taken important steps to break the present deadlock by adopting policies which have been recognized as realistic and

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constructive. Israel should reciprocate those moves by adopting more conciliatory policies. Israel should also consider with self-confidence and vision the ideas that have been put forward in the hope of contributing to the initiation of a promising phase in the peace process.

Turkey is convinced that there can be no satisfactory long-term solution to this serious problem that is not based on negotiations with the participation of all the interested parties, conducted in good faith within the framework of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East.

Another source of concern for my Government is the tragic situation in Lebanon. We welcome the sustained efforts of Saudi Arabia, Algeria and Morocco aimed at achieving national reconciliation in that country. Turkey believes that in bringing the state of anarchy in that country to an end a framework must be found that will ensure Lebanon's unity, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and the removal of all foreign troops.



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A subject that arouses anxiety in Turkey is the tragedy of the hostages in Lebanon. The early release and safe return home of all hostages is the common wish of the international community.

We welcome all peace initiatives relating to the Iran-Iraq conflict. Special tribute should be paid to the dedicated efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative on the complicated issues relating to the implementation of Security Council resolution 598 (1987). We hope that these mediation efforts will create the necessary atmosphere of mutual trust favourable to the full and rapid implementation of that resolution. The present situation is unsatisfactory and precarious, and it should not be allowed to continue.

As a country that maintains friendly relations with both parties, we reaffirm our readiness to contribute in any way we can to the progress of the peace process and the promotion of a climate of confidence.

The tragic situation in Afghanistan continues to be a source of particular concern and distress for Turkey. The conclusion of the Geneva Agreements constituted an important step towards the political solution of the Afghanistan problem. Through those Agreements we have seen the withdrawal of foreign troops. Now, the need for a broad-based Government, fully representative of the Afghan people, stands out as an essential element for a lasting solution of this problem.

At present, Pakistan continues to bear the brunt of the burden of providing shelter for the Afghan refugees who have been driven by war from their homes. Pakistan's generosity has rightly earned it the gratitude of the international community.

The signing, in New York last December, of the agreements among Angola, Cuba and South Africa aimed at achieving peace in southern Africa and the independence of Namibia within the framework of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) has been

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a source of deep satisfaction for Turkey. We are looking forward to the day when we welcome Namibia in our midst as an independent, democratic State. As one of the founding members of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Turkey is profoundly satisfied by these developments. It is imperative, however, that the remaining obstacles to the effective and full implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia be completely removed.

In neighbouring South Africa, the apartheid system is a blatant violation of the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In spite of the many resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council condemning that abominable system, South Africa has chosen stubbornly to ignore the universal revulsion, and has so far refused to make a radical change in its racial policies. The complete elimination of apartheid is the only acceptable solution, and will continue to be our common goal.

The positive developments concerning the situation in Cambodia in the last few months give us hope that an end to the suffering of that beleaguered nation might be in the offing. Turkey appreciates the diplomatic activities, especially those of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, aimed at achieving this objective, and pays tribute to the efforts of the States that participated in the international conference on Cambodia.

In eastern Asia, the division of the Korean peninsula continues to be a source of unease for the international community. We attach importance to and support the initiatives undertaken by the Republic of Korea aimed at a meaningful dialogue with its neighbour. The peaceful solution of the questions between the two sides through dialogue based on mutual accommodation will, I am confident, lead to their eventual representation as full Members of our Organization.

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International co-operation against drugs is a must. The new Convention against illicit trafficking is a major step in the right direction. It will make new demands on the United Nations bodies involved, which are already spread thin. The allocation in the regular budget of greater resources to the International Narcotics Control Board secretariat and to the Division of Narcotic Drugs is indispensable. For more effective use of United Nations expertise on drugs, contributions to the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control should be increased. Multilateral co-operation against illicit trafficking can offer the best challenge against the scourge. My country is a good example of the results that can be achieved in this area.

International terrorism continues to be a global problem and a major source of tension in international relations. Turkey has always condemned as criminal all acts, methods and practices of terrorism, regardless of their origins, causes or purposes. We believe that terrorism cannot be justified under any circumstances. In this context I would observe that attempts to differentiate between various forms of terrorism will only encourage the terrorists. Experience has amply demonstrated that tolerance and support of terrorism is a double-edged sword, and that those who have followed that path have always had reasons to regret their short-sighted policy.

Last year the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot sides embarked upon a new negotiating process. We welcomed that development. We had hoped that this latest set of negotiations would pave the way to a lasting settlement in Cyprus and lead to the establishment of a bicomunal, bizonal federation based on the political equality of the two peoples on the island.

It will be recalled that, prior to this latest phase in the talks, the Greek Cypriots had rejected the framework agreement of 29 March 1986 which the Turkish

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Cypriots had accepted. In doing so, the Greek Cypriots added yet another notch to their long list of missed and wasted opportunities for conciliation in the island. This new round of negotiations represents, in a sense, a last chance for an honourable settlement, because Turkish Cypriot patience is beginning to reach its limits in the face of constant Greek Cypriot intransigence. Looking back, it is difficult to say that the Greek Cypriots even came close to making wise use of this latest opportunity. They failed to negotiate constructively, and from the outset they preferred the intervention of third parties so as to have them exert pressure on the Turkish Cypriots. Once the Greek Cypriots opted for such a fundamentally erroneous and counterproductive approach, they felt no need to respond, even halfway, to comprehensive Turkish Cypriot proposals that had been presented formally and in writing in the course of the negotiations.

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The Greek Cypriot side has in the mean time engaged in new acts of violence in Cyprus and has committed transgressions against Turkish Cypriot territory. It has also pursued a programme of intensive rearmament. Purchases of weapons and military equipment that are under way have reached alarming proportions. All of these Greek Cypriot actions spoil the atmosphere and deepen the mistrust in the island.

The Turkish Cypriot people have been compelled to react to this situation through a resolution adopted in their parliament. Despite all the provocations, the resolution kept the door open to direct negotiations without any pre conditions. It is yet to be seen whether the Greek Cypriots will return to the path of fair and honest talks. It is also yet to be seen whether they can take a step forward by pledging respect for the existence of the Turkish Cypriots as one of the two distinct and politically equal peoples of the island. We attach paramount importance to this point, because only then, without the burden of hostile practices, will the negotiating process have a reasonable chance of success.

Last week, the Alternate Minister of Foreign Affairs of Greece made extensive comments on Cyprus in his statement to the General Assembly. I regret to say that the mentality and the attitude displayed in that statement cast a dark shadow over the efforts for a negotiated settlement in Cyprus. We have seen in his statement a very unfortunate approach designed to misrepresent the facts on Cyprus with a view to misleading the international community.

There is much to be said concerning the grave responsibility of Greece with regard to the emergence and the perpetuation of the Cyprus question. It is Greece and the Greek Cypriots who were fully responsible for the destruction of the bicomunal partnership republic in Cyprus in 1963 through the use of force. Greece and the Greek Cypriots have been responsible for keeping Cyprus in a constant state of crisis for 11 years and for keeping the Turkish Cypriots virtual hostages in

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their own land prior to 1974. Greece and Greek Cypriots are responsible for the coup of 15 July 1974 in which they tried to deal a final blow to the independence of the island and to the Turkish Cypriots' existence there. Turkey can take credit for bringing this unacceptable state of affairs to an end and for providing security for the Turkish Cypriots.

I would have preferred not to be placed in the position of having to recall the dark role played by Greece at critical stages in the recent history of Cyprus. I am deeply disturbed to see that Greece is once again on a similarly harmful course at another critical juncture in Cyprus. With the utmost regret and reluctance, I feel compelled to bring this situation to the attention of the Assembly on this occasion. We have also brought this to the attention of the Secretary-General.

Today the world economic prospects for growth and trade call for more optimism than before. A rapid rate of growth in the industrialized countries has been associated with the expansion of employment, the relative reduction of external imbalances, the meaningful progress in some structural reforms, and the acceleration of both export and import volumes.

As far as developing countries are concerned, the economic environment has also improved considerably in some of them as a result of policy reforms and world trade expansion. However, many of those countries have not derived their fair share from revived economic growth and they continue to face major problems, including high inflation rates, heavy debt burdens, structural adjustment challenges and population pressures. A number of challenges are also faced by industrialized countries on the path of continuing stable expansion.

All those problems, risks and uncertainties call for improved international co-operation in an increasingly interdependent world. Only thus, we believe, can the challenges we face together be met successfully for the benefit of humankind as

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a whole. In concluding, I wish to renew our hope that this forty-fourth session of the General Assembly will be fruitful and will contribute to the security and well-being of all nations.

Mr. GOMBOSUREN (Mongolia) (interpretation from Russian): First of all let me congratulate Mr. Joseph Garba on his election to the presidency of the current session of the General Assembly. We wish him great success in carrying out his important duties. We join with previous speakers who have expressed their gratitude to his predecessor, Mr. Dante Caputo, for his skilful guidance of the work of the last session.

The United Nations, as a universal instrument for the maintenance of a secure world order, vividly reflects the changes in the political climate of the world. It is gratifying to note that in the course of the last two or three years optimistic voices have been clearly heard within this house concerning a renewed relaxation of international tensions.

We share this optimism. Such optimism may be attributed, above all, to the emerging consensus in the international community on the necessity for the coexistence and co-operation of all States and to the experiences gained and the achievements made in resolving contemporary issues. In our view, the present positive trend is likely to succeed and to become a continuous and irreversible process. The first stones of its foundation are being hewn from very solid elements, expressing a balance of the legitimate interests of the parties in the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations. This reinforces our belief in the possibility of creating a more just and humane future. It will naturally require extensive joint efforts on the part of all States.

It is important that the majority of States already realize this fact more clearly and are acting accordingly. There is a continuing dialogue between the

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great Powers in the search for ways and means of fostering détente in all its dimensions. An all-European process encompasses new frontiers. An ever increasing number of States are contributing to the efforts to solve acute regional problems. Awareness and concern over the world-wide harmful consequences of the ecological crisis and the inequitable international economic order are growing. The importance of a comprehensive approach to the problems of strengthening international peace and security is gaining increasing recognition.



(Mr. Gombosuren, Mongolia)

One of the new trends of the present time is the growing prestige and role of the United Nations in world affairs. Here the tendency towards co-operation is being strengthened and the United Nations is being used in a manner in which it was originally conceived by its founders. The Mongolian People's Republic welcomes the intensification of the peace-making efforts of the United Nations and the good offices of Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, and wishes him further success in his noble endeavours. We advocate a broader release of the potential of the world Organization for the resolution of global problems, such as disarmament, putting an end to regional conflicts, overcoming the socio-economic and technological backwardness of developing countries, and for the resolution of the problems of external indebtedness, protection of the environment, the struggle against the traffic in narcotic drugs, and others.

The Mongolian delegation fully shares the idea of enhancing the role of the United Nations in the prevention of problems, expressed by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization.

The Mongolian People's Republic will strive to expand its practical co-operation with the United Nations and the organizations of its system.

A process of critical analysis of all experience in constructing our socialist society and of drawing appropriate lessons for the future, is under way in my country. The problems which my country faces in its development today are typical of those facing many developing countries. The essence of these problems lies in the necessity to accelerate socio-economic development and on this basis to improve the well-being of the people. In order to achieve these goals it is equally important to set in motion both domestic and external factors. It is against this background that certain aspects of our foreign policy are under review.

(Mr. Gombosuren, Mongolia)

The relations of Mongolia with the socialist countries under the impact of ongoing restructuring processes are assuming an increasingly business-like character and their effectiveness is growing.

The Mongolian People's Republic, as a developing country, is endeavouring to enhance this status in international organizations and to strengthen its solidarity and co-operation with the other developing countries within the framework of these organizations. We are reconsidering our stand vis-à-vis certain international economic and monetary-financial institutions with a view to benefiting from the services they render to developing countries.

The realization of that policy by my Government is evidenced in its obtaining of Observer status in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, in its membership in the Group of 77, in the establishment of diplomatic relations with the European Economic Community, and in its efforts to obtain membership in the Asian Development Bank.

Apart from that, efforts are being made to broaden its political, trade, economic and cultural co-operation with other States. We are interested in making substantial headway in developing mutually advantageous trade and economic ties with the market economies. Initial steps are being taken towards that end.

All of this is needed, in our view, in order to lay the foundation for the subsequent constructive participation of Mongolia in a broader regional and international integration.

We see the primary objective of the international community in the sustained consolidation of the present positive trends. Equally important is the task of promoting trust and mutual understanding between States at both the global and the regional level. This is also essential for developing broad, mutually beneficial international co-operation and for tackling the existing serious problems.

(Mr. Gombosuren, Mongolia)

In this regard, the region of Asia and the Pacific to which my country belongs deserves special attention. As is known, the most protracted and acute regional conflicts continue to exist there. The reduction of military confrontation, the elimination of foreign military bases and the development of economic, ecological and other co-operation are issues that must be duly dealt with.

Experience shows that it is better to seek generally acceptable solutions through dialogue and negotiations. It is pertinent to stress here the importance of normal, close relations between the great Powers of the region. In this connection, we wish to stress the truly international significance of the normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

Mongolia is seeking to contribute to the positive changes in our region. Our response to this improved atmosphere in our region has been evidenced by the Mongolian and Soviet agreements on the withdrawal of a major portion of the Soviet troops stationed in Mongolia and by the decision on a marked reduction of our armed forces and military expenditures.

My Government has recently advanced an idea with regard to the possibility of holding a dialogue on a regular basis among the countries of the northern part of the region of Asia and the Pacific. It seeks to help find ways and means of developing co-operation in various areas, settling existing problems, and strengthening mutual understanding and confidence among the nations of the region. We invite the parties concerned to reflect on this idea and to exchange views on it.

The Mongolian Government favours an early political solution to regional conflicts. We call for an immediate cessation of the bloodshed in Afghanistan. The Geneva Agreements must be strictly implemented by all parties. It is important, in our view, to examine closely the recent proposals, which could create additional opportunities for resolving this problem.

(Mr. Gombosuren, Mongolia)

We welcome the withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteers as announced earlier and we hope that the dialogue that took place on the Cambodian issue will continue and bring about a comprehensive solution to that problem.

As in the past, Mongolia advocates a peaceful and democratic reunification of Korea without outside interference. I wish to note here the importance of exerting further efforts towards undertaking an inter-Korean dialogue.

Aggravation of the dangerous situation in Lebanon and the absence of practical results in resolving the Palestine problem, despite realism and the desire to co-operate demonstrated by the PLO leadership, emphatically underline the need to achieve an early and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East crisis and to convene for this purpose an international conference, with the participation of all the interested parties, including the State of Palestine and the permanent members of the Security Council. The right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and that of all States of the region to a secure existence should be ensured.

The Mongolian People's Republic is in favour of full implementation of the United Nations plan on the granting of independence to Namibia.

We resolutely condemn the policy and practices of apartheid and advocate their liquidation.

We are in solidarity with the struggle of the Nicaraguan people and its Government for their freedom and independence, sovereignty and national dignity. The Mongolian delegation supports the efforts of the Central American States and the United Nations aimed at the peaceful settlement of the problem.

The disarmament process set in motion by the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles - INF Treaty - has of late been gaining new momentum. Here we have in mind the prospects of concluding an

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agreement on the reduction of strategic offensive armaments of the USSR and the United States in the light of the recent accords in Wyoming, of banning chemical weapons and initiating the destruction of their stockpiles, as well as of achieving real progress at the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Europe.

We submit that the General Assembly should renew its call for the cessation of the arms race, for the prevention of the militarization of outer space and for the complete prohibition of nuclear tests. The Mongolian People's Republic favours the convening of an international conference with the purpose of converting the 1963 Moscow Treaty banning nuclear-weapon tests in three environments into a treaty on a comprehensive banning of such tests.

(Mr. Gombosuren, Mongolia)

The Mongolian delegation shares the view that the positive changes and shifts of a political nature in the world are not yet buttressed by adequate progress in resolving the problems of international economic relations. The development of economic co-operation is frustrated not only by factors of an objective nature but also by artificial barriers which, inter alia, are at variance with the overall spirit of the new détente.

We deem it important to intensify the global dialogue, first of all within the framework of the United Nations, on world trade and economic relations in all major directions - North-South, East-West and South-South.

We share the reasoning of the other developing countries, expressed particularly at the Belgrade summit conference of the non-aligned countries and at the Caracas ministerial meeting of the Group of 77 that the consequences of the absence of a solution to the problems of the economic development of these countries will have an increasing impact on the developed countries as well. This global interdependence should be established on an equal and collective footing with a view to ensuring social justice and economically sustainable development for all. In our opinion, this interdependence should be duly taken into account in the elaboration of the international development strategy for the 1990s and in the decisions of the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly on international economic co-operation.

The problem of the external indebtedness of developing countries still remains acute. The ongoing dialogue within the United Nations and outside it on resolving this problem inspires some optimism.

As is known, the protection of nature and of the environment has become a most important global problem and one which requires urgent international efforts. The Mongolian People's Republic therefore attaches great importance to the convening in 1992 of a United Nations conference on the environment and development. In this

(Mr. Gombosuren, Mongolia)

context I would like to draw the attention of the members of the Assembly to the idea submitted by the Mongolian delegation at the latest session of the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific on the elaboration of regional and subregional programmes of action for the protection of the environment in the Asia and the Pacific region and on the creation of a regional centre on the environment. In our opinion, such steps would help to co-ordinate the national efforts of the countries of the region to create ecologically sound living conditions.

The consequences of environmental degradation adversely affect the living conditions of many people, even of entire nations. This problem has become so acute that it is, in our view, essential to raise the question of putting into treaty language the issue of a human right to a better and healthy environment. This question does not seem to be adequately reflected in the existing international instruments on human rights. We therefore deem it desirable to consider the question of making an appropriate amendment to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

In doing so we proceed from the premise that the development of international law and the ensuring of its primacy are important elements in strengthening peace and co-operation among States. In this connection, we consider that the proposal of the non-aligned countries to declare a United Nations decade of international law a timely initiative.

Mr. ERRAZURIZ (Chile) (interpretation from Spanish): I wish, first of all, to convey to the Ambassador of Nigeria, Major General Joseph Garba, our congratulations on his election as President of this General Assembly. His talents as a diplomat guarantee a substantive contribution to the success of these sessions.

We also wish to acknowledge the positive presidency of his predecessor, the former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Argentina, Congressman Dante Caputo.

(Mr. Errazuriz, Chile)

We also desire to extend our congratulations to the Secretary-General, Ambassador Javier Perez de Cuellar, and his colleagues, for their effective peace-making efforts.

We are pleased that these meetings are being held under the presidency of a representative of the African continent. My Government has always been interested in broadening its relations with the peoples of Africa. It has steadfastly maintained its condemnation of apartheid and all other forms of discrimination. They are offensive to human dignity. As you know, Mr. President, our ties to Africa are due to the United Nations, especially through our participation in the Committee on Decolonization and in the United Nations Council for Namibia. We note with satisfaction the progress being made towards the attainment of independence for that Territory.

The Chilean Government wishes to express satisfaction with the renewed vitality and effectiveness of our Organization, which represents a reiteration of the commitment of the international community to the principles of the United Nations Charter.

We likewise note that the new relationships that are being established between the super-Powers are contributing to an improved international political atmosphere. The gentle winds of understanding are opening the way to a better world.

Of course, our sense of optimism is not limitless. We continue to have serious concerns with regard to the grave problems which are threatening the peace or which are adversely affecting developing countries.

Regional armed conflicts, poverty, the drug traffic, lack of access to world financial markets, obstacles to international trade, destruction of the environment are problems that still exist. There has been progress towards better



(Mr. Errazuriz, Chile)

understanding but the opportunities for well-being do not reach the great majority of humanity.

As a country that is part of the American community, I wish on this occasion to stress again our solidarity with the peoples of Central America, a region harassed by the action of foreign interests.

My Government also views with profound regret the prolongation of the tragedy afflicting the Lebanese nation. We support the appeal for peace in that region made by His Holiness John Paul II. We are convinced that all non-Lebanese troops should be withdrawn from that territory.

Violence continues to distress the peoples of the Middle East. We feel this very deeply because many descendants of the Arabs and the Israelis are part of our Chilean society.

There is no rest for those who champion the cause of peace and the rights of man. Whenever we begin to think that progress is being made in troubled areas, strong forces of reaction threaten that progress. We are still concerned therefore about the citizens of Turkish origin who are being persecuted in Bulgaria.

Chile reiterates its support for the universality of the United Nations, and would therefore welcome the desire expressed by the Government of the Republic of Korea for membership in this Organization.

We regret the prolongation of the Cambodian drama. Despite the progress there, we feel that much remains to be done to enable the Cambodian people to recover their right of self-determination and freedom.

In addressing the representatives of the peoples of the world I do so with the satisfaction that comes from speaking in the name of a nation and a Government that are taking an historic step, overcoming both major domestic and external obstacles.

(Mr. Errazuriz, Chile)

Thanks to the efforts and determination of each and every Chilean, we have built a new society based on political and economic freedoms. From the depths of the crisis that affected us between 1970 and 1973, we have rebuilt our democracy and a strong and prosperous economy.

On more than one occasion, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Chile has explained to this Assembly the process we have been following in establishing a secure democracy and a strong, developed economy.

(Mr. Errazuriz, Chile)

We have also announced in advance the precise dates, forms and stages for achieving the transition to full democracy, in accordance with the constitution which was overwhelmingly approved by the voters in 1980 - and the improved text of last July received the broadest popular support in our political history.

There were those who did not wish to acknowledge the power of the rebirth of democracy in Chile, because it meant the end of the totalitarian régime of the "Popular Unity". There were also those who did not believe or who questioned the sovereign decision of my Government and my people to establish a free and progressive society. We were the object of discrimination, a double standard and irrational hostility, and then, in the face of Chile's undeniable progress, a conspiracy of silence arose. Only recently has Chile gained the international understanding and recognition its historic achievements deserve. The disinformation, ideologization and scepticism that distorted my country's image have finally given way to objective reality. There has been a positive change within the international community in its attitude towards Chile. The combination of political and economic freedoms is a reality in Chile and stands as the principal achievement of the Government of President Augusto Pinochet.

From adversity, Chile has emerged strengthened. We have shown that foreign pressure cannot overrule the decision of a nation when its cause is just. We have learned that the sovereignty of nations is also a constant challenge. Finally, we have learnt that the only real collaboration between nations is collaboration which recognizes the independence and dignity of all States. The people of Chile is the only people which can choose what the destiny of the Chilean people is to be.

(Mr. Errazuriz, Chile)

Supported by accomplishments and facts, I can affirm that we have carried out what we proposed and what we promised. The Government of President Pinochet has made a reality of the objectives it set for itself in 1974. Freedom of the press, the activities of the most varied political parties, completely open public debate, full individual and trade union rights and economic improvement are, among other things, concrete expressions of a fruitful process of normalization which is not limited to recognition of civic freedoms but recognizes also those freedoms of a social, cultural and economic nature without which any society collapses into frustration. The progress Chile has been achieving in its economy and in modernizing its social structure ensures that democracy will not be a risky, fragile and Utopian adventure.

Chile today is calm and peaceful, and the worth of moderation is now very clearly valued. Up to 1973, ideologized programmes had the upper hand; these were revolutionary in scope, and aimed to change society radically. Today, on the other hand, only democratic parties have popular support and a chance at the polls.

The progress Chile has made is not the result of foreign inspiration or aid. Chile owes its success and its bright future to its people and its Government; they have worked hard and not turned from the path laid out by their opinions and traditions. We have a stable currency, sustained growth, controlled inflation and a balanced budget. We have put in place economic freedom that is stimulating the creative initiative of individuals and recognizes the function of the market rather than the State bureaucracy in allocating resources. Chile's progress and the stability of its Government's policies inspire confidence in those doing business with my country. They know that our word is good, that we keep our promises and that our future belongs to our people.

(Mr. Errazuriz, Chile)

Progress in Chile has taken us to the threshold of being a developed country. I would like to give you some figures which reflect the sustained progress made by the Chilean economy: real growth in gross domestic product (GDP) since the 1982 recession has an annual average of close to 6 per cent, and was over 10 per cent in the first six months of this year; more than a million and a half productive jobs have been created over the last five years, reducing the unemployment rate by half; in 1970, Chile exported 400 products to 58 countries, and is now exporting over 1,500 products to 112 countries; in 1973, Chile's exports totalled \$1.305 billion, while exports in 1989 will exceed \$8 billion; in 1986, the foreign debt peaked at \$19.5 billion, and has since been reduced to \$16.8 billion. In the social domain, expenditure has been concentrated on the sectors where there is extreme poverty, achieving successes which are the pride of all Chileans. For example, the health indicators show that the infant mortality rate dropped from 82.2 per thousand in 1970 to 18.8 per thousand in 1988; life expectancy rose from 61.5 years to 71.8 years between 1970 and 1988; and the literacy rate has reached 94.3 per cent.

The changes the world has experienced in the last 16 years have been wide-ranging and profound. The option Chile took in 1973 - its commitment to expansion and freedom - ran counter to many of the dominant trends in the economy and policy of that time. The same policies and sectors which failed in Chile towards the end of the 1960s and the early 1970s managed to establish themselves elsewhere, and now we are witnessing the collapse of the illusions offered by totalitarian and collectivist systems and their eventual demise. Peace itself seems to be gaining strength, and decisions by the main Powers are converging towards a greater degree of understanding and rationality.

(Mr. Errazuriz, Chile)

The world has become ever more interdependent. Knowledge and science, technology and resources are overcoming boundaries and artificial limits. The same phenomenon is occurring with problems or situations which affect the whole international community and therefore pose a challenge to world co-operation and to this Organization.

One of the greatest challenges facing the international community is the challenge of effectively combating drug trafficking, a scourge which is corrupting society, the family and nations. We join with those Governments which have undertaken to combat such traffic, particularly the Government of Colombia for its courage in confronting the powerful criminal organizations which have taken advantage of that nation.

Since 1973, Chile has kept the most severe manifestations of this problem under control through a rigorous programme of prevention. We are not a drug-producing country, but we have been the victims of the activities of drug traffickers. In September 1973, one of the first acts of the Government was to expel a group of foreign drug traffickers which, taking advantage of the political and social crisis in the country, had set themselves up in northern Chile.

We are convinced that individual action by any one State is not enough: we must join forces. The world has declared war on drugs, but we must make it clear that contingency actions in this war will not solve the problem definitively. The permanent solution is education to strengthen our young people and alert them to the damage drugs do and programmes to help victims recover. To do this, the community of nations must allocate the necessary resources to implement effective education programmes.

(Mr. Errazuriz, Chile)

We have been expressing our concern about terrorist activities for years now. I should like to take this opportunity to repeat that we repudiate and reject terrorism. We Chileans are particularly conscious of terrorism. We have suffered from its cowardly, irresponsible attacks and more than once have seen how other nations allow the free transit of known terrorists claiming political immunity. If modern societies wish to overcome, once and for all, terrorism and narco-terrorism which is threatening to engulf us all, we must act decisively. No nation should offer them shelter or facilitate their movements.

On occasion, certain international organizations have permitted the human rights question to be manipulated systematically. Attempts have been made to politicize it and even to include the legitimate fight against terrorism and subversion under the phrase "violations of human rights".

(Mr. Errazuriz, Chile)

We are not disregarding in this context the inviolable rights inherent in every human being. But we condemn the gross manipulation of human rights which, at its very heart, demonstrates that there is no real respect for what is said - falsely - to be respected. Human rights must be respected by all nations without exception, but must not be manipulated.

It is neither just nor balanced to make facile pronouncements on the painful events that some nations, such as Chile, had to experience in overcoming subversion and terrorist violence. In our case, these were the result of the political upheaval and breakdown of our society from 1970 to 1973. We must bear in mind the root causes and the general context of the disruption of the peaceful life of our peoples.

In Chile we have been able to build a society in which human rights are protected not only by democratic institutions and the rule of law, but also by Chileans' respect for each other's individual freedom, values and beliefs. Those rights are also protected by the spirit of understanding that prevails in Chile.

For our part, we have decided to build a new future for Chile, and to accept the implications of our own past.

In 1978 the Government of Chile adopted an amnesty law as the corner-stone of our efforts to pacify and unite the country. Amnesty is the juridical course of prudence, of reconciliation and of commitment to a peaceful Chile - the common goal of the vast majority of the Chilean people. For the sake of the future of everyone, we believe it is necessary to put the past behind us, to heal rather than reopen wounds. The people and the Government of Chile are firmly committed to continuing to advance on the road of unity and peace which they have always followed.



(Mr. Errazuriz, Chile)

International co-operation is the basis of peace and progress. The world is advancing toward the creation of expanded free-trade markets. An outstanding example is the European Community.

We find reason for hope in the prospects that the twenty-first century holds for nations capable of facing the challenges of the future. That hope is based on the fact that the free-trade agreements will inevitably be extended to Latin America, which is moving forward in accordance with the prevailing trend towards greater economic freedom.

Chile wishes to promote effective Latin American integration. It is necessary to modify the present approaches based on the artificial strategy of imports, restraints on foreign investment, and regional markets strictly protected and regulated by the State. We believe that, instead, those approaches should conform to the prevailing trends towards privatization, elimination of customs barriers, a free market and the negotiation of general agreements that would enable the region to swim with the tide of progress and to move towards ever-freer flows of goods and services offering opportunities to everyone. The conditions have been created for true regional economic integration that would expand the agreements reached in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Chile has made every effort to accommodate its economy to those trends, convinced as we are that this is the preliminary step to the broad and modern integration that will enhance Latin America's promising prospects. However, we also view those prospects with concern because the trade negotiations and associations of the industrialized nations could become de facto protectionist barriers against trade with the rest of the world.

The recent experience of the unfair embargo on the export of Chilean fruits - which, for reasons that remain obscure, was temporarily excluded from world

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markets - demonstrates not only the complexities of international trade, but also the danger of protectionism on the part of the developed nations, which can halt the exports of the developing countries and inflict serious damage on their economies.

Our peoples want to move with the great currents of world progress. They do not want to receive "humanitarian assistance" in exchange for protectionism, which maintains imbalances harmful to the developing nations. What we want is equality of opportunity, just and equitable treatment. I am sure that on the basis of such equal treatment and mutual respect my country and many others will be able to advance securely on the road of growth and to meet the foreign-debt obligations which weigh so heavily on our economies.

Nevertheless, a large foreign debt entails great sacrifices of our peoples' standard of living and slows production and consumption in creditor as well as debtor countries. Everyone involved in this cycle must join forces to overcome it.

It is not an exaggeration to say that the re-evaluation of the dollar, high international interest rates, and protectionism have been the direct causes of the present debt problem.

A plan for co-operation and co-ordination between the industrialized nations has served as a complement to the Bretton Woods institutions. But in that co-ordination the interests of the developing world have not been adequately represented. The monetary discipline on the part of the industrialized nations that would take into account our countries' economic needs has not emerged.

Chile's foreign policy is based on the principles of international law and on the goals of peace and co-operation. Those goals are linked not only to the promotion of the national interest within the community of nations but also to the promotion of the common good at the international level. In our country's actions

(Mr. Errazuriz, Chile)

in multilateral forums, we are firmly committed to the promotion of peace, friendship and co-operation between States.

We are living in a dynamic era. But the enduring human values - truth, justice, equality and freedom - must be maintained.

Present international relations are marked - as they will also be in the future - by a growing freedom from ideologies; by the diffusion of power among many centres of decision-making and influence; by the globalization of relations between nations as a product of the clear and growing interdependence of all spheres of human activity; and, finally, by the growth of a consensus on the role of the individual, his creative capacity and his initiative as the most dynamic elements in the social process.

We are living in a new age. Some very difficult times, which seriously threatened the idea of co-operation between nations as well as human freedom, have been left behind. We have reason to be optimistic. Ahead of us lies a world of opportunities. Chile is determined to face the challenges with the decisiveness characteristic of young and confident nations.

Mr. MOCUMBI (Mozambique) (spoke in Portuguese; English text furnished by the delegation): It is with profound satisfaction that I congratulate the President on his unanimous election to preside over the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly. We are proud when a son of Africa is elected to a position of such responsibility. His long diplomatic experience and the dedication and competence with which he guided the work of the Special Committee against Apartheid guarantee that our work will be crowned with success. We wish him every success in discharging the high responsibility with which he has been unanimously entrusted. We express again our readiness to offer him all our support and co-operation for the success of the Assembly's deliberations.

(Mr. Mocumbi, Mozambique)

We commend the outgoing President, Mr. Dante Caputo, for the lucid and efficient manner with which he presided over the work of the forty-third session of the General Assembly.

We seize this occasion to express our special appreciation to Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, Secretary-General of the United Nations, for his contribution in the search for solutions to regional conflicts, and the other problems that affect international peace and security. We commend his personal commitment in securing support for the emergency programme in Mozambique. We renew our hopes that these efforts will continue as long as the critical situation in my country prevails.

The current session of the General Assembly offers us an opportunity to make an assessment of the avenues we have explored thus far in the search for ways and means more conducive to a future of peace and stability in our world. The Secretary-General, in his report on the work of the Organization (A/44/1), and several preceding speakers have described the present trend in international relations as positive and promising. We subscribe to this assessment. Indeed, the current international atmosphere appears to be less gloomy than a few years back, less tense and less volatile.

It is evident that constructive steps have been taken since the last session of the General Assembly.

The dialogue and rapprochement between the two major Powers are a contributing factor to the present trend in the international situation. That trend is also a result of the struggle of the peace-loving peoples of the whole world, who have always pleaded for disarmament, peace and international security. We hope this trend may continue, be strengthened and play a catalytic role in efforts towards the elimination of hotbeds of tension in the world.

(Mr. Mocumbi, Mozambique)

In my country, this new dynamic in international relations has been received with optimism and expectation inasmuch as it corresponds to the noblest aspirations of the Mozambican people to achieve peace and freedom in our region and in the world. However, this trend does not appear to have touched the consciousness of those bent on the destruction and destabilization of our country and on frustrating our project of building a developed, just and democratic society in Mozambique.

In the period since the last session, massacres, destruction and looting have continued unabated in Mozambique. The armed terrorists have continued to destroy hospitals, trains and railways; they have carried out acts of sabotage on power lines and on economic and social infrastructures.

In the same period, more evidence has been gathered again proving that we are confronted with an operation of destabilization that should not be confused with a struggle between two parties. In fact only an operation of destabilization of this nature can explain the scale of devastation, destruction and terror that has resulted in 700,000 dead, 1.7 million displaced Mozambicans, and 5.6 million citizens living in a state of emergency.

Our people are aware that independence and freedom demand sacrifices, including the sacrifice of our own lives. Thus our people have not vacillated in the face of this holocaust, and, guided by their party, FRELIMO, the Mozambican people have harnessed all their resources and organized themselves to defend the fatherland from aggression. Under bullet fire, in the midst of pain and mourning, our people have never stopped producing. Under a tree, in the midst of the ruins of what had been a school just the day before, our children carry on with their studies. They learn to love their country, to sow the seeds of a better future.

(Mr. Mocumbi, Mozambique)

In 1987 the Mozambican Government launched a vast economic recovery programme in our country. This programme is an option aimed at arresting the galloping economic deterioration that has been experienced and at initiating a progressive recovery of production in various sectors of the economic and social life of the country.

The programme is aimed also at the introduction of corrective measures in the economic and financial sectors, and thus at creating conditions for a gradual change of the economic structure upon which our economy is based.

Within the framework of this programme modest results have been achieved. For example, an increase in gross domestic product of 3.6 per cent was registered in 1987, and 4.6 per cent in 1988. This is rather encouraging. This growth is due primarily to progress in the fields of agriculture, industry and commerce.

In the political field, the Mozambican people, from Rovuma to Maputo, participated in the Fifth Congress of the FRELIMO party. This was an excellent occasion to reflect on the past, present and future of the country. Important problems were tackled, related to war and peace, national unity, socio-economic, technical and scientific development, showing once again that all Mozambicans identify themselves with FRELIMO and its goals, and that the FRELIMO party is the party of all Mozambicans. The Congress constituted a high moment in the exercise of democracy.

The Fifth Congress of the FRELIMO party took far-reaching decisions for the life of the Mozambican nation. The Congress redefined the strategy and tactics of the economic and social policies of the country, in response to the present national, regional and international environment.

(Mr. Mocumbi, Mozambique)

The Congress recommended the adoption of measures to encourage collective and individual participation in production, in particular food production.

Changes to the statutes, programme and directives of the FRELIMO party responded to the popular will as expressed in the wide national debate that preceded the Party Congress, which called for the strengthening of the social base of the party as a unifying factor for the nation.

The FRELIMO party and the Mozambican Government announced a set of principles to end the war by peaceful means. They may be summarized basically as follows.

First, the war in Mozambique is not the result of a struggle between two parties. The armed bandits do not constitute a political party, but are, rather, an instrument of an operation of destabilization carried out against our country.

(Mr. Mocumbi, Mozambique)

Secondly, policies to guide the country in the political, economic, social and cultural fields are established by national consensus reached through a process of consultation and debate with the people.

Thirdly, individual and social liberties such as freedom of worship, freedom of expression and freedom of assembly are guaranteed. However they must not be used to destroy national unity, national independence or the integrity of persons and property. They cannot be used for the preparation or perpetration of violent actions against the State and the Constitution.

Fourthly, policy or constitutional changes or revisions, or revisions to the main legislation of the country can and should be made only with the broad participation of all citizens.

Fifthly, it is unacceptable for a group to use intimidation or violence to impose themselves on society at large. It is anti-democratic to alter the Constitution and the main legislation of the country as a result of the violence of a group.

Acceptance of these principles by the ringleaders of the armed bandits is the prerequisite for the beginning of an eventual dialogue between the Government and the leaders of the armed bandits with a view to identifying the modalities and mechanisms to end violence and to normalize the life of all Mozambicans, including those now involved in armed banditry.

Such a dialogue, we must emphasize, cannot and shall not be aimed at creating situations or conditions that might undermine national unity or lead to power-sharing. Any change in the Constitution or in the fundamental legislation of the country can be acceptable only on the basis of the established order, democracy and national consensus and not on the basis of violence by one group against the people, organized society and the State.



(Mr. Mocumbi, Mozambique)

Since the proclamation of our national independence the adoption of our main legislation has taken place only after consultations and discussions have been carried out among the people. It is in this context that we are now undertaking the revision of the Constitution and the electoral law. This reflects the growth of our democracy and the consolidation of our State.

On the basis of the above-mentioned principles, President Chissano, on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique, has asked Presidents Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya to help us to create the necessary conditions for an eventual dialogue between the Government and the ringleaders of the armed bandits.

The latter were informed of our 12-point peace initiative by the leaders of certain Mozambican religious denominations that initiated contacts with the ringleaders of the armed bandits with a view to persuading them to stop the massacres and destruction and to reconcile themselves with their fatherland and the people. Two meetings have already been held in Nairobi between the religious leaders of certain denominations and the ringleaders of the armed bandits. This process is still unfolding, and it is too early for us to draw any conclusion. However, as long as the state of war prevails the country will continue to suffer from its devastating effects, the losses being colossal in terms of both human suffering and the destruction of the economic and social life of our people.

The state of emergency is still a reality in our country. It is therefore very encouraging that the international community continues to recognize the urgent need to provide assistance to the affected population in the form of food, clothing and production tools that enable the people to resume their normal lives. In this regard I wish once again to express our gratitude to the entire international community for its invaluable assistance and solidarity.

(Mr. Mocumbi, Mozambique)

As this session of the General Assembly is being held, there is hope that we are witnessing the birth of an independent Namibia. As Members of the United Nations, one of the major protagonists in this process, we have the unique responsibility to harness all efforts to ensure that the Namibian people's right to self-determination is exercised with order and harmony, in an atmosphere of justice and democracy. We reaffirm our complete confidence in the Secretary-General; we are certain he will know what measures to take to ensure close monitoring and supervision of the process with a view to detecting, denouncing and neutralizing any and all manoeuvres that may compromise Namibia's transition to independence.

In relation to Angola, we reaffirm our support for the Angolan Government peace plan embodied in the Gbadolite Agreements, which were reiterated in Harare and Kinshasa. We are certain that the Angolan people, while relying on their own heroism and determination, will command international solidarity in their search for ways and means to attain peace and national harmony.

There is a new expectation and hope with the coming to power of a new leadership in South Africa. This expectation is not shared, however, by the majority of the South African people, for whom speeches in themselves are no guarantee that serious changes will be effected in South Africa. This attitude is a reflection of the climate of mistrust and scepticism rooted in the minds of the majority of the South African people and in the world at large in view of the past record of frustrated expectation.

This scepticism can be dissipated only if unequivocal and unchallengeable steps are taken or signs of change are shown by the South African authorities: the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners; the lifting of the ban on political parties and democratic movements; the ending of the state of emergency; and the beginning of a process of negotiation and dialogue in which all South Africans participate.

(Mr. Mocumbi, Mozambique)

Through the adoption of a set of such measures the régime would guarantee that space would be opened up for ample and peaceful political participation by the entire South African people in decision-making on the fate of their country and the planning and building of a just and democratic society in South Africa.

The cessation of regional destabilization would be clear evidence that South Africa is determined to open a new chapter in its relations with the countries of the region. The South African Government thus has an opportunity to prove to the South African people and to the international community its determination to take decisive steps towards the dismantling of the apartheid system and to take part in the joint efforts of the other countries of the region to build a prosperous southern Africa. We hope that the statements made by South African leaders are harbingers of vigorous steps to be taken in this direction in the future.

The current regional and international climate is favourable to the search for a solution to the problem of South Africa. On the other hand, the Organization of African Unity's Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa, meeting in Harare in August 1989, adopted a set of principles that could form the basis for a frank dialogue by all South Africans. We urge the South African authorities to seize this opportunity to put an end once and for all to the apartheid system and build a new society in South Africa.

(Mr. Mocumbi, Mozambique)

We visualize a South Africa with neither minorities nor majorities based on the colour of skin or on race, a South Africa based on political options, a society where criteria for taking part in the Government or in political and social life are not determined in racial terms but in terms of one's commitment to the ideal of building a just, democratic and non-racial society.

The apartheid régime is universally condemned not only because it is a white minority régime, but also because, above all, it represents a political option of a minority, a political option based on an anachronism - institutionalized racial discrimination. In South Africa itself there is an increasing number of whites who dissociate themselves from that option of the minority in order to join the cause of the majority.

That development is a sign of the emergence of a new South African society where whites and blacks, Indians or mixed-race individuals - in a word, all races - can live in harmony in a South Africa free of apartheid. It is that South Africa free of apartheid that we believe should be able to contribute with its resources to the common effort of the countries of the region to make southern Africa a politically stable, economically developed, and prosperous region.

In other regions of our continent we are witnessing steady efforts aimed at the peaceful settlement of disputes in the context of our African tradition and with respect for the principles of the OAU and the United Nations. In this context, we are pleased with the recent accords between Chad and Libya. We are certain that the same spirit will guide the efforts being made towards the solution of other problems between African States.

Concerning the Western Sahara conflict, we commend the meetings between His Majesty King Hassan II and the POLISARIO Front. It is our conviction that the relevant OAU and United Nations resolutions continue to be the valid legal and political framework for a just and negotiated settlement of the conflict. We

(Mr. Mocumbi, Mozambique)

encourage the Secretary-General to pursue his efforts with a view to achieving a speedy solution of the Western Sahara problem.

On the Middle East, we view as a matter of urgency the convening of an international conference with the participation of all parties concerned, including the Palestinian State.

In the Indo-China peninsula, the initiatives to find a political solution to the Cambodian conflict are encouraging. We commend the steps taken by Vietnam aimed at facilitating national reconciliation in Cambodia.

In connection with Afghanistan, we ask the parties to the Geneva Agreements strictly to fulfil the provisions of that accord, in order to bring about peace and national reconciliation.

We reaffirm our solidarity with the cause of reunification of the Korean nation.

The People's Republic of Mozambique reaffirms its desire to see a frank and serious dialogue between all parties involved in East Timor, with a view to ensuring that the right of the people of that Territory to self-determination is fully respected. In this regard, we hold the view that as long as the fundamental rights of the East Timorese people are not taken into account, there can be no long-lasting, internationally acceptable solution to a war that has claimed more than 200,000 lives. The current international climate, which is conducive to dialogue and the peaceful resolution of regional conflicts, should be an inspiration to all parties involved in the Timor conflict. We commend the Secretary-General for his efforts to resolve the problem.

In Central America, we are encouraged by the recent agreements on Nicaragua signed in Honduras, as well as the latest peace initiatives in El Salvador. The restoration of peace and stability, so much desired by the peoples of that region

(Mr. Mocumbi, Mozambique)

of the American continent, depends, to a large degree, on the implementation of these agreements.

For the People's Republic of Mozambique, the transformation of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace is a constitutional principle. Thus, we appeal to the international community to make a concerted effort to ensure the holding of the Colombo Conference on the Indian Ocean in 1990.

In the economic field, the continuing existence of a set of adverse factors that work against the development of the countries of the third world remains a major concern in the context of our own efforts to break away from underdevelopment. The lack of concrete actions aimed at structural transformation upon which the success of our economic plans depends is the cause of the problem.

We note in that regard that, three years after the launching of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development, the economic situation in our continent remains critical. Little has been achieved in the implementation of that important Programme adopted at the thirteenth special session of the General Assembly. The situation is largely due to the lack or slow implementation of concrete and effective measures in support of the Programme. We therefore appeal to the international community, in particular to the developed countries, to give top priority to the assistance and aid to African countries that would enable us to face the crisis and reactivate our economic and social development.

Our economies continue to be subjected to the unrelenting deterioration of the terms of exchange, where the costs of imports are increased while the prices of export products have fallen dramatically. There has also been an increase in interest rates, a drop in the flow of external funding, and an increase in the net transfer of real resources from South to North. The cumulative effect of the external debt must be added to these factors.

(Mr. Mocumbi, Mozambique)

The external debt remains one of the major obstacles to economic growth and development. This crucial problem deserves our greatest attention through a constructive and realistic dialogue between debtors and creditors on the basis of a spirit of mutual understanding, with a view to finding a solution. We wish at this time to express our deepest appreciation to all those countries that, in this spirit, undertook concrete measures in order to alleviate the burden of external debt of the countries with the greatest economic difficulties, as in the case of Mozambique.

The People's Republic of Mozambique considers it of fundamental importance for the international community to rally its efforts in order to restructure the present world economic system. To this effect, we are in favour of the launching of global negotiations, for which we retain great hope. They are a starting-point for the resolution of the problems that hinder harmony in international economic relations. The establishment of a new international economic order, in which relations of co-operation between States are based on justice, equity, and mutual benefit, is a fundamental necessity in the democratization of the world economic system.

Finally, we express the hope that the work of the special session of the General Assembly devoted to international economic co-operation, to be held in April 1990, will be a success. We are certain that, to a large extent, a new dynamic in the economies of the developing countries in the next decade hinges on the success of the session.

In conclusion, we should like to reiterate our firm conviction that for a whole set of problems that besiege humanity today the United Nations remains the privileged forum, the one that offers us the best opportunities for exchanging ideas and co-ordinating our efforts to resolve these problems.

Mr. TSERING (Bhutan): In order to save the time of the General Assembly I do not wish to read my statement. I should appreciate it if the full text of my statement could be circulated to all delegations.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): With regard to the request just made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bhutan, I would inform him that copies of his statement will of course be distributed to all delegations, as is the case with each speaker, but that the verbatim record of our proceedings will contain only what he has said.

We have therefore heard the last speaker for this afternoon. I shall now call on those representatives who have asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply. May I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and to five minutes for the second and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. ZEPOS (Greece): The Turkish Foreign Minister in his statement earlier today pretended that he felt compelled to bring to the attention of the General Assembly the so-to-speak detrimental role Greece has played in Cyprus. It is not the first time that my delegation has been faced with an attempt by Turkish representatives to rewrite history. The Foreign Minister of Turkey used such words as "dark role" and "dark shades cast over Cyprus" by my country. I wonder what better words could be used to characterize the role of Turkey over Cyprus and the continued occupation by its military forces of one third of the territory of a sovereign State Member of the Organization.

I should not have to recall the repeated resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and Security Council calling for the immediate withdrawal of the occupying forces from Cyprus and also stating that that withdrawal was an essential basis for an acceptable solution of the Cyprus problem.



(Mr. Zepos, Greece)

Further, I feel that, were it not for that same urge of the Turkish side to try to rewrite history, I should not have to recall that the 15 July 1974 coup was staged by conspirators who acted against the life of the head of a sovereign State, the then-President of the Republic of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios. Those conspirators, as is well known, are serving life sentences in Greece. They never represented the Greek nation. I am really astonished that that incident is being invoked by the Turkish side.

Mr. GARVALOV (Bulgaria): The Bulgarian delegation had no intention of entering into polemics with the delegation of Turkey at this important forum, and this was obvious in today's statement of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Petar Mladenov. It is, however, our moral obligation to tell the truth about the absurd claims and slanderous allegations directed against Bulgaria.

In full contrast with the constructive atmosphere in which our work has been proceeding, we saw how the Foreign Minister of Turkey tried to use the United Nations to discredit Bulgaria and some of its European neighbours. He misrepresented the reasons for the degeneration of Bulgarian-Turkish relations, which has occurred through no fault of ours. Those who know or who have had first-hand experience with Turkey's policy would not be surprised by such ill intentions. They are aware that this is a manifestation of the essentially aggressive and nationalist policy of Pan-Turkism embodied in the very core of the foreign policy and activities of modern Turkey. As far as the concrete accusations are concerned, I shall flatly state that they are groundless allegations having no real historical, legal or other basis.

In Bulgaria's relations with Turkey throughout the entire period since Bulgaria's liberation from the Ottoman Empire in 1878, and in all bilateral

(Mr. Garvalov, Bulgaria)

agreements, there have always been references to Bulgarian Muslims in Bulgaria and to a Bulgarian minority in Turkey, but never to a so-called Turkish minority in my country. Turkey's campaign to resuscitate the obsolete but not forgotten imperial policy of identifying the notion of Muslim with that of a Turk is an attempt to justify the fabricated allegations of forced assimilation of those Bulgarian citizens whose ancestors were Islamized Bulgarians. Obviously, by including that element in its policy towards Bulgaria, the Turkish Government is adopting a confrontational approach in its bilateral relations.

Under the new laws passed by the Bulgarian National Assembly recently, many Bulgarian citizens, including descendants of Islamized Bulgarians, availed themselves of their right to visit Turkey, doing so of their own free will. A number of international observers and representatives of different organizations verified this on site. Many of the Bulgarian citizens, descendants of Islamized Bulgarians, were misled by the Turkish propaganda that promised them open borders, material wealth and so on. In fact, only unemployment, poverty and injustice awaited them, which also explains why they have been returning en masse to their native land at the rate of 1,000 a day, despite the impediments created by the Turkish authorities. Their return also refutes Turkey's claim that they had been forcibly deported from Bulgaria. In an attempt to raise tensions, and in contrast with its own statements and international commitments, the Turkish Government practically closed its border to Bulgarian citizens on 22 August 1989. This clearly indicates that Turkey has been manipulating those Bulgarian citizens in the name of unsavoury and long-term political goals.

I would like to say a few words on Turkey's demand for the so-called comprehensive emigration agreement, which Turkey raises as a precondition for a dialogue between the two countries. Above all, the question of emigration and,

(Mr. Garvalov, Bulgaria)

therefore, of an emigration agreement, was finally dropped from Bulgarian-Turkish bilateral relations in 1982 during the visit to Bulgaria of the then - and now - Turkish President, and that was reflected in a joint communiqué. There is no such population in Bulgaria that can be the object of such an agreement, and the Bulgarian Government has no intention of forcing or pressing any of its citizens to emigrate. Bulgarian legislation fully guarantees the property, inheritance and social rights of Bulgarian citizens, regardless of where they may be, in Bulgaria or abroad. In general, emigration agreements are a thing of the past and have nothing to do with the commitments made under the European process and the trends of development of international law. An emigration agreement of this kind would contradict Bulgarian legislation, which guarantees the right of every Bulgarian citizen freely to leave the country at his or her own discretion and to return to it at his or her own will.

(Mr. Garvalov, Bulgaria)

There were things said today about my country also on the issue of freedom of the Islamic faith and observance of its religious customs and rites that were far from the truth. The fallacy of these fabrications has become clear from the fact that no evidence of any violation of these rights has been found. Prominent Muslim leaders from other countries who visited Bulgaria saw and prayed together with Bulgarian Muslims in those same mosques Turkey's propaganda alleged had been destroyed or closed by the authorities.

It also appears strange that the representative of Turkey should express his "concern" over human rights in another country in the face of the mass and flagrant violations of the basic rights and freedoms of citizens and minorities in Turkey itself. Martial law is still in force in large areas in Turkey populated by Kurds. Over 650,000 people have been arrested in Turkey in recent years, 210,000 court cases have been opened, over 50 persons have been executed and hundreds of others are on death row, over 1,500 children have been detained and convicted, over 14,000 people have been denied their Turkish citizenship, 390,000 people have been refused foreign travel passports, about 3,000 journalists, writers, actors and other prominent figures of Turkish culture are doing time in Turkish prisons - and all this because of their courage freely to air their thoughts and express their national identity.

Special attention should be paid to pan-Turkism's treatment of the problem of minorities. Pan-Turkism is essentially a State policy of genocide and forced assimilation of non-Turkish peoples in Turkey proper, as well as a policy of expansion and aggression against neighbouring States.

In Turkey itself the non-Turkish minorities were literally subjected to annihilation. The genocide of 1.5 million Armenians cannot be forgotten. As a result of annihilation, forced assimilation and displacement from their homes, there are only about 5,000 Greeks remaining out of 1.5 million and only about 1,000

(Mr. Garvalov, Bulgaria)

Bulgarians out of 450,000. A war of physical and national extermination is now being conducted against the 15 million Kurds in Turkey. The attitude of the Turkish authorities towards the other minorities is similar. A specific manifestation of pan-Turkism is the theory of the 150 million "outer" Turks and the claim that they inhabit parts of the territories of a number of States: Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Greece, the Soviet Union, Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, Cyprus, China, India. The invasion and occupation of Cyprus by Turkey has clearly demonstrated what lies behind such a theory.

Finally I should like to dwell on the issue of dialogue or, to be more precise, on the absence of dialogue, between the two countries responsibility for which rests entirely with Turkey.

Let me recall that there is a basis for dialogue. This is the Bulgarian-Turkish Protocol signed in Belgrade in February 1988, which established the organizational framework and defined the scope of issues to be discussed. Not a single real problem in the bilateral relations was excluded from it. The Turkish side, however, is viewing the Protocol only as a means for realizing its absurd claims. It has called it "stillborn" and has withdrawn from the joint work in the implementation of the commitments under it.

Very recently another opportunity was missed - with the Turkish side again to blame - for holding a serious and responsible discussion with a view to taking the Bulgarian-Turkish relations out of stalemate. At the last moment the Turkish Prime Minister refused to attend the meeting with the President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria that had been arranged to be held in Vienna on 25 and 26 July with an open agenda. Once again the Turkish side did not stand by its word and demonstrated its unwillingness to maintain a sincere, equal and constructive dialogue with Bulgaria. Unfortunately this was confirmed once again this afternoon by the Foreign Minister of Turkey. Moreover, he hastily rejected

(Mr. Garvalov, Bulgaria)

the constructive approach displayed by the Bulgarian Foreign Minister this morning. Incidentally, that is the reason why the well-intentioned efforts of other countries, which have proposed mediation, assistance and good offices, have yielded no results.

The Bulgarian position on equitable dialogue with Turkey without pre-conditions, and at any time and at any level, for finding mutually acceptable solutions through bilateral negotiations is in complete harmony with the positive trends in modern international relations. It is our hope that realism and statesmanship will prevail in Ankara's policy and help open the road to the normalization and improvement of relations between Bulgaria and Turkey.

Mr. AKSIN (Turkey): The plight of the Turkish minority is a massive violation of human rights to which no country can remain insensitive. A number of countries have already alluded to this tragedy during the general debate, and we expect more such statements further on at this session. Hence it would be inconceivable for the head of my delegation not to make some reference to Bulgaria's denial of human and minority rights to 1.5 million of our kinsmen, their brutal treatment by the Bulgarian authorities and the consequent exodus to Turkey of over 300,000 destitute victims of oppression.

In so doing we were not seeking to confront Bulgaria or tarnish its image in the United Nations. We were appealing for an end to practices that are no longer tolerable in our age and seeking an honest dialogue that would attenuate the suffering of those who choose or are forced to flee the land they had been living in for centuries. We are surprised that the Bulgarian delegation has exercised its right of reply on this subject. It is not with words but with deeds that the harm done by Bulgaria to itself and to its relations with Turkey can be repaired and the gross injustice it is committing against its own citizens put right.

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

As regards the allegation made by the Bulgarian delegation against my country, I would like to remind that delegation that nothing it has said can obscure Bulgaria's brutal policies which stand exposed as the practices of another age. I would also like to remind the Bulgarian delegation that the main theme of the recent Paris Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) meeting devoted to the human dimension, held last July, was Bulgaria's violation of basic human rights. No fewer than 20 countries stood up and condemned these policies in their statements. Finally, I would like to remind the Bulgarian delegation that Turkey is a free society, a pluralistic parliamentary democracy with a free press and open borders. When there are human rights shortcomings in my country, our Turkish press is the first to report on them, and there is an ongoing intensive discussion in all Turkish circles to make our society more perfect in the crucial area of human rights.

With reference to the statement made by the Greek delegation, we are well aware that the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is not represented at the United Nations and is unable to express its views about the question of Cyprus in which it is directly involved, together with the Greek Cypriots. It is for this reason that I feel compelled to speak in order to inform the General Assembly of the views of the Turkish Cypriots on Cyprus.

The question of Cyprus can only be solved between the two parties in Cyprus, that is, the Turkish Cypriots and the Greek Cypriots. We do not recall hearing any delegation disagreeing with this self-evident truth. The Secretary-General was proceeding on the basis of this truth when he initiated a new dialogue between the two leaders in Cyprus last year. Since then the two sides on the island have held comprehensive talks extending over many months under the auspices of the Secretary-General. At this critical stage nothing could do more harm to the ongoing negotiating process in Cyprus than an acrimonious statement in United

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

Nations bodies. It is very clear that the time has come for the Greek side to make the inescapable choice: either it chooses a negotiated settlement under the auspices of the Secretary-General or it continues to exploit international forums to score propaganda victories against the Turkish Cypriot side. Unless it commits itself to the first course, responsibility for any setback in the negotiations will surely rest with the Greek side.

Turkey's position with regard to the Cyprus question has been clear and consistent from the very beginning. My Government has always supported direct negotiations between the two sides in Cyprus under the auspices of the Secretary-General. We are determined to maintain the same policy line until the two sides in Cyprus find a just and viable federal solution that secures the political equality of the two sides on the island.



Mr. ZEFOS (Greece): I shall be very brief. The representative of Turkey referred to an entity which he said was not a Member of our Organization. He knows as well as we all know that the proclamation of that entity has been condemned by the Security Council as an act running counter to the Charter of the United Nations and long-standing resolutions of this Organization.

I am truly astonished that any of us would even think of mentioning that entity in this Hall.

The meeting rose at 6.40 p.m.