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on Wednesday, 10 October 1990, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. de MARCO (Malta)

- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements made by

Mr. Van Dunem (Angola)

- Statement by the President
- Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: Observance of the Thirtieth Anniversary of the Declaration [18]
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The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. VAN DUNEM (Angola) (spoke in Portuguese; official English text furnished by the delegation): First I would like to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-fifth session and to join those who spoke before me in wishing you success.

Even though the international community is more hopeful today about finding the most efficient ways and means in the quest for justice, peace, understanding and co-operation, we know that the task of leading our proceedings is a hard one. Nevertheless, your wisdom, diplomatic experience and capability, as well as your personal dedication, are an assurance that the work of this session will be most successful.

Allow me, therefore, to express, on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and on my own behalf, the trust we have in you, and to assure you of the full co-operation of my delegation.

Allow me also to congratulate the outgoing President, His Excellency General Joseph Garba, on the excellent work carried out during the forty-fourth session. The success of the sixteenth special session, devoted to the subject of apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa, and of the eighteenth special session, on international economic co-operation, particularly for the recovery of economic growth and development in the developing countries, is unequivocal proof of the dedication and capability that have always characterized him.

The current trend towards détente in international relations has resulted in important steps aimed at solving some of the major problems of concern to the international community, thanks to the efforts made during the past few years, when

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the cold war has been increasingly replaced by dialogue, and the use of force in relations between States has been losing ground to the settlement of conflicts through negotiation.

In this connection, we salute Namibia's accession to independence, an event that marked the end of the era of traditional colonialism on the African continent.

We also welcome the unification of Germany, a country with which we have always had friendly relations. My Government will spare no effort to maintain and strengthen those ties of co-operation.

These historic events are occurring concurrently with others which have a profound significance for Africa and the world: the freeing of Dr. Nelson Mandela, the legalization of anti-apartheid political organizations and the transformations taking place in South Africa with a view to the abolition of the policy of racial segregation. All these are signs of the new environment in which we are living and of hope for a better future.

However, elements of instability persist in southern Africa. We are referring to the situation of violence which obtains in South Africa, supported and encouraged by the police.

We are also referring to the conflicts in Angola and Mozambique, where peace efforts are being opposed by external interference, whose only reason for being lies in the outmoded policies of bloc confrontation.

In the case of Angolan, the summit meeting held one year ago at Gbadolite had created hopes for peace that quickly disappeared as a result of the continued support given to the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) by the United States and by South African conservative circles.

Throughout this period, the Government of Angola has reaffirmed its dedication to go on with peace efforts through the dialogue aimed at national unity and

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reconciliation among all Angolans. It was in that context that concessions were made in Gbadolite and on other occasions.

The same cannot be said of UNITA, which not only has deliberately violated and later unilaterally denounced the commitments made at Gbadolite but also has intensified its acts of war, particularly against the economic and social infrastructure, and has kidnapped and murdered defenseless civilians.

Nevertheless, the Government of Angola continued to bet on peace and therefore has decided to establish direct contacts with UNITA.

Notwithstanding that flexibility, the continued foreign interference and the position of UNITA vis-à-vis the Angolan Government's proposals for achieving peace have been the obstacles that prevented the four rounds of direct talks already held under the auspices of the Government of Portugal from producing the expected results.

The failure of the fourth round of direct talks was due to UNITA's unjustified demand to be explicitly recognized as an opposition political party. The Angolan Government has already established the principle of constitutional revision and of a multi-party system in Angola under peaceful conditions, proposing a temporary status for UNITA that, once agreed to by that group, would take effect with the signing of the cease-fire. Once a multi-party system has been instituted, all political forces would conduct their activities legally under the Political Parties Law, to be approved by the competent State authorities.

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Therefore, it is wrong to demand the status of an opposition political party in the present circumstances, not only because it violates the present legal and constitutional order, recognized by UNITA during the second round of negotiations, but also because nowhere in the world does an official opposition party possess an army of its own.

The attempt to blame the Angolan Government for the failure of the fourth round is intended simply to manipulate public opinion and justify additional aid to UNITA for continuing the war in Angola. Unfortunately the political, economic and military might of the United States continues to influence Angola's internal conflict, contrary to the commitments made by United States authorities during the negotiation process that led to the New York agreements on peace in south-western Africa.

It is not inappropriate to emphasize the seriousness demonstrated by the Government of the People's Republic of Angola in the process that facilitated the application of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), making it possible to eliminate the tension point represented by the Namibian conflict. At the same time, it would be unfair not to recognize the important role played by the Cuban Government for peace in south-western Africa.

Angola and Cuba continue to abide by their commitments on the phased withdrawal of troops from Angola, in a process that has already resulted in the departure of more than 38,000 soldiers in a shorter period of time than had been agreed upon.

The war situation in the People's Republic of Angola is made worse by natural disasters, particularly the drought that has been afflicting some central and southern regions of the country for about four years, with serious material damage and loss of human life. According to present estimates about 3.5 million people

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are in need of emergency food aid and 2.2 million of them are suffering the effects of the drought.

We are grateful for the efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in mobilizing emergency aid to Angola, and we thank the international community for alleviating the suffering of the stricken populations.

However, in the face of the difficulties and limitations inherent in the country's economic underdevelopment, the Angolan Government is unable to cope with that natural disaster by means of its own resources, and for that reason it is renewing its appeal for international aid.

Given the interdependence that exists nowadays in the world, no country can remain indifferent to problems that affect humanity. The People's Republic of Angola takes a keen interest in the events taking place in various parts of the globe.

The latest developments in Western Sahara show that some positive steps are being taken to break the present stalemate. The Government of the People's Republic of Angola reaffirms the right of the Saharan people to self-determination and encourages the Government of the Kingdom of Morocco and the POLISARIO Front to proceed with negotiations and congratulates the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the efforts he has undertaken, together with the Organization of African Unity (OAU), to organize a referendum that can bring an early settlement of the conflict.

The continued illegal occupation of the Territory of East Timor is unacceptable, unjustifiable and a violation of the norms and principles of international law, especially when it is perpetrated by a country which in the past has itself been a victim of colonialism and which has made an important contribution to the struggle of colonized peoples for their emancipation.

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My Government advocates the path of dialogue between Portugal and Indonesia, including representatives of the people of East Timor, as the way to find a fair and comprehensive solution that will take account of the legitimate rights of the Maubere people.

Prospects in the Middle East are not encouraging in so far as finding an early resolution of the Israeli-Arab conflict is concerned. We believe that settling Jews in occupied Arab territories will not help in any way to bring an honourable end to that conflict. The Government of the People's Republic of Angola considers it imperative to convene an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the authentic representative of the Palestinian people, which has for decades been struggling for its right to self-determination.

We cannot fail to mention the crisis that recently arose in the Persian Gulf. When everything points to a realization that resorting to the use of force is not the most efficient way or means of resolving conflicts, we are surprised by the events in that part of our globe with the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq - something we emphatically condemn, especially since Kuwait is a member of the Non-Aligned Movement which, since its establishment, has defended the principle of refraining from the threat or use of force in international relations.

Therefore the parties involved must honour the resolutions of the Security Council and it is imperative that Iraqi troops should be withdrawn from Kuwait in order to facilitate a peaceful and negotiated resolution of the conflict.

With regard to Central America, we reaffirm that the peoples of the region must freely decide their destiny; there must be no external interference through support given to irregular armed groups, through direct military intervention or through a war of information whose object is to overthrow legitimately constituted Governments.

(Mr. Van Dunen, Angola)

In Cambodia the continuation of armed action from neighbouring territories will not advance the search for a peace agreement. My Government believes that a peaceful resolution of the conflict there necessarily requires the cessation of all foreign interference and respect for the country's independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned status.

On the subject of Korea, my Government supports the steps taken towards the reunification of the two parts of that country and the removal of foreign bases and troops from the peninsula. The recent proposals aimed at the holding of a conference during a first phase constitute a positive sign that deserves the fullest support from the international community, for no matter what manoeuvres are resorted to, a people with a single identity will never remain divided.

At the beginning of the last decade, we declared from this rostrum our firm desire to improve the global economic environment, and we likewise committed ourselves to strengthening international economic co-operation in order to conquer hunger, poverty, malnutrition and epidemics - that is, to overcome the problems of underdevelopment and give more dignity to man's existence.

Today, as we enter the last decade of the twentieth century, we should reflect on what was our commitment to searching for solutions to the critical international economic situation, which affects the developing countries most of all. Therefore, it is only right to raise some concerns: Must we have images of hunger and poverty continue to appear in the world of our discussions in order to remind us of the imbalance and injustice of the present international economic system? Do we need to repeat at every step that four fifths of the world's population possesses only one fifth of its total wealth, manages only 10 per cent of the world's industrial output and controls no more than 2 to 3 per cent of the total research efforts in the world? What specific joint measures did we take to prevent the gap

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between the developing and the developed countries from reaching today's proportions?

When the recent special session of the General Assembly devoted to international economic co-operation analysed the results achieved during the past decade, it found that the problems which had already caused concern to the countries of the so-called third world at the start of the decade were still present.

The target level of official development aid to the developing countries, fixed at 0.7 per cent of the industrialized countries' gross national product (GNP), was attained only by a small group of countries, and the general figure was only 0.35 per cent.

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In international trade we continue to witness a resurgence of protectionism practised by the developed countries, a decline in the prices of raw materials, and a deterioration of the terms of trade, whose effects seriously compromise all the efforts made by the developing countries to revive their economies.

To aggravate this picture, the foreign debt of the developing countries has been constantly increasing, reaching the monumental sum of \$1,320 billion at the end of last year; that amount cannot be paid without inevitably diminishing the investment capacity of those countries.

In our view, the basic question lies in the need for a political will, both on the part of the developing countries and on the part of the developed countries, as the only way to avoid a reproduction of the system that generated the inequalities and injustices.

While it is true that in order to overcome the challenges of the world economic situation, the developing countries have to adopt more appropriate strategies geared to readjusting their economies, it is equally true that the developed countries should adopt more constructive attitudes.

More recently, with the ongoing transformations in Eastern Europe we have witnessed what could be called "conditionalism" in connection with official development aid from the countries of Western Europe.

For the Government of the People's Republic of Angola, the economic evolution occurring in the countries of Eastern Europe should signify a more active participation by those countries in the world economy, so that they may make a greater contribution to the improvement of North-South relations.

In the particular case of Africa, the changes taking place in Eastern Europe should serve as an incentive to other industrialized countries to give greater support to African countries, taking account of the ongoing policies of structural adjustment aimed at the recovery of their economies, instead of opting for measures

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that would further weaken their participation in the expansion of the world economy.

Moreover, in the face of the inadequate results achieved in implementing the United Nations programme for the economic recovery of Africa, the international community has seen the birth of a new plan that requires greater flexibility on the part of donors.

In southern Africa, with the accession of Namibia to independence and the beginning of the process that will lead to negotiations between anti-apartheid organisations and the South African Government, new prospects are opening for the region's development.

The member countries of the Co-ordination Conference for the Development of Southern Africa, in its tenth year of existence are entering a new phase in the development efforts that will need the growing support of the international community.

Important events have taken place and will take place during the present decade. A few days ago the second United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries ended at Paris with encouraging - albeit partial - results. Its convening constitutes one more opportunity to seek solutions to the pressing problems faced by that group of countries. The cancellation of their foreign debts by the industrialized creditor countries should be considered one of the most urgent and necessary measures for achieving that end.

The World Summit for Children, held on 29 and 30 September, accurately analysed the problems that beset the world's children and it recommended appropriate measures for their protection. The People's Republic of Angola reaffirms its most firm commitment to such principles and will do its utmost to improve the living conditions of children.

(Mr. Van Dunan, Angola)

In addition, the eighth United Nations Conference on Trade and Development will take place in 1991, in 1992 there will be a conference on environment and development, and in 1994, a conference on population. At those important forums an effort will be made to continue the debate begun at the eighteenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to international economic co-operation. The results we expect from those meetings should become a foundation for re-establishing trust among nations.

The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish 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. AKSIN (Turkey): My delegation has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

The statement made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Greece on 27 September in the course of the general debate consisted of many pages devoted to the question of Cyprus. The Greek statement contained nothing positive. It was not designed to soothe or to conciliate. The only new element was the attempt to equate the Gulf crisis with the question of Cyprus. That is ludicrous. Even by grossly distorting well-known facts, it is not possible to draw the kind of parallel between Kuwait and Cyprus that the Greek statement tried to draw.

Kuwait was invaded, occupied and annexed by its neighbour. In essence, that is what Greece tried to do to Cyprus. Greece encouraged and abetted the Greek Cypriots to destroy the partnership State in order to annex Cyprus to Greece.

As we all know, the Republic of Cyprus was established in 1960 by the Turkish and Greek Cypriots in the exercise of their respective rights of

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self-determination. Within three years, the Greek Cypriots had precipitated a civil war, upset the constitutional order and brought about the division of Cyprus, all in the name of union with Greece.

The United Nations had to send forces to Cyprus in 1964 to protect the beleaguered Turkish Cypriots from being exterminated or driven out of their ancestral homes by the Greek Cypriots. If the United Nations peace-keeping force is still in Cyprus after more than 26 years, Greece must bear a heavy responsibility for that fact. In all those years, we have not seen any Greek initiative to encourage reconciliation between the two peoples in Cyprus. They have never given their support for the lifting of the embargo against the Turkish Cypriots or for toning down the hostility and the invective directed against the North from the Greek Cypriots. On the contrary, Athens has given material and moral support to Greek Cypriot rearmament efforts. Athens has backed the most chauvinistic elements among the Greek Cypriots in pursuing their relentless campaign against the Turkish Cypriots.

The question of Cyprus will be resolved when the two peoples in Cyprus overcome their differences. The way to that goal is shown in Security Council resolution 649 (1990), which was adopted unanimously by the Security Council six months ago. That resolution calls for a freely reached and mutually acceptable solution to be arrived at through negotiations on an equal footing. While paying lip service to respect for relevant United Nations resolutions, the Greek statement contained no mention of Security Council resolution 649 (1990), nor any indication of a desire on Greece's part to encourage the Greek Cypriots to turn over a new leaf in their relations with the Turkish Cypriots.

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

The tired rhetoric of the past 26 years has got us nowhere. My delegation is very sad to note that the message from Athens continues to be in the same vein. This does not augur well for the Secretary-General's renewed efforts to get the intercommunal talks resumed at an early date.

Mr. YPSARIDES (Cyprus): I would like to reply to what the representative of Turkey said, trying, in this Assembly, to distort the picture and the question of Cyprus and, particularly, trying to present the latest resolution of the Security Council on Cyprus, resolution 649 (1990), as aiming to create a situation in Cyprus where there will be division and separation, whereas the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, both of the Security Council and of the General Assembly, go in the direction of having a united Cyprus. He did so even on the particular idea of separate self-determination, which has been dealt with in the Security Council by the Secretary-General himself.

The question of Cyprus is a question of efforts by the Secretary-General to find a solution on the basis of the unity and the integration of Cyprus, and not a solution as the representative of Turkey tried to present it in his right of reply.

Mr. THEODORAKOPOULOS (Greece): The distinguished representative of Turkey, in exercising his right of reply, launched a slanderous allegation against my country. I would like to ask the distinguished representative of Turkey, who attacked Cyprus? Whose occupation forces are still in Cyprus? Who expelled 200,000 refugees from their ancestral home? And who was responsible for the 1,669 missing persons? I would like to point out that the crime of aggression against Cyprus was committed by Turkey. There is no legal or moral principle to justify this act of aggression committed against Cyprus.

I would also like to ask the distinguished representative of Turkey if he recognizes resolution 3212 (XXIX), in favour of which Turkey voted, and I should like also to ask him what Turkey has done so far to implement this resolution.

Mr. AKSIN (Turkey): Nothing that the distinguished representative of Greece has said can obscure the fact that Greece must bear the major responsibility for bringing about the question of Cyprus. Greece's ambitions in Cyprus are well documented, and it these ambitions which encouraged the Greek Cypriots to engage in the actions against the Turkish Cypriots which led directly to the present division of Cyprus into two separate States. Unfortunately, we are unable to detect any indication of change in Greece's Cyprus policy which would encourage the Greek Cypriots to abandon their policy of implacable hostility against the Turkish Cypriots.

Mrs. DAES (Greece): With reference to the last remarks made by the distinguished representative of Turkey, I would like to state for the record that Turkey is responsible for all the violations of human rights which took place in Cyprus, and which are taking place there now. Hundreds of resolutions of this Organization, of the Council of Europe and other regional and international organizations remain unimplemented. We would once again ask the distinguished representative of Turkey to respect and to implement the relevant resolutions which provide for the human rights of all the people in Cyprus to be respected.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT: We have just heard the last speaker in the general debate, which began on 24 September and took 29 meetings. In the course of the debate we were privileged to listen to 27 Heads of State and 15 Prime Ministers. The total number of speakers was 155. This impressive participation, particularly by Heads of State or Government, highlights the importance the international community is attaching to the General Assembly. This in itself also provides a visible renewal of our commitment to the United Nations and the objectives that it stands for based on humanity's aspiration for peace in freedom.

The crisis in the Gulf inevitably dominated the attention of all speakers. Two common themes flowed from the unanimous conviction that the invasion and annexation of Kuwait constitute a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter as well as a most serious threat to international peace and security. On the one hand, a firm demand was voiced by practically every speaker for the restoration of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kuwait in full conformity with the relevant Security Council resolutions. On the other, there was a widely expressed view that efforts for a peaceful outcome to the crisis should continue on a collective basis within the framework provided by the Charter of the United Nations.

In speaking about the situation in the Gulf, participants in the debate also looked at the wider regional framework in which the crisis was unfolding. Here again two common themes emerged. On the one hand, there was an absolute rejection of any direct linkage between the invasion of Kuwait and other outstanding issues in the Middle East. On the other, it was clearly acknowledged that the firm international reaction to the invasion of Kuwait was setting a new high moral standard of action. There was recognition that henceforth this new standard of

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action must be seen to be applicable also to efforts towards the solution of the other problems of the region, especially to bring about a just and permanent solution to the question of Palestine through the early convening of the long-awaited peace conference.

The sober, calm and balanced manner in which our debate on this highly delicate and complex subject was conducted brings sharply into focus the unique role of the General Assembly. Indeed, through our Assembly the voice of humanity has been heard loudly and clearly, and the message is one of sanity, of justice, of fairness and of peace.

It has been said that every nation has its pride, and this is perfectly true. It is equally important for us all to understand that there is no loss of face for any State to abide by the Charter. There is no loss of face in devising the means and the structure within which the return of the State of Kuwait to its sovereignty and territorial integrity may be peacefully settled.

The crisis in the Gulf somewhat blunted the Assembly's attention to other issues of major concern. In his reflections at the conclusion of last year's general debate, my predecessor, Ambassador Garba, spoke of the hopeful relaxation of tensions and manifestations of mutual respect that had been welcomed and acknowledged by all speakers.

If it had not been for the invasion of Kuwait the international community would, indeed, this year have had even more cause than last year to express satisfaction and optimism. Even so, most speakers found time to look back upon the momentous events of the last 12 months: the dramatic thrust of Eastern Europe towards liberty and democracy culminating in the unification of Germany as a cogent symbol of a unified Europe; southern Africa's continuing march towards justice and freedom, reflected especially in the achievement of Namibian statehood and the

(The President)

release of Nelson Mandela; the steady progress towards a just and lasting settlement in Cambodia; the continuing democratization process in most of Central and Latin America; the definitive abandonment of super-Power confrontation in the stormy waters of Malta, and the emergence of super-Power partnership.

Speakers have welcomed the membership of Liechtenstein in our Organization and looked forward to the days when agreement will be reached for the people of Korea also to take up their rightful representation among us.

Many have reflected upon the prospects which these positive developments open up for renewed efforts towards resolution of those deeper and more fundamental problems which still confront the international community: the poverty curtain, where disease and misery still holds sway over a significant proportion of mankind and threatens to perpetuate an unbridgeable gap between the haves and have-nots of this world; the ever increasing burden of debt, especially among the least developed countries; the scourge of drug trafficking; the dangers of a deteriorating physical environment; the plague of terrorism; the continued flouting of human rights; the plight of millions of refugees.

The impressive celebration in our midst of the World Summit for Children brought home to us, in perhaps the most immediate way possible, our grave responsibility to strive relentlessly to tackle and solve these problems. It is our duty to work to guarantee for our children and grandchildren that common heritage of dignity, peace and prosperity to which they are entitled. Many speakers have stressed that one important step in this direction should be taken in the course of this session of the General Assembly through the adoption of the new international development strategy for the Development Decade that will span the last 10 years of the twentieth century.

(The President)

I wish to take this opportunity to thank delegations for the co-operation that they have shown again this year in ensuring the successful conduct of the general debate. Not only in questions of substance but also in matters of procedure, the general debate provides a window for the world to view the working and effectiveness of our Organization.

(The President)

This year, much more than in previous years, the eyes of the world have been looking through this window with effective interest and attention. I believe that I am right in observing that both what we have said and the manner in which we have said it have contributed to the future enhancement of the standing of our Organization. This should be a cause for satisfaction for all, because in enhancing the standing of the United Nations, we enhance the best means that we have of guaranteeing a future of peace, friendship and co-operation among nations.

In conclusion I wish to express my sincere thanks and appreciation to those speakers who are so warm and generous in their remarks about me and about my country, Malta. I pledge my full commitment to ensure the success of the continuing work of the Assembly in the coming weeks. This session of the General Assembly has been described as one of historic importance, and I believe that it is so, but it is equally true that the historic circumstances in which we are meeting require prudence in our actions and courage in our decisions.

Our Organization is experiencing a credibility test. Millions around the world are putting their trust in the United Nations. Many are investing high expectations in our leadership. It is our responsibility, and in particular that of the General Assembly, the most representative body of our Organization, to find remedies, to formulate solutions, to instil into the observance of the Charter those guarantees which nations large and small are striving for so that peace and freedom prevail.

We have now concluded agenda item 9.

AGENDA ITEM 18

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES: OBSERVANCE OF THE THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION

The PRESIDENT: Thirty years ago the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. As we celebrate this anniversary, it is imperative that we remind ourselves of those many countries which have attained independence since then. It is equally relevant, however, for us to reflect on the importance that the Declaration attaches to the right of the people to enjoy sovereignty in accordance with "their freely expressed will and desire".

The 1960 Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) is in itself a landmark, for it has, throughout these years, contributed in no small manner to fulfilling the peoples' aspirations to the full enjoyment of freedom and the independence of their homelands. In many instances the path towards independence has been difficult. Yet the thirst for freedom has enabled millions to surmount all obstacles, thus enabling them to reap the benefits of self-determination.

In 1945 the founding fathers of our Organization had already established principles under Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations relative to the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories. Today, with only 18 Non-Self-Governing Territories, we may be tempted to say that the principles embodied in the Charter and later enhanced by the 1960 Declaration are to a large extent respected.

The process of decolonization has seen the emergence of 80 new States. Vast territories have attained independence, thus joining the community of nations. Many of us here have lived through and contributed towards this process and hence cherish the memory of the day when our countries became sovereign States.

(The President)

Seven hundred and fifty million people were living under colonial rule in 1945 - populations whose numbers have grown since then. In 1990 only about 2 million live in Non-Self-Governing Territories - a significant and remarkable feature of the international community's commitment to the Charter of the United Nations.

This year we have witnessed a historic event in the decolonization process - the peaceful transition that led to the independence of Namibia. The role played by our Organization in assisting the people of Namibia to achieve the right to govern themselves has strengthened the determination and the commitment of the United Nations to uphold the principles of the Charter and to proclaim the right of all peoples to self-determination as embodied in the 1960 Declaration. They are principles which are worth recalling, for their main thrust was the right of the people freely to express their will and desire. They are principles which are thwarted each and every time the people are denied the democratic right to elect a government which reflects the will of the majority and ensures the rights of the minority.

An important role in the decolonization process is that played by the Special Committee. Established in 1961 to monitor the implementation of the 1960 Declaration on decolonization, the Special Committee over the years has assiduously pursued its assigned task and considered the situation in no less than 46 Non-Self-Governing Territories. While the work of the Special Committee continues, many agree that, even though certain basic problems remain to be solved, time has proved that, with political will and mutual co-operation on the part of all concerned, questions concerning Non-Self-Governing Territories can be settled peacefully.

(The President)

Two years ago the General Assembly declared the 1990s the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism. It is important for the international community to give special attention to the fate of peoples living in the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories that seek enjoyment of the rights inherent in the principles of equal rights and self-determination.

However, as we look back with deserved pride at the achievements during the past three decades it is imperative that we remind ourselves that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was not drafted and voted for in a vacuum. That Declaration was drafted and approved by an international community which was becoming more and more aware of the importance of ensuring individual human rights and dignity.

In 1948 the same General Assembly over which I now have the honour to preside spelled out a warning:

"disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind". (resolution 217 (III), A, second preambular paragraph)

Thus, in acknowledging the great strides achieved by the United Nations in the decolonization process, let us today, on this the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, renew our efforts and commitments in resolving in harmony and co-operation the colonial vestiges of the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories - not disregarding our responsibility, however, towards those people who rightfully feel cheated when the full sovereignty of the State is not matched by full respect for the obligations imposed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations 23 years ago.

(The President)

On this solemn occasion I should like to announce that messages have been received from the following Member States: Afghanistan, Chile, Colombia, Mongolia, Nigeria, Peru, the Philippines, Sudan, Vanuatu and Venezuela. The messages will be circulated as a document of the General Assembly.

I now call on the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL (interpretation from French): I welcome the opportunity to address the General Assembly on this special occasion commemorating the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

When this Declaration was adopted on 14 December 1960, it constituted a landmark in the application of one of the basic principles of our Organization - that of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. It proclaimed the necessity of bringing a speedy end to colonialism and declared that the subjection of peoples to alien rule was contrary to the principles of the Charter and an impediment to the promotion of world peace and security. Equally important, by identifying colonialism as a major obstacle to international peace and security, it committed the Organization to play a central and active role in the process of decolonization.

Thus, to colonial peoples everywhere, the adoption of the Declaration by this Assembly conveyed the promise of a new world order based on justice and equal rights for all peoples.

In the years that have elapsed since the Declaration was adopted, the world has witnessed one of the most remarkable developments of our time: 59 Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories, embracing a total population of 140 million people in all regions of the world, have been enabled to exercise their right to self-determination.

The overwhelming majority of the Territories are now playing their part as independent sovereign States in the affairs of our world Organization. The admission of the new State of Namibia, after so many years of bloodshed and suffering, represents a fitting climax to a year which marks the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration.

(The Secretary-General)

The international community has every reason to be proud of the important role that it has played in helping the peoples of former colonial Territories to win their freedom. In this context, we must express our deep appreciation to the Special Committee of 24, which has discharged with great credit its special responsibilities for monitoring the implementation of the Declaration. It has succeeded in mobilizing international support for the legitimate aspirations of the colonial peoples.

As a result of the process of decolonisation, today the United Nations is a far more representative, and stronger body than it was three decades ago. As such, it is better equipped to provide a collective approach to the urgent tasks which still confront the international community.

While we take pride in past achievements, the United Nations continues to uphold its commitment to the political, economic and social advancement of the remaining 18 Non-Self-Governing Territories. Most of them are in the Pacific and Caribbean regions and have unique problems on account of their small size and population, geographical remoteness, isolation and limited natural resources. The objectives set forth in the Declaration continue to be as applicable to them today as they were when that historic document was adopted. Their special circumstances will require the continued co-operation and assistance of the United Nations in helping them to overcome the challenges that face them and in charting a future that will meet the wishes and aspirations of their peoples.

The abiding concern that the United Nations has invested in colonial territories is reflected also in the series of specific programmes and measures it has adopted for the welfare and social advancement of their peoples. Since 1954, the General Assembly has each year invited Member States to offer Non-Self-Governing Territories training in technical and vocational fields and also to enable them to avail themselves of post-primary and university education. The

(The Secretary-General)

Organisations of the United Nations system have provided assistance to dependent Territories in conformity with resolutions of this Assembly. Indeed, their association with these Territories during the decolonisation process has been of inestimable value.

This is an anniversary on which we should take stock of our achievements and the challenges that remain in this important field of human endeavour. In drawing international attention to this anniversary, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has stressed its importance as a moment not only to look back, but to look forward. In our approach to resolving the remaining colonial problems, we must act with dispassionate objectivity, guided solely by the wishes and the well-being of the people directly concerned. It is in this spirit that we must renew and reaffirm our commitment to the principle of self-determination.

The PRESIDENT: I call on the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

Mr. TADESSE (Ethiopia) (Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (Special Committee of 24): It is indeed a great honour and privilege for me to participate in this special meeting commemorating the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

This day symbolizes the solidarity of the States Members of this Organisation in their determination to hasten the unconditional attainment of freedom and independence by all Territories under colonial rule. It is a day for Member States to rededicate themselves to the principles embodied in the Declaration: principles which demand the liberation of colonial Territories from foreign domination;

(Mr. Tadesse, Chairman, Special
Committee of 24)

principles which derive from the purposes and tenets enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. It is a day for looking back at past achievements, not in a self-congratulatory manner but in order to lay firmer ground for future action with respect to the remaining vestiges of colonialism.

It is self-evident that the Declaration has had a wide-ranging effect on many aspects of international life and, particularly, on the evolution of this Organization itself. The importance of the United Nations as the standard-bearer in this realm of endeavour was strengthened by the assignment to it of a central role in the achievement of one of the fundamental purposes enunciated in the Charter, namely, to uphold the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples all over the world. Moreover, the progressive implementation of the Declaration has resulted in the Assembly's becoming a more truly representative world forum. Adopted by the overwhelming majority of Member States, the Declaration was both an expression of the determination of the community of nations to speed up the process of liberation of colonial peoples and a signal of a new hope for freedom and independence to the millions who were still living under the colonial yoke.

(Mr. Tadesse, Chairman, Special
Committee of 24)

During the 30 years that have elapsed since resolution 1514 (XV) came into effect there have been remarkable developments in the struggle of the colonial peoples to achieve self-determination and independence. In these three decades the Declaration has provided the basis for and served as a catalyst in the liberation of more than 50 dependent Territories. The composition of the membership of the United Nations today is eloquent testimony to this outstanding achievement: over one third of the 159 Members are former colonial Territories which have joined the community of nations as sovereign States since 1960.

In many instances the liberation movements had to pay the ultimate price to break the chains of subjugation and domination. Many of those freedom fighters did not live to see the triumph of the cause for which they fought. On this solemn occasion I wish, on behalf of the Committee, to pay a special tribute to them, all of them, to the thousands of known and unknown heroes who have sacrificed their lives in the cause of freedom, justice and independence. The valiant deeds and actions of these heroic men and women will, I am convinced, live on for generations, long after the word "colonialism" has become an anachronism in the annals of international relations.

The liberation of Namibia - the most recent decolonization process, in which the United Nations took the most active part ever because of its unique responsibility for that former Territory - is still vivid in our memory. The presence of the delegation of Namibia among us today as the representative of a sovereign Member State of this Organization is a symbol as well as a source of encouragement for us to pursue our determined action until the last remnants of colonialism have been eliminated from the face of the Earth.

Therefore, while the United Nations takes pride, and rightly so, in its contribution to the historic achievement of the Namibian people, we believe that

(Mr. Tadesse, Chairman, Special
Committee of 24)

this commemoration of the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration should be an opportunity to renew our commitment to the cause of the 18 remaining Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories.

As members of this Assembly are aware, the large majority of these colonial Territories are small islands scattered in the Caribbean and Pacific regions with relatively small populations and limited resources. Yet the basic provisions of the Declaration remain equally applicable to them all. On behalf of the Special Committee, I wish to reiterate the Committee's steadfast commitment and determination to continue its search for the most effective ways and means to implement the provisions of the Declaration in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

In this respect, while our actions continue to be guided by a full commitment to the principles contained in resolution 1514 (XV), we have not lost sight of the fact that realism in approach is necessary to chart an effective course of action that will enhance the objectives of decolonization in the case of these remaining Territories. Thus we maintain that the approach we adopt regarding those Territories should take due account of the specific needs and particular conditions of the Territories concerned. In its annual review of the situation obtaining in the Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories, the Committee has endeavoured to assess the full extent of such peculiarities in an attempt to determine the stage reached by the Territories, in particular in the conduct of their respective affairs and in the broader area of self-government. Hence it is our conviction that any approach to be taken in regard to any Territory must be based on an in-depth appreciation of the realities obtaining in that Territory. In this regard, the obligation of the administering Powers to provide relevant information

(Mr. Tadesse, Chairman, Special
Committee of 24)

through regular reports and to facilitate visiting missions cannot be overemphasized.

This solemn meeting of the General Assembly to commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration is in fact the final act of a series of activities which, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 44/100, were carried out earlier this year. Among these activities were the two regional seminars which the Committee held at Port Vila, Vanuatu, and at Bridgetown, Barbados, respectively. The reports of these seminars will be before the Assembly when it considers agenda item 18.

One of the main purposes of these seminars was to ascertain at firsthand the wishes of the representatives of the remaining Territories in respect of the future status of their respective countries. The Committee has carefully considered the outcome of the seminars, in particular the views expressed on those occasions by the representatives of the populations concerned. Needless to say, those views, together with the objectives set out in the Declaration, will guide the Committee in the pursuit of its mandate.

Yet, however constructive and appropriate the results of these seminars may be, their implementation would require the full co-operation of the administering Powers concerned. I wish to take this opportunity to express the appreciation of the Special Committee to the administering Powers, in particular those that actively facilitated the carrying out of the seminars, and appeal to them all for a renewed spirit of co-operation as we move closer to the ultimate goal set by the General Assembly in its resolution 43/47: complete decolonization by the year 2000.

The success achieved in the field of decolonization can be attributed mainly to the protracted struggle waged by the inhabitants of the colonial Territories, as well as to the support they have enjoyed from the international community, more

(Mr. Tadesse, Chairman, Special
Committee of 24)

particularly the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement, regional organizations and non-governmental organizations throughout the world. The role played by successive Secretaries-General of the United Nations in enhancing the process has been monumental. On this solemn occasion we should like to pay a particular tribute to the current Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Peres de Cuellar, for his sustained commitment to the cause of decolonisation and especially for the Herculean task he successfully accomplished in the process that led to the independence of Namibia.

It is my earnest hope that as the Assembly meets during the course of this final decade of the twentieth century the Committee of 24 will be able to report that no more Non-Self-Governing Territories remain on its list and that all such Territories have exercised their right to self-determination. It is also my ardent hope that the global partnership which has brought us this far on the road to freedom and independence for all colonized peoples will ultimately enable us to attain our lofty goal.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on Mr. Ibrahim Gambari, Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid.

Mr. GAMBARI (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid: On behalf of the Special Committee against Apartheid, I should like to thank the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples for extending this invitation to me and to the Special Committee against Apartheid to participate in the celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of the adoption, on 14 December 1960, of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

(Mr. Gambari, Chairman, Special
Committee against Apartheid)

This anniversary is an important one. The year 1960 marked a watershed in the liberation struggle which gathered momentum through the concerted efforts made by a vast number of African colonies to secure their freedom and independence. The adoption of resolution 1514 (XV) set the framework and direction for the political, economic and social developments that dominated the agenda of international, and even national, politics in the following thirty years.

The efforts of the United Nations in facilitating decolonization cannot be denied. The world body resolved that colonialism was an infringement of the principle of self-determination, and called for immediate steps to be taken in all Territories not yet independent to transfer power to the local people, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will to be free and independent.

It was not by accident that only a few years later, the General Assembly went a step further, taking into account the deteriorating situation in southern Africa, marked by South Africa's persistent illegal occupation of Namibia, its defiance of United Nations resolutions, its brutal repression of the South African and Namibian people, and its acts of aggression and destabilization against neighbouring independent African States. The General Assembly declared that racism and apartheid were incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations and indeed were a crime against humanity.

Since then, the Committee of 24 and the Special Committee against Apartheid have developed a co-operative relationship aimed at the elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism, apartheid and racism. While, over the years, the Committee on Decolonization has been extremely successful in accomplishing its important task, the Special Committee against Apartheid now stands at the beginning of a process that will ultimately end with the complete eradication of apartheid.

(Mr. Gambari, Chairman, Special
Committee against Apartheid)

As positive developments in the international arena created a climate favourable for resolving existing conflicts by peaceful means, South Africa finally recognised that it was futile - and politically and economically too costly - to continue to resist and repress the indomitable will and the fighting spirit of the people of Namibia. Today, Namibia is a young and committed member of the family of nations here in this world body. The independence of Namibia is a fillip to the efforts of the Committee of 24, the United Nations Council for Namibia, the Fourth Committee and the international community as a whole, represented in this important Assembly.

The thaw in international relations has had and, I believe, will continue to have, a positive impact on our work. The Special Committee, in particular, is gratified to see its efforts in building consensus on South Africa within the United Nations crowned with the adoption, last December, of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa. The adoption again by consensus only a month ago, of a resolution on the progress made so far in South Africa, is yet another milestone in the international community's efforts to eradicate apartheid.

While the consensus among Member States was the result of a complex change in attitudes and perceptions, nobody can deny the role of the concerted pressure brought to bear on the apartheid régime by the international community at large. The positive steps taken by President De Klerk since last February have been welcomed. However, they fall short of the demands of the international community. Not all political prisoners and detainees have been released; the state of emergency was only partially lifted and the Internal Security Act has not yet been repealed. Violence is still a cause for continued fear that the process towards negotiations could be derailed or delayed.

(Mr. Ganbari, Chairman, Special
Committee against Apartheid)

Against this background, this meeting provides another occasion for the rededication of ourselves to the principles and objectives of resolution 1514 (XV), as well as of the Declaration on Apartheid. The international community should continue to bring pressure to bear on apartheid South Africa until it fully complies with our well-known demands and pre-conditions. The Special Committee has, on various occasions, expressed strong concern about the efforts being made to relax existing sanctions and restrictive measures, and considers these to be entirely premature. According to the Declaration on Apartheid, there has to be clear evidence of profound and irreversible change in South Africa before the existing sanctions and restrictive measures can be relaxed.

We know that the Special Committee on Decolonization will stand at our side in our common endeavour to further the cause of the South African people, in particular, as this relates also to their right to self-determination. By virtue of that right, and we hope this will occur in the not too distant future, they will be able to determine their political future freely and to pursue their economic, social and cultural development unimpeded, as called for in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

Until there is a free, non-racial and democratic society established in South Africa, the people in that hapless country need our continued solidarity and unswerving support. Let us be unrelenting in sending a strong signal to the people of South Africa, as well as to the people of Africa as a whole, that we will not abandon their just and legitimate struggle. With courage and optimism, the day will come when we can all celebrate the total eradication of apartheid. I feel sure that this will happen in the not too distant future.

The PRESIDENT: I call on Mr. Tom Obaleh Kargbo of Sierra Leone, who will speak on behalf of the Group of African States.

Mr. KARGBO (Sierra Leone): Mr. President, allow me, on behalf of the African Group, to express our pleasure at seeing you continue to preside with incomparable skill and finesse over this forty-fifth session of the General Assembly. Our appreciation equally goes to your predecessor, Major General Joseph Garba of Nigeria for his deft handling of the forty-fourth session.

Thirty years ago, the Organization adopted in its resolution 1514 (XV) a body of principles, now unquestionably recognized as a charter of freedom for the inhabitants of the Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories. The effect of that Declaration continues to echo down the years as its assertion by subject peoples assumes an urgency of application which is undeniable.

Whether the successful exercise of those rights has been peaceful or bloody, it cannot be disputed that the Declaration changed for ever the relationship of dependence and subservience between countries which dominated international intercourse until the first half of this century. The major part of this Assembly of nations present here today is testimony to the enduring validity of this thirty-year-old prescription.

(Mr. Kargbo, Sierra Leone)

What has transpired over the years since the adoption of the Declaration is an affirmation of the irreversibility of the liberation process. We have come to witness, through the emergence of new States, the progressive attainment of the primary objective of the Organization, and that is its universality. The experience has been a unique one - rich with the variety of cultures and systems that only a world organization can lay claim to.

Unfortunately, the road has not been an easy one: it is strewn with the souls of fallen martyrs like Mahatma Gandhi and Amilcar Cabral and others whose resistance to colonial domination continues to spark the aspirations of freedom lovers all over the world. Their contribution to the emancipation of peoples is a living story of dedication to the finest values in man, etched with patience and unequalled courage. No greater tribute can be paid to their memory than to commit ourselves to bringing about the full application of the provisions of General Assembly resolution 43/47 of 1988.

Much has happened since 1988, when the General Assembly declared the period from 1990 to the year 2000 as the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism. Not the least of those happenings has been the spirit of accommodation and understanding which has evolved and continues to pervade international relations. It has arisen from the well-spring of human rationality which finally has been emboldened to accept, a priori, the futility of tension and conflict.

As we approach the end of this century, there is an overwhelming sense of purpose and responsibility which we must now display to those who still carry with them the weight of the colonial experience. We must realize once and for all that the world cannot be at peace if we continue to deny others the opportunity to exercise those rights which we ourselves consider inseparable from our heritage. The choice has never been clearer: to ensure that this thirtieth anniversary is

(Mr. Kargbo, Sierra Leone)

the last that we shall commemorate, so that we shall stand at the dawn of the twenty-first century, not as our predecessors did on that December day in 1960 to proclaim those inalienable principles, but to usher in a world free from colonialism.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on Mr. Dia-Allah El-Fattal of the Syrian Arab Republic, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Asian States.

Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic): I am privileged to speak as Chairman of the Asian Group for this month before this Assembly on the thirtieth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. This anniversary takes place at the beginning of a United Nations Decade, in implementation of General Assembly resolution 43/47 dated 22 November 1988, which we hope will conclusively and promptly eradicate colonialism.

We would like to seize this international occasion to express the solidarity and resolve of the Asian Group to accelerate the unconditional attainment of freedom and national independence by all countries, all non-self-governing territories and those which are under foreign rule. On the occasion of this anniversary, we reiterate our resolve to implement the principles of this Declaration which call for the liberation of colonial territories from the yoke of foreign domination.

A look at the membership of the United Nations will confirm clearly that the struggle against colonialism, as embodied in the Declaration, has had a great effect on the relations between States which are now based on co-equality and mutual respect as envisioned by the Charter.

The Asian Group's share in this struggle has been great. Several Asian countries have been liberated from foreign rule and are participating actively now in the building of a better world of justice and freedom.

(Mr. El-Fattal, Syrian Arab Republic)

The world's peoples look up to this international Organization as the highest forum of international co-operation and their best hope in granting freedom to those peoples that still live under foreign domination. We can measure the level of successful implementation of the Declaration by noting that the Declaration, since 1962, has made it possible for 46 non-self-governing territories to exercise the right of self-determination. There remain only 18 on the list of non-self-governing territories now. The increasing number of Member States of the United Nations is the best evidence that domination, exploitation and oppression cannot halt the inevitable historic tide of liberation struggle, that colonial domination is doomed to failure and that it is impossible to suppress the aspirations of colonial peoples to freedom and independence. The future of any colonial territory cannot be determined without taking into account the genuine wishes of the inhabitants of that territory, which they must freely express. The will of those valiant peoples and their continued struggle are the factors which will eventually enable them to free themselves from the stubborn shackles of the colonial system. Free Namibia is the best example.

Despite all the positive developments that we have witnessed on the international scene, it is sad indeed that there are still millions of people in several territories and countries who do not enjoy self-rule and are still subjected to exploitation in their motherlands. More than 6 million Palestinians, in their Asiatic Arab country, are still deprived of self-determination in their own land. More than 28 million Africans in South Africa are still subjected to the most heinous forms of persecution and discrimination in their own land and are deprived of citizenship and are living under apartheid.

We are confident that the Committee will continue to discharge its task until

(Mr. El-Fattal, Syrian Arab Republic)

the final disappearance of the last vestiges of colonialism. Towards that end, the international community is required, to implement General Assembly resolution 47/43 dated 22 November 1988 on the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism by adopting specific specific measures to rid the world of every shape and form of colonialism.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on Mr. Stanislaw Pawlak of Poland, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Eastern European States.

Mr. PANLAK (Poland): I am deeply honoured to have the opportunity, as current Chairman of the Group of Eastern European States, to address the Assembly at this meeting devoted to the observance of the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

The Declaration is undoubtedly one of the most fundamental and landmark documents adopted by the Organization. It not only testifies to the noble goals that inspire the activities of the United Nations as a whole, but also indicates the way these goals may be - and should be - achieved through the determined co-operation of the community of nations.

Needless to say, the world we live in today is much better than at the time the Declaration was adopted. The increasingly rapid pace of change has made the world almost free from colonial domination and subjugation. It was only in March this year that we witnessed in Namibia the victory of its people in the struggle for its right to self-determination and the triumph of the principles of the United Nations Charter over the scourge of colonialism. Today we see a free and independent Namibia taking its rightful place in the Organization.

There is no doubt that this irreversible process has been fostered also by the fundamental changes in Eastern Europe. It has been shaped, moreover, by the end of the cold war, which gave way to constructive East-West dialogue, and to the determined will of the States Members of the United Nations to give our Organization real meaning.

We may say with growing satisfaction today that more and more often the United Nations is taking consolidated, unanimous positions on issues of principle. An example of this is found in the question of apartheid, which was so closely related, before Namibia obtained its independence, to the problem of decolonization. The adoption by consensus, almost a year ago, of the historic

(Mr. Pawlak, Poland)

Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa gives us hope that apartheid will soon be eradicated from the face of the earth.

Our present-day world is almost free from the yoke of colonialism, but the word "almost" makes a difference. The remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories still require the continuous dedication, commitment and ongoing efforts of the international community. In particular, the administering Powers should act in the best interests of the people of those Territories, to bring about suitable changes in accordance with the realities and demands of the present-day world, thus enabling them to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Bolivia, who will speak on behalf of the Latin American and Caribbean Group.

Mr. NAVAJAS MOGRO (Bolivia) (interpretation from Spanish): It is a great honour for me to take part in this commemorative meeting, which is such a significant event, and to speak on behalf of the Latin American and Caribbean Group. In political, cultural and geographical terms, our Group itself represents the process of the last 30 years which we are now honouring. From being some 20 States which had already come of age as sovereign States, we have witnessed the birth and growth at our side of a new generation of free nations which enrich our political region, and justify those who with heroism and devotion to freedom have given us a place of honour in the geopolitical order of the world.

Moreover, the new nations have encouraged us, by uniting for the noble cause of ushering in an era of peace, freedom and prosperity, an era from which racial prejudice and unjust exploitation will have been banished for ever. This has been the ideal for which we have fought and which will continue to be our objective.

Today, the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, is a day of rejoicing for the

(Mr. Navajas Mogro, Bolivia)

United Nations. This date marks a most remarkable fact. It is the commemoration of a starting-point in time and in history, and the periodic verification of compliance with one of the basic objectives of the United Nations: the universal realization of the right to freedom of peoples still subjected to colonialism and their inalienable right to a life of dignity, free from fear.

Year after year, Assembly after Assembly, we have ratified and restated our determination to free all the peoples of the world who are still suffering from dependence and foreign exploitation, with their aberrant consequences of racial discrimination, religious intolerance and limited if any access to education, health and social development, which are unacceptable barriers in the age in which we live. We know that all those ills derive from the deliberate continuation of colonial systems of exploitation of peoples through practices which run counter to the right of every human being to live in freedom and in full enjoyment of the wealth which nature has bestowed on the land of his birth, and in enjoyment of his right to work the mineral and other wealth of his territory.

Despite the 30 years which have elapsed and the periods of discouragement and uncertainty which have occasionally impeded our efforts, the work of the United Nations for human dignity and the full enjoyment of basic values has not ceased. We have moved forward with our eye fixed on the broad horizon of our task, without any geographical limits, with a feeling of universal community, and within the reasonable goals and aims that are in conformity with respect for the traditions and lifestyles that constitute the spiritual identity of each people, the very essence of its nationality.

The task of liberation has been carried on by great freedom fighters who, interpreting the desire of the peoples, have succeeded in leading them to victory

(Mr. Navajas Mogro, Bolivia)

and have enriched the group of nations that now constitutes the community of nations represented here. It has not always been possible to reintegrate dismembered nations in their original form or to restore them within their original cultural boundaries, but the future of those nations will depend on the wisdom and sagacity of their own leaders and on the natural inclination of the people, who will seek logical forms of coexistence based not only on the purposes of development but also on spiritual affinities and cultural identity.

Our job is not over. There are still some occupied territories. There are still aberrant practices, such as apartheid. There are still nameless nationalities and subjugated peoples. Some are fighting hard for their freedom. Others have already achieved it, among them heroic Namibia, whose flag already flies in space like a tribute to freedom. We share the joy of this day, which is dedicated to commemorating the historic decision to struggle for the freedom of peoples suffering from economic and cultural dependence. On this solemn day of commemoration we wish to renew our promise to continue to fight every form of colonialism, whether it be that which manifests itself openly, without any attempt at a cover-up, or the kind which is camouflaged in anachronistic paternalism.

The PRESIDENT: I call on Mr. Yves Fortier of Canada, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Western European and other States.

Mr. FORTIER (Canada): It is an honour for me, as Chairman of the Group of Western European and other States for the month of October, to speak at this special meeting commemorating the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

When the United Nations was founded in 1945, the principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples were at the forefront of the minds of its creators. Indeed, these principles are enshrined among the purposes of the United Nations in the very first article of the Charter, while the responsibilities and obligations concerning Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories are detailed in Chapters XI and XII of the Charter.

In the years between 1945 and 1960, when the General Assembly adopted resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV), the membership of the United Nations grew from 51 to 99 Member States. Many of these new Members had obtained their independence from the Administering Power during those 15 intervening years and then sought full membership in the United Nations. But in 1960 there remained many other territories whose peoples had not yet attained a full measure of self-government.

Today, 30 years later, the membership of the United Nations stands at 159, with almost all of these new Members having obtained their independence through the exercise of their right to self-determination. The Group of Western European and other States welcomes the progress that has been achieved in this regard. The Group also notes that in some cases former Non-Self-Governing Territories have chosen other options, including free association with an independent State.

(Mr. Fortier, Canada)

In particular, the Group of Western European and other States notes with great satisfaction the successful conclusion of the transition to independence of Namibia and the essential role played by the United Nations and the Secretary-General. The presence today in this General Assembly of Namibia as a full Member of the United Nations is testimony to the determination of the Members of our Organization to promote the ideals embodied in the Charter and to seek the implementation of the principles of equal rights and self-determination among all peoples.

The PRESIDENT: I declare this special commemoration in observance of the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples concluded.

AGENDA ITEM 154 (continued)

ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE TO HAITI (A/45/L.2)

The PRESIDENT: A draft resolution has been issued as document A/45/L.2. I should like to remind representatives that it was introduced at the 26th plenary meeting. The following States have become sponsors of draft resolution A/45/L.2: Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Grenada, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Saint Kitts and Nevis, and Suriname.

Mr. ALARCON DE QUESADA (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): Haiti is a close neighbour of my country. In fact it is, strictly speaking, our closest neighbour. From our eastern shore it is quite easy to discern Haitian territory. Hundreds of thousands of Haitians live in my country, and they have the same rights as the rest of the Cuban population. They came to Cuba from our neighbouring country.

Throughout history our brother country has had to contend with factors alluded to in the Secretary-General's report: some of its people have been forced by economic and social considerations to emigrate to other countries.

(Mr. Alarcon de Quesada, Cuba)

It is not just geographical proximity that unites us with the Haitian people. We are united by bonds that have existed throughout our history. As a result, our peoples' cultures and traditions have much in common.

Therefore from the very outset my delegation worked actively with the other members of the Group of Latin American and Caribbean States as they were engaged in a joint effort adequately to meet the request of the Government of Haiti and Haitian institutions, including political parties, for the material, technical, economic and financial help Haiti needs for the electoral process it has decided on, and also to tackle many problems related to its economic and social development.

In that context we join the other countries of our region in supporting the request that the international community provide economic, financial and technical assistance to meet Haiti's needs.

At the same time, together with our colleagues in the Group of Latin American and Caribbean States, we have taken the very firm position that we cannot accept any attempt to interpret or manipulate, in any way that could affect international peace and security, the Haitian electoral process for which the Government of Haiti has requested United Nations assistance.

In this regard I believe it is appropriate to refer to Article 2 (7) of the Charter, which retains its full force and, as we all know, clearly states that

"Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State."

My delegation, like the other fraternal delegations of the region, therefore opposes any intention to use or seek to use this question of assistance to Haiti in any way that would imply, on the one hand, a clear breach of the Charter - since

(Mr. Alarcon de Quesada, Cuba)

elections in a country can never be regarded as affecting international peace and security - or, on the other, encouragement of interference in the domestic affairs of the State of Haiti.

(Mr. Alarcon de Quesada, Cuba)

In this connection, we must say that it has been necessary to foil several manoeuvres over the past few months, and that, among other things, is the reason why the General Assembly has been unable so far to approve the request made by that Member State. Even today, when we have met to adopt draft resolution A/45/L.2, the Assembly does not have an operational plan which would explain to us exactly the nature, content and scope of the mission to be carried out there by the United Nations.

In this context, it is worth recalling some remarks made by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organisation, which he recently submitted to us. Speaking of situations in which the Organisation might possibly involve itself, he said:

"... should they involve the monitoring of an election or referendum, they should cover the entire electoral process in order to secure conditions of fairness and impartiality. Where the introduction of a United Nations presence in the electoral process of a State at a critical point in its political life is sought by the Government concerned and approved by the competent organ of the United Nations, it is necessary that there be broad public support in the State for the United Nations assuming such a role."

(A/45/L. p.12)

We understand this to mean that in the case in point this criterion should be reflected in the acceptance by all the relevant institutions in Haiti, including its political parties, of the mission our Organisation is to carry out there.

The Assembly is considering this subject just a few minutes after commemorating the thirtieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV). This is an occasion on which we recall the moment when the Organisation proclaimed the right of all peoples to self-determination and

(Mr. Alarcon de Quesada, Cuba)

independence, and when the United Nations committed itself to carrying forward the process of decolonisation world-wide.

We are also considering this item almost on the eve of the two hundredth anniversary of the moment when the Haitian slaves on Bois-Caiman were the first to call for independence in Latin America and the Carribean. On that memorable occasion, those slaves, who had been dragged from Africa to the Carribean, not only broke their chains but also started out on the road to independence and liberation for the whole Latin American continent and the Carribean.

Now, when the Assembly is possibly about to adopt a decision about electoral assistance to Haiti, my Government wishes to give its support for suitable international action to help Haiti cope with its problems and assist it in its efforts at economic reconstruction and with whatever technical aspects Haiti deems useful in the proper organisation of its electoral process. However, at the same time, we want to make it quite clear that we entirely reject any attempt to use this United Nations resolution or activity as a pretext for interfering in the internal affairs of Haiti, a fraternal country.

The people which 200 years ago was the first to rise up against colonial oppression and racism and for independence in America will surely be capable of repelling any attempt whatsoever by anyone who might seek at this stage to violate the sacred principle of non-interference and the sovereignty and independence of countries.

The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker on this item.

I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes before the voting. May I remind delegations that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, such explanations are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mrs. PELLICER (Mexico) (interpretation from Spanish): The delegation of Mexico will vote in favour of the draft resolution now before us, convinced as we are that efforts must be made to establish better conditions for the economic and social development of Haiti. We have a large debt of international solidarity with Haiti. Little has been done by the international community to help Haiti overcome the difficult problems of extreme poverty and instability which have weighed it down in recent decades.

The United Nations involvement in Haiti is indicative of the greater attention the Organization is paying to the least developed countries. The improvement of living conditions in those countries should have pride of place in the United Nations programme for the 1990s.

We hope that solidarity with Haiti will go beyond the electoral process and will be reflected in a clear commitment on overcoming its economic difficulties.

However, we wish to set forth our views on how this draft resolution came to be submitted and on its implications for future United Nations activities.

My delegation finds that unlike other cases, in which the sending of a United Nations observer mission was preceded by an extensive process of consultations with all parties concerned and an account was given of this in good time to Member States, on this occasion there was limited consultation. We have not received a report from the Secretary-General to give us any idea of the conditions in which the mission would be working. Also, the draft resolution envisages sending two types of observer. In one case, there is no doubt about what kind of work is going to be done, but in the case of the observers with solid experience in the public order field, there is some uncertainty about what functions would be assigned to them and how far these functions would be distinct from those of the peace-keeping forces.

(Mrs. Pellicer, Mexico)

We await further information from the Secretary-General on this matter. The Mexican delegation understands that sending this mission will not set a precedent in respect of the domestic jurisdiction of States. My delegation wishes to restate its unshakable conviction that electoral processes lie within the domain in which domestic legislation in each State is sovereign. The United Nations mission is being sent in this case only because it was requested by the Government of Haiti.

We are also concerned that in document A/45/13, submitted to the Fifth Committee, the electoral process in Haiti is imbued with an international dimension, and it is stated that the holding of elections with an international presence could be helpful in restraining the massive emigration of Haitian nationals.

(Mrs. Pallicer, Mexico)

We believe that the cause of the massive outflow of migrants should be sought in the state of extreme poverty afflicting the Haitian people and the solution of the problem of that migration should consist of resolute efforts for international economic co-operation which will help revitalize development in Haiti. To avoid confronting its severe economic plight and to relegate the problem to electoral matters would, it seems to us, be rather inappropriate and politically unwise.

Finally, we wish to reiterate that, as has been repeatedly emphasized in the informal consultations leading to the presentation of this draft resolution and its actual submission, the electoral process in Haiti is not a situation which poses a threat to international peace and security. Consequently, the resolution does not presuppose any Security Council involvement in the matter. The report by the Secretary-General referred to in operative paragraph 3 applies to the General Assembly, and there is no reason why it should be brought before the Security Council.

The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in explanation of vote before the vote.

The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/45/L.2. The report of the Fifth Committee on the programme budget implications of the draft resolution is contained in document A/45/606, which was circulated in the Assembly Hall. May I take it that the Assembly decides to adopt draft resolution A/45/L.2?

Draft resolution A/45/L.2 was adopted (resolution 45/2).

The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the first speaker in explanation of vote, I would remind delegations that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their positions on the resolution just adopted.

Mr. WATSON (United States of America): The Government of Haiti has appealed to the United Nations for assistance to help it conduct free and fair elections. This appeal clearly merits a positive and rapid response from our Organization, in addition to others, including the Organisation of American States, which have already so responded.

The situation in Haiti commands our attention for a number of reasons. The Government of Haiti has requested assistance, including security personnel, for its laudable effort to conduct elections. The prolonged period of instability in Haiti has swamped neighbouring countries with Haitian refugees. More than 1 million Haitians reportedly are currently in the Dominican Republic, and as many as one third of the population of the Bahamas may be Haitian refugees. Many countries in the region have characterized the situation in Haiti as a threat to regional peace and stability.

Therefore the United States strongly supports a prompt and affirmative response by this Organization to the request made by the Government of Haiti for electoral assistance. We believe that such aid should include technical and security assistance, as well as international observers, and should be co-ordinated with the assistance programmes of regional organizations. We agree with the Secretary-General's view, as indicated in the statement of programme budget implications, that the cost of such an assistance programme constitutes an extraordinary expense.

The United States notes that this matter has been considered by the members of the Security Council in response to letters from the Secretary-General and is the subject of a written reply from the President of the Security Council to the Secretary-General. Indeed it was this development which facilitated the consideration of this matter by the forty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

(Mr. Watson, United States)

In these circumstances the United States was in a position to support the draft resolution introduced by the representative of Bolivia on behalf of many members of the Latin American and Caribbean Group. We do not believe that General Assembly authorization alone is sufficient for dispatch of the security component, which falls within the purview of the Security Council.

My delegation urges the Secretary-General to implement this resolution as quickly as possible in order to facilitate free and fair elections in Haiti only a few weeks from now.

Mr. ROCHEREAU DE LA SABLIERE (France) (interpretation from French): The French delegation welcomes the affirmative reply given by the United Nations to the request for assistance made to it by the Haitian authorities. The process that has been initiated by the Government of Haiti for holding in the near future free and democratic elections in that country provides the Haitian people with an opportunity to recover institutional stability and also a climate of civil peace and freedom, which are necessary prerequisites for economic and social development in their country.

The support the international community has offered through the United Nations now makes it possible for us to hope that this process will be successfully conducted in satisfactorily equitable conditions, in accordance with the wishes of the Haitian authorities.

France, which has very close ties of friendship and co-operation with Haiti, has given constant and firm support to its request to the United Nations and today it is prepared to contribute in the process that has thus been initiated in particular within the framework of the operations to provide assistance we have just approved in principle.

The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in explanation of position. I now call on the representative of Haiti.

Mr. AUGUSTE (Haiti) (interpretation from French): The last time I spoke I said that I hoped I should not have to speak further unless it be to thank the Assembly. That is precisely the reason why I am here now.

I must pay a very particular tribute to the Ambassador of Cuba, who has a wide knowledge of the history of my country and who has reminded us that there will shortly occur the 200th anniversary of the Bois Caïman revolt, which took place in 1791. His acquaintance with Haitian history prompts me to request from him a further mark of solidarity in the future, as we celebrate in 1991 the 200th anniversary of that Bois Caïman revolt, which was the origin of the black people's first breakthrough in history.

(Mr. Auguste, Haiti)

The difficult circumstances in which my country is now living have been commented on in various ways by many speakers. There is of course a crisis. That is why, while safeguarding our national sovereignty - as we have done throughout our history - and while making it clear that our actions in no way impinge upon or alter the jurisdiction and sovereignty of the country, the Provisional Government felt that, in these specific circumstances, it was necessary to surround the elections with all possible safeguards.

In full exercise of its sovereignty, the Government could have called upon one of its partners or a particular State. It did not feel it should do so because we have this international organization which is made up of all States and offers the soundest possible guarantee that countries will be protected from all types of intervention. That was the purpose of our request to the United Nations. I do not want to expatiate on the various stages of the process. I have already stated that it dragged out over a long period but this afternoon we finally arrived at what I would call the end of the long, four-month tunnel. Let us hope that, with the assistance of the United Nations, the entire country will at last emerge from this long tunnel - this process of democratic transition which has already lasted more than four and a half years.

I hope that in other circumstances the solidarity we have felt so tangibly here will continue to produce results that will benefit my country and the prestige of the entire international community.

PROGRAMME OF WORK

The PRESIDENT: We have concluded our consideration of agenda item 154.

I should like to inform members that agenda item 32, "The situation in Cambodia", will be considered in plenary meeting on Monday, 15 October, in the morning.

The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.