



# **General Assembly**

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# Forty-fifth session

#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY

#### PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWELFTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York, on Friday, 28 September 1990, at 10 a.m.

President:

Mr. de MARCO

(Malta)

later:

Mr. SUTRESNA (Vice-President) (Indonesia)

- Address by Mr. Rafael Leonardo Callejas Romero, President of the Republic of Honduras
- Address by Mr. Patricio Aylwin Azocar, President of the Republic of Chile
- Address by Mr. Ramiz Alia, Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania
- General debate [9] (continued)

#### Statements made by

Mr. Qian Qichen (China) Mr. Yaqub-Khan (Pakistan)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.35 a.m.

ADDRESS BY MR. RAFAEL LEONARDO CALLEJAS ROMERO, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF HONDURAS

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

Mr. Rafael Leonardo Callejas Romero, President of the Republic of Honduras, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the Republic of Honduras,

His Excellency Mr. Rafael Leonardo Callejas Romero, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President CALLEJAS ROMERO (interpretation from Spanish): At the outset, I should like on behalf of the people and the Government of Honduras to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly. We are convinced that your experience and ability will greatly contribute to the success of the Assembly's work. Similarly, I should like to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for the excellent job he has been doing in that very complex and delicate post. We Latin Americans are particularly proud of his achievements at the helm of the Secretariat.

We wish also to express a cordial welcome to Liechtenstein, a new Member of the Organization.

Forty-five years ago, in the aftermath of the Second World War, my country helped lay the groundwork for what became the United Nations. The San Francisco Conference, although held on the still smoldering embers of that terrible conflict took place in an atmosphere of faith and hope. The very fact that the Conference was held is proof that humanity, aware of its creative capacity, had faith that it could build new instruments that would promote understanding and concord among peoples.

#### (President Callejas Romero)

At the start of this forty-fifth session of the General Assembly, we can be optimistic that those noble goals can be achieved. A cursory review of the main events of the year that has elapsed since the last session - a year which by any measure was exceptional - supports that view.

Indeed, we are pleased that positive achievements have marked the political dialogue with South Africa, bringing closer to realization the goal that the odious policy of apartheid - which the Government and the people of Honduras unreservedly condemn - will be abolished in the near future. Today, forty-five years later, humanity is witnessing the advent of a new climate of détente and concord, thanks to the changes that have taken place internationally. Mutual respect among nations and efforts to check armaments and the causes of economic and social development are now the rule and not the exception. The participation of the United Nations in the creation of this new climate, which is giving rise to a promising new era, has undoubtedly been a major factor.

The United Nations was conceived as a tool for the maintenance of peace, to ensure human rights and promote the development and well-being of peoples through international co-operation. My presence here in the General Assembly, the first time a President of Honduras has come to this forum, should be taken as an expression of the renewed confidence of the people and the Government of Honduras in our Organization and in its capacity to achieve the purposes for which it was established.

After nearly five decades of separation, the German people has once again become reunited in a single State. One of the most tragic consequences of the Second World War has thus been finally removed. The people and the Government of Honduras most warmly welcome that peaceful, notable development, which strengthens stability in Europe and opens up new prospects for international co-operation.

# (President Callejas Romero)

In the Far East, political co-operation to resolve the long and bloody conflict in Cambodia has made significant progress, and we should encourage such co-operation until the confrontation is at an end and we have built a new era of national reconciliation.

As regards the dialogue between the two Korean States, Honduras supports it unreservedly. However, if, in acknowledgement of their peoples' efforts, they so desire, my country would recommend that the Republic of Korea be accepted as a Member of our Organization. In our opinion, it has already met the requirements for membership.

It is with special pleasure that I also welcome the independence of Namibia and the incorporation of that new State into the United Nations. We are convinced that its co-operation will help to promote the objectives of our Organization, whose exemplary role in connection with the elections and the peaceful transition of Namibia to political power we shall always appreciate.

The changes in Eastern Europe have removed boundaries between protagonists and had a positive impact on the entire world in every imaginable area. The lesson of these changes is that peaceful transformation, dialogue and tolerance should be pursued in both domestic and international affairs. What has happened in Eastern Europe confirms that freedom and the right to self-determination of peoples, guiding ideas of this Organization, are the best guarantee for the achievement of a better world for everyone.

Member State of the Organization, Kuwait, by another, Iraq, using its military superiority and trying to convert that country into another of its provinces. It is obvious that this action is contrary to the elementary rules of peaceful coexistence and a violation of the dearest principles of our Organization and those of the international community: that is, respect for integrity and national sovereignty, non-intervention and the right to self-determination of peoples. The importance of these principles is such that failure to respect them would take us back to the most obscure and tragic times of history, when might made right and held sway over the rule of law.

(President Callejas Romero)

From this point of view, my country, whose security rests primarily on the norms of international law, has condemned the invasion of Kuwait and has offered its modest support in integrating a multinational peace force, under the flag of the United Nations, to help to restore the tranquillity of that part of the world. Our most fervent desire is that diplomatic action will prove sufficient to preserve peace and lead to the establishment of the rule of reason and law in the Persian Gulf region. We applaud the resolutions adopted by the Security Council, which show that the world is united against the aggression and make clear Iraq's obligation to abide by those resolutions.

The long decades of confrontation that we have experienced have caused the world to postpone the basic efforts necessary for dealing with its primary challenge: that is, raising the standards of living of hundreds of millions of human beings who still subsist in conditions of extreme poverty. In our opinion, the dividends of peace must be invested in the best possible way, and that means giving a life of dignity to the dispossessed of the world. That is the only way to quarantee the maintenance of peace and ensure that the old differences between East and West will not be supplanted by a new form of tension, this time between the North and the South. In this undertaking, our Organization must play a pre-eminent role. The United Nations has the necessary dedication and infrastructure to play a greater part in the economic and social progress of all the peoples of the world. The United Nations has become a universal body with the capacity to channel the efforts of the international community in the fight against underdevelopment. is now for the Member States, particularly those of the industrialized world, to express their solidarity and determination by granting more resources for use in meeting this challenge.

(President Callejas Romero)

This undertaking is particularly urgent. In recent years the world situation has led to a deterioration in the standards of living of many developing countries. The decline in the prices of the export products of the third world, the increased prices of imported goods, the increased price of oil, adverse climatic conditions and the heavy burden of servicing external debt - these have combined seriously to undermine the already precarious standards of living in many countries. Additionally, the measures of economic adjustment we have taken in many cases have led to even greater sacrifices.

I believe that in the present situation the international community, acting together, must assume its responsibility and draw up a great plan of action to wipe out poverty everywhere in the world. The success of the Marshall Plan, carried out at the conclusion of the Second World War, is proof that concerted action of this kind can lead to real improvements in the medium term of the standard of living of peoples. We need credits and technology to increase production; we need markets for our products and facilities to make possible the repayment of our external debt without demands being made for further sacrifices from our peoples. This task can be carried out only with the collaboration of all States of the world.

In the course of the past decade hundreds of thousands of citizens of neighbouring countries sought refuge in Honduras, fleeing the violence caused by conflicts in their countries of origin. The burden on Honduras of these thousands of Central American refugees for so many years has been alleviated largely because of the opportune assistance of the international community, particularly that rendered by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. This valuable co-operation is still being given to us today to facilitate the repatriation still taking place as the security in neighbouring countries is improving. Assistance is also being given in areas where many of the refugees are

located, in improving the conditions for development there; in many cases their

presence has had an adverse effect on the environment.

It is only right at this time to express the sincere appreciation of the people and Government of Honduras to those countries that have given us co-operation in dealing with this problem and also to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for the humanitarian assistance given to us during these difficult years.

Since the end of the decade of the 1970s, the Central American isthmus has suffered the effects of bloody conflicts which have occurred primarily in two of the countries of that area. With the passing of time the consequences of those conflicts went beyond the borders of the countries directly concerned and were felt throughout Central America. These effects, however, had the virtue of awakening the Governments of the area to the conviction that it was necessary to resolve the crisis through dialogue, negotiation and joint action. This undertaking, in which Central Americans found solidarity and support from almost all of the international community, was aimed primarily at eliminating the conflicts which had taken place in the countries of the area and preventing further confrontations among the various States.

In signing the Esquipulas Agreements, Central Americans laid the ground work for real national reconciliation among those groups that had been engaged in armed struggle and also laid the groundwork for real democracy. Furthermore, the Governments of the region agreed to carry out a number of actions aimed at improving the standard of living of their people. The agreements signed by the Central American Presidents had the immediate effect of reducing tensions in the area, in Nicaragua leading to the installation of a Government freely elected by the people.

(President Callejas Romero)

In this respect, I can say with satisfaction that from the beginning my

Government adopted a policy which made it possible to abide by the commitments set

forth in the Esquipulas procedures, and we worked with the parties concerned in

Nicaragua to complete a number of agreements, initiated on 23 March 1990, leading

to the disarming and demobilization of the Nicaraguan resistance and to the

repatriation of members and families. Good-neighbourliness between Nicaragua and

Honduras was thus restored.

In El Salvador negotiations with the aim of a peaceful settlement of the conflict, with the invaluable mediation of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, have yielded early results, although, regrettably, these have not been as widespread as we had hoped.

(President Callejas Romero)

The only path to peace and reconciliation is through dialogue, and I again appeal to the parties for the speedy cessation of hostilities, which will enable the Salvadorean people to bind their wounds and build a future of freedom, justice and solidarity.

To prevent the risk of further armed conflicts among States, we are attempting to reduce the size and offensive capacity of the armies of Central America. In this we are also guided by our desire to use our meagre economic resources to improve the living conditions of our people.

We are working to adopt measures to promote confidence among our States, to develop border areas and to improve the environment, and in many other areas of common interest. Our objective is to strengthen union and promote interdependence among the countries of the area.

To that end in our work programmes a prominent role is given to Central

American integration - certainly our most viable option in building a better future.

At the recent meeting of Central American Presidents we stressed our belief in integration as a means of development and said we wanted a Central America linked to the rest of the world on the basis of fruitful and respectful interdependence.

We believe that the Economic Community of the Central American Isthmus should be founded on a redesigned juridical and legal framework; the present limitations must be overcome. We wish to put into effect the new strategies of openness and productive modernization we have drawn up. As we design a new scheme for Central American integration, we are taking into account the errors of the past and the need not to repeat them. We know our principal objective must be to improve the living standards of Central Americans. We also know that the costs and benefits of integration must be shared equitably so that the process will not again be interrupted.

At the meeting in Antigua, Guatemala, the Central American Presidents reiterated their appeal to the international community for the co-operation we need to make our development a reality. This support is particularly important if we are to sustain efforts to relieve the burden of external debt and thus free the resources needed to develop the region.

As we have searched for peace we Central Americans have worked with the United Nations, which has always been present.

From this rostrum, in 1988, the Government of Honduras proposed the establishment of machinery sponsored by our Organization. That machinery was to serve to ensure compliance with the Esquipulas Agreements. The proposal by Honduras gave rise to the international Commission for Support and Verification and the United Nations Observer Group in Central America (ONUCA) whose participation in the bringing of peace to the region has been and continues to be particularly valuable. The receptiveness of the United Nations to the proposal by Honduras made it possible for us to go beyond the impasse that then existed in Central America and furthered our negotiating efforts. ONUCA can now help supervise the security agreements to be reached by the parties to the conflict, and its mandate must be renewed and expanded in the proper terms.

Similarly, in 1988 the General Assembly, aware that peace in our region required improved living standards for the inhabitants, approved a special plan for economic co-operation for Central America to improve technical, economic and financial co-operation for the Central American region.

Central Americans hope that that plan, now being implemented, can, with the goodwill and support of friendly Governments and international organizations, prove to be a firm support for our peace efforts.

(President Callejas Romero)

I do not wish to conclude without referring to the fundamental role being played by the Secretary-General in this process. We wish here to express the thanks of the Government of Honduras for his constant willingness to go Central America whenever necessary to help contribute to the settlement of the crisis. He personal dedication and the dedication of his associates led to a further chapter of success in the history of the Organization as it works towards achievement of its fundamental objectives.

I should like again to express my hope that the United Nations will emerge strengthened and that peace in the world will be consolidated for the benefit of all peoples.

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

Mr. Rafael Leonardo Callejas Romero, President of the Republic of Honduras, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

ADDRESS BY MR. PATRICIO AYLWIN AZOCAR, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHILE

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Republic of Chile.

Mr. Patricio Aylwin Azocar, President of Chile, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of Chile, His Excellency

Mr. Patricio Aylwin Azocar, and to invite him to address the General Assembly.

President AYLWIN AZOCAR (interpretation from Spanish): Mr. President, I come before this Assembly with joy and great emotion, as the authentic voice of the Chilean nation, which has only recently been reborn to democratic life. With deep satisfaction I congratulate you, Sir, on your election to conduct the proceedings of the General Assembly at its forty-fifth session. I should also like to congratulate Ambassador Joseph Garba of Nigeria on his positive and dynamic performance during his recently ended term as President. I also extend my greetings to the Secretary-General of the United Nations,

Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar. We, in Chile, are proud of the prestige which this great Peruvian diplomat has brought to the United Nations. His visit to our country just a few days ago was an honour for us.

As members are aware, Chile has distinguished itself throughout its history for its freedom-loving spirit, its respect for law and the soundness of its democratic system. We have recovered those values and we have done so in peace, without rancour, looking to the future and with a broad sense of hope and reconciliation.

The logic of war that divided Chileans into friends and enemies has been overcome by the logic of peace where we all recognize each other as compatriots, no matter what our differences may be. The average Chilean is enjoying a fuller life

in liberty and greater security without the fears of the past, in happiness and with hope because he is aware that he is respected, and his dignity is valued. He also knows that he has been called on to participate with his contribution to the common cause of building the future of our homeland.

In renewing these traditions of a democratic people, Chile, through me, expresses its greetings and gratitude to the United Nations and to all the peoples and individuals the world over who stood by Chilean democrats in their struggle to defend the dignity of man and win back their freedom.

The issue of human rights occupies a special place in the relationship between Chile and the United Nations. We have been tireless promoters of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights since its inception. We have fostered a concept of human rights that goes beyond the physical protection of the person to encompass political, social, economic and cultural dimensions, and we have advocated the supremacy of these principles. For Chilean democracy, human rights have never known any frontiers.

In the recent past, however, the pendulum swung in the other direction. When serious violations of human rights occurred in my country, the United Nations never once relaxed its scrutiny of events in Chile. This position of vigilance, expressed in repeated condemnations of the situation obtaining at that time, constituted a valuable contribution to the restoration of democracy, for which I should like publicly to express my gratitude today.

This experience has strengthened our commitment. We know full well that unqualified respect for human rights is a universal imperative that constitutes the moral and juridical foundations of all civilized life in both the national and international spheres.

We likewise believe that the defence of human rights is an ongoing and universal endeavour, which must never be used for discriminatory purposes or in the service of other foreign policy objectives. Human rights must be protected everywhere and at all times.

We therefore deem it important to inform the international community about the spirit which has moved us to assuage the wounds that were inflicted on the national spirit by the grave human rights violations which occurred in the past.

We are tackling this problem with prudence, equity and a great sense of responsibility. There is a need to clarify and ascertain the truth about what happened in the past so as not to keep endlessly alive a constant source of anguish. Nevertheless, we do not wish to hold back the march of history or, even less, to encourage sterile enmities. The aim is to seek the truth and, together with it, genuine reconciliation among Chileans.

Towards this end, my Government has ordered the establishment of a special commission known as the "Commission on Truth and Reconciliation", whose mandate is to investigate serious violations of human rights. That Commission is gathering the information that is available and will make a report in the relatively near future. Given its administrative character, the Commission is not intended in any way to take the place of the courts of law. The Commission, which is composed of individuals of the highest moral calibre and national prestige, is working in absolute independence and is receiving the co-operation of the various segments of society.

In this way, with good will on the part of all, we hope to satisfy the Chilean people's yearnings for peace and understanding through law and on the basis of truth, justice and reconciliation.

As it embarks upon a new stage, Chile is facing the challenge of consolidating democracy as a form of political coexistence based on the freedom of the individual, with economic growth and social justice. This, I believe, is a challenge that is common to all developing countries.

Experience reveals that it is possible for a time to have economic prosperity without democracy, but such prosperity does not put down lasting roots because the lack of freedom will encourage abuse of the weak, mainly the poor, by the strong, will stifle the initiative and participation of many people, and will create a suffocating climate of oppression and consequent rebellion which will render stability impossible.

It is possible to have democracy without economic growth, but well-intentioned efforts to improve the living conditions of those who have less by redistributive measures that bring about greater equality without increasing the supply of goods will inevitably lead to serious economic crises, and these crises will endanger the entire social system and, of course, democracy itself.

Without social justice, any democracy, no matter how prosperous it may be, will live under the permanent threat that the understandable agitation of the poor for equity will disrupt the economic development process and jeopardize the stability of the political system itself.

In order to achieve peace and stability in national life it is therefore essential simultaneously to ensure democracy in the political sphere, growth in the economic sphere and justice in the social sphere. This is precisely the task undertaken by the Chilean people.

If we are to be successful in that undertaking we need to pool our domestic efforts and ensure that they are orderly, and we must also have the understanding and co-operation of our friends around the world, especially the major developed countries. Our best efforts may be reduced to naught if equity and solidarity do not prevail in economic relations between our countries.

This is a problem that vitally affects the entire developing world. If we wish to remain faithful to the principles that presided over the founding of the Organization we must be consistent in pursuing the idea that world peace is closely linked to the reign of freedom, economic and social progress and rising standards of living for all the world's peoples. As long as there are peoples ground down by hunger or poverty, or others who, although their plight is less dire, must grapple with insuperable obstacles in their efforts to achieve growth and advancement, the cause of peace will continue to be threatened.

The activities of the various specialized agencies of the United Nations, of the international financial system and of programmes of co-operation between industrialized countries and developing nations are without a doubt very important contributions towards the solution of this problem. However, I would venture to make an appeal to the most highly aware and responsible leaders in the major developed countries to weigh fully the impact their own decisions may have on the enhancement or the decline of freedom, justice, progress and peace in our world.

We cherish the hope that the new climate of peace between the great Powers will enable the richest nations to shift the resources they have been spending on

defence towards the objectives of economic and social progress in the developing world.

We reaffirm the basic tenets that have quided Chile's foreign policy and that largely reflect the national consensus. Those tenets are fully in keeping with the values, principles and objectives that constitute the raison d'être of the United Nations.

Within that framework the main objectives of Chile's foreign policy are as follows: first, to restore our country's influence in the world by means of realistic action inspired by the values and principles to which we have already referred, with special emphasis on the defence of human rights; secondly, to make our international relations more universal in the political, economic, social and cultural fields; thirdly, to promote economic integration and political co-ordination in Latin America, including the development of modern concepts of security which strengthen peace and democracy in the region; fourthly, to pursue an open and modern external economic policy linking Chile to the dynamic centres of growth and technological innovation; fifthly, to foster relations of co-operation and understanding with the developing countries; and, lastly, to strengthen multilateral organizations and Chile's participation in their activities.

The world is rapidly undergoing a transition to a new international reality. We welcome the strengthening of freedom, the greater respect for human rights and the expansion of democracy, all of which augur well for the progress of mankind.

Now more than ever there is a need to intensify the struggle against authoritarian systems of every stripe. Today, the ideological excuses for dictatorships are crumbling. There is no possible legitimacy for rule by force. Full enjoyment of the fundamental freedoms of the human person is the necessary condition for any civilized society. My Government therefore strongly supports and attaches great importance to the consideration of appropriate ways and means of enhancing the effectiveness of the principle of periodic and genuine elections, which is under way in the Commission on Human Rights.

We view as extraordinarily positive the end of the cold war, the quest for agreement and the climate of friendship and co-operation between the great Powers. We extend a most cordial welcome to the united Germany and to the new European democracies. That spirit needs to spread to the other nations and make it possible to end the numerous conflicts and tensions that have dragged on for years in different parts of the world.

This new situation has strengthened the political and moral unity of the United Nations and must give an impetus to political dialogue aimed at improving the international situation. The time has come decisively to quicken the pace of efforts aimed at achieving general and complete disarmament, a ban on the use of nuclear weapons, the cessation of nuclear testing and a total renunciation of the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons.

It would be counter to that spirit and an unacceptable threat were the dread and now defunct cold war to be replaced by an intensification of regional, ethnic or religious conflicts. The United Nations must remain alert to this situation and must take action under the Charter whenever it deems it necessary.

The unanimous international condemnation of the invasion of Kuwait is an expression of those desires and principles and a reflection of the repudiation and just indignation aroused by such conduct, which is a flagrant violation of the norms of international law and a grave threat to the dawning era of peace and co-operation. Chile fully supports and is scrupulously complying with the decisions that the Security Council has taken on this matter.

My Government reaffirms its conviction that Security Council resolutions

242 (1967) and 338 (1973) constitute an adequate basis for guaranteeing both

Israel's right to exist within secure and internationally recognized boundaries and
the Palestinian people's right to a sovereign State.

There are other areas of tensions in the world that also give cause for concern. We are confident that solutions will be found to those problems by peaceful means, in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

Chile also condemns all forms of racism and racial discrimination and, in particular, the harmful apartheid régime. My country fervently hopes that the new avenues that are being explored with imagination and political will by the Government of President De Klerk and the African National Congress, through its leader, Nelson Mandela, will lead to the final demise of apartheid through peaceful negotiations that will lead to democracy without discrimination and based on respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Forty-five years have elapsed since the founding of the United Nations, and today it is gratifying to be able to give the Organization high marks for its very important work in the field of decolonization. The full implementation of the Declaration on decolonization must eliminate colonialism before the beginning of the next millennium.

In this new world environment each region must promote collective security in order to reduce mistrust and strengthen peace within the framework of the international treaties and agreements in force.

We wish to highlight the extraordinary contributions various Governments have made, with the support of the Organization of American States (OAS) and the United Nations, with the aim of bringing greater tranquillity to Central America.

Chile is privileged to be geographically situated in a region where wisdom and common sense have prevailed, as evidenced by the signing of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Chile and Argentina in 1984 and the strengthening of co-operation between our two countries.

Chile's traditional vocation has been one of participation and co-operation in Latin America. We believe it is essential to promote regional and subregional political linkages. The establishment of large-scale economic zones in other parts of the world forces us to reflect, among ourselves and together with other groupings, on the best way of dealing with these new phenomena and avoiding the risks implicit in the protectionism they represent.

The region is experiencing an important period in which its economic structures are being opened up and modernized. This entails adjustments and varying paces of domestic change which must be taken into account in agreeing upon pragmatic forms of co-operation. Our aim is to advance towards stable and lasting trade and investment agreements which will make it possible to overcome the traditional obstacles to our reciprocal trade. We have already taken important steps in this direction with various countries and shall continue to advance down that path.

No nation can remain unaffected by world-wide trends towards more open markets and the establishment of large-scale economic zones. What is needed, therefore, is a review of the prevailing policies and existing structures in the developing

regions and an effective policy for gaining access to markets in the industrialized countries.

The developing nations will not be able to introduce greater openness into their economies and expand their exports unless they receive reciprocal treatment from the most advanced countries. We have noted recently with disappointment that both tariff and non-tariff barriers not only subsist but are increasing; such barriers hamper or even prevent the export of our goods to markets in the industrialized countries. In our view, external co-operation is absolutely essential in order to facilitate world-trade flows and introduce greater flexibility with respect to debt-servicing obligations.

In the light of what I have said so far, my Government will consider in a positive spirit the so-called Americas Initiative announced recently by the President of the United States, who has proposed the establishment of a free-trade zone in the Western Hemisphere. In our view, this is a constructive step towards an improved continental relationship.

If détente proves to be effective and lasting, we can envisage a United Nations which, instead of having to focus the bulk of its efforts on avoiding the armed confrontations that result from a divided world, can devote itself to solving problems common to us all, such as the struggle against drug addiction; problems of the family, women, young people, the elderly and the handicapped; environmental degradation; food shortages; terrorism; the development of health and sanitation, and a whole range of other problems dealt with by the Organization. The solutions we find will help bring about better conditions for mankind.

In November this year Chile will have the honour of acting as host to the most important meeting ever held within the Antarctic Treaty System for the protection of the environment of the frozen continent. Chile, like all the parties to the Treaty, is profoundly committed to this objective.

Our planet is undergoing profound changes, and today more than ever before there is a need for imaginative and creative vision in dealing with the current international realities. Practical ideas must be sought without neglecting moral values or beliefs. We must maintain our passion for fighting against injustices, but a calm attitude and a realistic approach are essential to the quest for the most effective ways of solving these problems. With this realistic approach we must recognize that the economic resources available to the United Nations are meagre, and this situation is compounded by the great diversity of the issues with which the United Nations has to deal.

We are therefore in favour of streamlining the United Nations system to the fullest extent possible by avoiding duplication and achieving greater co-ordination between specialized agencies and greater financial and administrative efficiency. That will make more feasible a speedier response to the problems we are facing. We strongly support the efforts being made now to this end.

On the whole, it is clear that the advance of democracy has made for greater humanization in the political sphere. There is greater respect for the individual, and the individual is more protected and less vulnerable. However, at the same time, there is a counter-trend towards increased dehumanization in the social sphere. Equality of opportunity is declining, the individual is increasingly defenceless against his environment; employment is difficult to find and hold on to; and people are unable to make ends meet with their earnings, while large segments of the population live in conditions of extreme poverty.

The world social situation is, in our view, the most serious problem that must be solved, since it poses a threat to international stability.

There is an urgent need for international social justice; in order to prevent the economic difficulties of the least developed countries from being transposed to

the political sphere and affecting the processes of economic modernization and political democratization.

We must therefore deal with social issues from an interconnected global perspective, giving health, education, housing, employment, the status of women, youth development and other related matters the urgent priority they require. We join in the many appeals for such an approach which have been made from this rostrum.

The accurate diagnosis and comprehensive analysis with which various studies and reports of the Organization have provided us are marred, however, by the lack of specific proposals for combating the evils which have been weakening our societies. We therefore consider it of the utmost importance to give the Secretary-General the mandate he needs so that, in the shortest possible time and drawing upon the vast store of information that already exists, he can propose specific action-oriented measures for alleviating the most serious social problems that have been identified.

It is especially encouraging that in the next few days the Heads of State and Government of nearly 70 countries will be meeting to adopt a declaration of political commitment and a plan of action for a better future for the world's children. This is a symbol that the new consciousness for which we have been calling is already emerging, for behind every disadvantaged child is a disadvantaged family. Troubled children symbolize the problems of the world. We must be aware that today's ill-treated child is tomorrow's cynical citizen. In contrast, the child who is secure and protected will without any doubt be a builder of the new and harmonious world we all fervently desire.

The international community stands on the threshold of a new era. The fundamental change brought about through the end of the cold war opens up the broadest prospects for increasing and enhancing international co-operation in the twenty-first century. For the first time in its 45 years of existence the United Nations has an opportunity to devote itself to this basic task without having to deal with the limitations imposed by attempts to mediate in the bipolar confrontation, which, since it affected virtually every area, made it enormously difficult to make progress towards constructive understanding.

In the context of this new reality, I have a message of peace and optimism to convey on behalf of the people of Chile. Recent events have given mankind reason for hope. Were it not for the grave crisis that has been irresponsibly created in the Persian Gulf that is causing such damage in many different parts of the world and that is responsible for the dangerous uncertainty in which we are living, we might say that the world is advancing towards a higher stage of humanization with all that that entails for the enhancement of peace, freedom and justice.

Civilization has advanced as the acceptance and general compliance of the norms that must govern the behaviour of men and the conduct of nations are becoming widespread, thus making possible life in harmony, co-operation and the well-being of mankind.

All nations, whether weak or strong, must understand that the United Nations is prepared to ensure that those norms are enforced, that we cannot remain indifferent in the face of any flouting or disregarding of those norms, let alone approve such behaviour. The United Nations exists to support and promote peace, justice, law and the well-being and progress of all. These are the foundations of

the national and international commonweal and the underpinning of a civilized order for mankind.

Chile believes that all of us - "we the peoples of the United Nations" - on the threshold of the twenty-first century face a future that is not without obstacles but that also offers a wealth of promising prospects, whose realization will depend on our determination to work together to abide strictly by the principles of the Charter and to practice the principles of solidarity.

In keeping with its means and possibilities, Chile wishes to take part with faith and enthusiasm in this lofty endeavour. This is a new opportunity that has been given to our generation to build a better world. It is a vital challenge to all our peoples and Governments.

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

Mr. Patricio Aylwin Azocar, President of the Republic of Chile, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

ADDRESS BY MR. RAMIZ ALIA, CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY OF THE PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANTA

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear an address by the Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Mr. Ramiz Alia, Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, His Excellency Mr. Ramiz Alia, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

Chairman ALIA (spoke in Albanian; interpretation from official French text furnished by the delegation): It is a special pleasure for me to speak at this session of the General Assembly, which also marks the forty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. Likewise, it is an honour for me to congratulate you warmly, Sir, on your election to the lofty post of the presidency of the General Assembly and to wish you every success in fulfilling this noble task.

We have come to this important meeting with the desire to contribute, within our possibilities, to the strengthening of the spirit of international co-operation and the safeguarding of peace and security for all countries and peoples, big or small.

The year that has elapsed since the meeting of the previous session of the General Assembly was replete with events which at times inspired hope and at other times were threatening. However, in the final analysis, there is hope that at last - on the eve of the twenty-first century - mankind will achieve the solution to conflicts by reason instead of force, co-operation instead of confrontation and understanding instead of mistrust.

It is very encouraging to see that, despite many difficulties, the concept is gaining ground that the security of peoples and nations can be real and permanent only if general security is established for all, just as political détente can have a solid basis only if the gap of unequal economic development among various countries is narrowed and if the poorer countries are assisted in embarking upon the road to modern development and the utilization of the material and spiritual values of our time.

Certainly, the various political, ideological, economic and social conflicts have not abated, nor have the causes and factors which gave rise to them been eliminated. Nevertheless, what is important is that a general consensus is emerging to the effect that international problems cannot be solved, nor can threats and dangers to peace and general security be eliminated, through old concepts and methods.

We should like to consider the process of the easing of tension - if it is to be crystallized and further affirmed with the active participation of the entire international community - not only as a major achievement, but also as a fundamental positive change in the building of new international relations.

In our view, what is happening currently in Europe, and what has taken on the name of the process of security and co-operation in Europe, is proceeding in that direction. Europe, with the situation on that continent and the relations among its nations and peoples, has been, at least up to this day, the source of most of the positive or negative developments in the world.

The hotbeds of the major conflicts, which then set the whole world afire, had their source here, just as did the origins of major political, ideological and cultural currents which have predominated over the centuries. From the great European wars - with all their suffering and superhuman sacrifices - from the reflection of all European tragedies, illusions and disillusions, bold and noble

initiatives have emerged to ensure that the peoples and nations of Europe may live together in peace and friendship.

Mine is a small country. The Albanian people, however, are among the most ancient inhabitants of the European continent. During the thousands of years of their existence, they have never attacked anybody, never provoked any aggressive war, never threatened or encroached upon the security of their neighbours. On the contrary, they have gone through flames and fire in order to preserve their existence and assist others. George Kastrioti-Skanderbeg, our national hero of the fifteenth century, has been and remains the symbol not only of the brilliant fighter for the defence of his own people, but also the first champion of European humanism and civilization.

History has not blessed the Albanian people, either in ancient or in modern times. But it has taught them that, for their freedom, independence, national sovereignty, originality and identity to be protected, they must boldly fight against and oppose any attempt to infringe these, just as it has taught them to support and back up all international actions and initiatives that contribute to the strengthening of peace and general security.

We based ourselves on this necessity, this reality, and this objective, when we opposed the policies of military blocs and divisions into spheres of influence, closed markets and neo-colonialist policies, the arms race and, in general, policies of interference, arbitrariness and diktat.

We have been, and continue to be, in favour of the democratization of international relations so that the voice of all countries is listened to and taken into account. It is true that the great Powers have special responsibilities for the maintenance and strengthening of peace. This, however, does not give them the right to dictate and impose a peace in accordance with their particular interests and political and ideological criteria. The norms of international relations, the

position of States in their relations with one another and the maintenance of peace must be the fruit of the thought, experience and contribution of the entire international community and the consensus of all peoples.

In this context, we cannot fail to evaluate and consider as promising the changes that have taken place in the relations between the United States of America and the Soviet Union, the agreements they have concluded on disarmament and, in general, the way in which they view mutual and general security. If détente between the two super-Powers were to become global and extend to other fields - apart from that of armaments - this would be to the benefit of all.

Nevertheless, in the situation in which we find ourselves now we cannot say that the policies and practices produced by the bloc concepts have been overcome. Worse still, the arrogance inspired by the policy of strength, which is reflected in the continuation of attempts at imposing various models, standards and schemes of political or social development on others has not been relinquished either. Life has shown that pressure to make these standards and schemes compulsory for all countries has led to conflicts from which the world is suffering to this day.

Albania has followed with keen attention and hailed without hesitation the democratic processes now under way in Europe. We consider the process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) - and our country has joined that Conference and has already taken part in a number of its activities - to be particularly important.

The Albanian people have at all times and in all ages shared the fate of the peoples of this continent. Precisely for that reason Albania regards itself as an active participant in the processes that are unfolding in Europe. It looks forward with interest to the Paris summit which, proceeding from the basic Helsinki Act and other CSCE documents, will decide on institutionalization of the CSCE.

Albania, which hopes to be a full participant in the Paris summit, will work in the spirit of the obligations deriving from it. All the efforts, initiatives or ideas aimed at liquidating the division of Europe into blocs and spheres of influence, or other forms inherited from the past, while respecting the freedom, independence and sovereignty of all peoples and countries, have the unreserved support of our country. Any proposal for and step towards the easing of tension, the strengthening of peace through dialogue and understanding, in complete equity and with mutual respect, and any decision or suggestion which might help defend human rights and national and democratic freedoms will also have our full support.

The changes now taking place in Central and Eastern Europe, the complex and still-ill-defined situations that are being created in that large region, and the new and varied differences that are emerging — and one does not know the forms they will take nor their consequences — call for serious and wise reflection and action on the part of us all. The mere exaltation of democracy and human rights cannot be the magic key to the solution of the major, indeed we would say the dramatic, problems of those countries. It is obvious that in some countries this exaltation is leading to anarchy, decline and the degradation of political, social and economic life, and conflicts and clashes which could lead to civil war.

Like all countries of the world, the European countries too are at different levels of economic, social and other spheres of development, which are the result of their different historical roads of development and which, taken together, have also determined and conditioned their political way of life.

It would be desirable for all European countries to be at the same economic, political and cultural level. However, in our opinion, that cannot be attained, and contradictions and conflicts cannot be eliminated only by giving advice, no matter how wise it may be.

Life has shown that without the economic development of all countries, without fruitful co-operation that creates possibilities of advancement for others also, and without establishing among States sincere and equitable relations that exclude prejudice and interference in internal affairs of any kind, genuine security cannot be achieved, nor can democratic, progressive and permanent community among European peoples be created.

Changes in Europe have also led to the reunification of Germany, eliminating one of the most acute problems to have dominated European political affairs in the past 45 years. The right of the German nation to be reunited is a right that cannot be denied. The solution to such problems as that of the peaceful unification of Germany is also a good example for dealing with other problems of this kind which history has left for us to solve. Such solutions also contribute greatly to the democratization of international relations, the strengthening of peace and security and the creation of conditions for sincere and constructive co-operation among peoples.

Albania sincerely wishes that united Germany, which will be a great economic and political Power, will constitute a factor for peace and stability in Europe and elsewhere and help create a better future for our old continent.

In the context of the process of European co-operation and security, regional co-operation is also assuming particular importance. That is true of the process of Balkan co-operation, to which Albania attaches special importance; Albania is making every effort to make a maximum contribution to its advancement and success.

We are fully convinced that this process not only assists in the strengthening of security and co-operation in that very sensitive region but also directly serves the cause of peace and stability in Europe and in the Mediterranean.

However, the Balkans also have their specific problems, which have caused them to lag behind in many respects and have prevented them from following current European trends and from being integrated into our continent.

The fundamental problem or, rather, the source of all conflicts, squabbles and hatred among the Balkan States during this century, has been that of national minorities. It is high time for the Balkan countries - and the democratic processes taking place in Europe and the whole world call for this - to tackle this problem with wisdom, realism and objectiveness. However complicated and difficult it may appear, if they set themselves the goal of transforming the minorities from a bone of contention into a bridge for communication and co-operation, ways and means of settling this problem can be found.

As far as Albania is concerned, it has the necessary good will and is prepared to make its contribution to the advancement of Balkan co-operation democratically so that it may serve the vital interests of the peoples of that peninsula.

One of the more acute and more disquieting problems in the Balkans today is that of the Albanians in Yugoslavia, with regard to whom the Government of Serbia is pursuing an open policy of genocide, which has been affirmed at many international forums and brought to the attention of world public opinion.

In Kosovo and other regions of Yugoslavia where Albanians live, crimes are being committed that would have been considered monstrous even in the dark days of the Middle Ages. The main point is not that Albanians are being denied their fundamental human rights, and, as is already known to all, are being violated most barbarically, but that Albanians are being denied their right to exist, their right

to life. The illegal dissolution of the Assembly of Kosovo by Serbia, the occupation of the radio and television centre by the police, the banning of the Albanian press, the dismissal of thousands of Albanians and their replacement by Serbs are all clear expressions of the intentions of Serbian authorities to solve the problem of the Albanians through violence and terror, not dialogue.

The international community cannot and should not remain indifferent to this situation - particularly Europe, which, having drawn up the map of the Balkans at the outset of this century, has not only a moral but also a historical responsibility for the martyrdom of Albanians in Yugoslavia.

The Albanians in Yugoslavia, who represent the oldest indigenous population among all the peoples of that State, who are the third largest of the nations making up Yugoslavia, and who for centuries have lived on their soil in a compact territory, are demanding no more rights than are enjoyed by the Serbs, the Slovenians, the Croatians or the Macedonians. But they will accept nothing less. They want to be on an equal footing with all the other nations comprising Yugoslavia. The Albanians are demanding recognition of their right to self-determination. They want to live in a Yugoslav federation or confederation, if the other nations also favour those forms of government.

The right of nations to self-determination is one of the greatest rights mankind has gained, which is why it has been sanctioned in the Charter of the United Nations and has actually been transformed into one of the basic principles of the democratic processes taking place in Europe and the world in general.

As far as Albania is concerned, it is for relations of good-neighbourliness with Yugoslavia, for broader and all-around co-operation with it. We will strive for this now and in the future, and we wish reason and wisdom to prevail in the settlement of the Kosovo problem so that Serbia might not turn it into a conflict

which could pose a threat to peace and security not only in Yugoslavia but also in the Balkans and beyond.

The Albanian people have always sincerely wished to live in friendship with all neighbouring peoples. Albania's good relations with Yugoslavia, Greece, Italy and other countries and its closest possible co-operation on the basis of mutual respect and benefit, constitute a fundamental strategic aspect of our foreign policy.

In this anniversary year of the founding of the United Nations, as we express our best wishes for its strengthening and advancement, Albania would like to reiterate its commitment to the United Nations and its Charter, and its support for the activities that the Organization carries out to the benefit of peace, security and international co-operation.

Our respect for and evaluation of the Charter of the United Nations is based on its expression of a democratic ideal on the regulation of international relations, an ideal that reflects the tragic experience of the devastating wars that have swept over Europe and the entire world in the course of this century and, in particular, the struggle of peoples, the Albanian people included, against fascism.

We believe the Charter of the United Nations and its proper implementation to be the best means of protecting and harmonizing the interests of sovereign States and peoples and the whole world community. If we abide by that Charter, various conflicts which flare up could be solved peacefully to the benefit of all concerned and general peace and security.

In our view, the significance of the United Nations is further enhanced now that many problems - such as disarmament, environmental protection, the war against drugs, great backwardness in the economic development of many countries, the protection of children and the development of education, science and technology - have become global issues that can hardly be settled through the individual efforts of one State or group of States. They can be settled only with the contribution of the entire international community. The United Nations can do a great deal on these issues. It is the most suitable place where ideas can and should be tackled, initiatives taken, and so forth.

The United Nations has rightly devoted particular attention to economic problems: assistance for reviving the economies of poor countries, for encourging their progress and for easing their debt burden, which is a consequence of neo-colonialist expansion and the arms race. We hail the initiatives taken in those directions, such as the North-South dialogue, but maintain that the big industrialized countries, which have enriched themselves by the sweat and toil of the peoples of Africa, Latin America and Asia, have many obligations towards those peoples.

Steps already taken towards easing tension and solving many regional conflicts, and efforts under way to settle many international problems of concern to the world, have created an atmosphere that gives all mankind reason for hope.

But events such as Iraq's aggression against Kuwait spoil that atmosphere and raise obstacles to positive progress. Albania has condemned Iraq's aggression against and annexation of Kuwait. It has demanded, and continues to demand, the immediate withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait and respect for the freedom and national independence of that sovereign and peaceful State. Had it not been condemned, Iraq's aggression would have set a dangerous precedent.

### (Chairman Alia)

Iraq must comply with United Nations resolutions and with the well-intentioned and constructive suggestions of the Arab States, and should put an end to its adventure. Withdrawal from Kuwait would benefit not only Iraq itself, but the Arab cause as a whole, which Iraq claims to defend and support.

The international community has adopted a correct stand towards the Iraqi aggression. But these events should not be used as an excuse for ignoring the Palestinian problem and the right of the Palestinians to their own homeland and their own State. The international community should not forget that right, the realization of which is the key to settling the Middle East conflict. Current events in the Middle East, negative as they may be, should serve as encouragement in that direction.

The Albanian people are working resolutely to build a better life for themselves. The path they have chosen of their own free will and in keeping with their own desires has brought them freedom and national independence and in the course of four decades has taken them from backwardness to modern life. The transformations that have taken place in Albania are in sharp day-and-night contrast with the past. That is no mere rhetoric, but a reality anyone can see.

This great advance required sacrifice and imposed upon us privations in many areas, all the more so considering that our development was carried out through a fierce struggle against the backwardness inherited from the past and against interference by external forces. Hardly any country suffered more than Albania from the cold war. Anger, pressure, threats and blockades, sometimes from the East and sometimes from the West, have almost constantly swept our tiny country on the shores of the Adriatic. We feel their consequences to this day, just as, not infrequently, we feel their revival.

## (Chairman Alia)

Now our country has embarked upon a new stage in its development. We must make more efficient use of the material resources in which our country is rich. That requires up-to-date technology and highly-trained and emancipated people; it calls for promoting creative initiative and broader co-operation with other countries. Our people are working in all those directions.

What we call the deepening of democracy through the enhancement of the role of the masses represents a broad process of change embracing all sectors: the economy, politics, social relations within the country, foreign relations and so forth. We are not following that policy because it is in vogue or because it is being imposed upon us or for tactical motives. It is a necessity for our development and it meets the needs of our country. That is why our people understand and welcome it. It is a fundamental component of our socialist ideal of building a fair and democratic society in which every citizen will live by his own sweat and toil, free and respected, on the basis of his own contribution to the development and progress of his country.

I wish the General Assembly success in its work for peace, and assure you, Sir, that my country will spare no effort to help attain that lofty aim.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly I wish to thank the Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania for the important statement he has just made.

Mr. Ramiz Alia, Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

### AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

# GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. OIAN Oichen (China) (interpretation from Chinese): I should like to begin by warmly congratulating you, Sir, on your election to the presidency the current session of the United Nations General Assembly. I am sure that you will fulfil the lofty mission entrusted to you by the Assembly with eminent success. I would also like to express our sincere thanks to your predecessor, Mr. Garba, for his excellent contributions. I also wish to pay a tribute to Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar for his outstanding contribution to strengthening the role of the United Nations in current international affairs. Furthermore, I wish to take this opportunity to express our warm welcome to the delegations sent by newly independent Namibia and to Liechtenstein, which is attending the current session of the General Assembly as the 160th Member of the world Organization.

The current session is the General Assembly's first in the 1990s. Reviewing the 1980s, we can see that the world has taken an uncommon course. Thanks to the efforts of the peoples of all countries, military confrontation has been reduced and the factors for peace have increased. Profound changes are taking place in the world today. German unification will soon become a reality. Co-operation between various regions of the world is increasing. The trend towards multipolarization has grown noticeably. However, power politics continue. Political, economic and ethnic strains have become increasingly evident, and tensions and complicated situations have emerged in some regions.

World attention is held by the situation in the Persian Gulf, which has drastically deteriorated in recent weeks. China is opposed to Iraq's armed invasion and annexation of Kuwait, an action that, in China's view, constitutes a violation of the United Nations Charter and a gross trampling on the accepted norms governing international relations, and is thus entirely impermissible. It is in

keeping with its principled position that disputes between States should be resolved through friendly consultation without resorting to force that China has voted in support of the nine Security Council resolutions concerning the Gulf crisis, with a view to maintaining those basic norms and restoring peace and security in the Gulf region.

The Chinese Government has adopted a serious and earnest attitude towards the aforementioned Security Council resolutions. Despite its heavy losses resulting from enforcing sanctions, China has strictly implemented those resolutions. That gives full expression to the sense of principle inherent in China's foreign policy and to its dedication to upholding the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and fulfilling its obligations as a permanent member of the Security Council.

The Chinese Government supports a political settlement of the Gulf crisis within the framework of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council. We call on Iraq to respond to the mediation efforts of the Arab countries and the United Nations Secretary-General by immediately withdrawing its forces from Kuwait, so that the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country can be restored. We call on all the parties concerned to exercise restraint and avoid resorting to force. We appeal to the international community to make joint efforts on the basis of Security Council resolutions to ease the tension there, and we urge the parties concerned to resolve the dispute through peaceful negotiations.

The Gulf crisis has occurred at a juncture where the old world pattern is being replaced by a new one. That causes people to ponder the direction in which the world is headed and the kind of political order that is necessary in order to preserve peace.

Post-war history shows that the bullying of the weak and small by the strong and powerful, and the trampling on others' sovereignty can only cause conflicts and endanger regional and world peace. Normal international relations can be ensured only when all countries observe the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence. Those five principles embody the most fundamental norms of international relations and are in full accord with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. They have stood the test of international vicissitudes and enjoy wide support in the international community.

The establishment of a new international political order on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence meets the needs of the times and is urgently desired by the peoples of all countries. Such a new political order should, in China's view, include the following points: first, every country is entitled to choose its own political economic and social systems in accordance with its own national conditions. Secondly, all countries, and especially the big Powers, must strictly abide by the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Thirdly, all countries should respect one another, seek common ground while putting aside their differences, live together in amity, treat each other as equals, and carry on mutually beneficial co-operation.

Fourthly, international disputes should be settled on a fair basis through peaceful means without resort to the threat or use of force. Lastly, all countries, big or small, strong or weak, are entitled to take part in the discussion and management of world affairs on an equal footing.

Regional issues are closely related to world peace. The Middle East remains the most turbulent and unstable region, posing a direct threat to world peace. The

Chinese Government supports a political settlement of the Middle East question, which should provide for Israel's withdrawal from all Arab territories under its occupation, mutual recognition between the State of Palestine and the State of Israel, and peaceful coexistence between the Arab and Jewish peoples.

We support the convening of the International Conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations and with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the five permanent members of the Security Council. We appreciate the positive efforts made by the Arab League to achieve a solution to the question of Lebanon and support any settlement plan that helps safeguard the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country. We hope that the parties to the Middle East question will pursue their dialogue and strive to advance the Middle East peace process.

The relaxation and stabilization of the situation in the Korean peninsula are the common desire of the people of the region. China supports the unremitting efforts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of the country. Recently, the north and south of Korea held the first meeting between their premiers since their division 45 years ago. That is an important event in the process of improving relations between the north and south of Korea. We hope that the north and south of Korea will take that meeting as a starting-point and, through dialogue, further remove antagonism and misunderstanding with a view to ultimately achieving the peaceful unification of the country.

The Cambodian question has lasted for over a decade now. It has not only brought dire suffering to the Cambodian people, but has also gravely jeopardized the peace and stability of the South-East Asia region. The time is now ripe for a settlement. The five documents worked out by the five permanent members of the

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(Mr. Qian Qichen, China)

Security Council constitute the framework of a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodian question. Major progress was made in the meeting of the Cambodian parties held in Jakarta not long ago. It is important to urge the Cambodian parties to elect Prince Sihanouk as President of the Supreme National Council so as to ensure its normal functioning.

We maintain that the Paris International Conference should be reconvened as early as possible so that the documents of the five permanent members will be elaborated for adoption, with a view to achieving eventually a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodian question. It is our sincere hope that the various Cambodian parties will achieve a genuine national reconciliation and work together to bring about internal peace, stability and development of their country.

Over the past year, further progress has been made in the field of disarmament. The United States and the Soviet Union have reached an agreement in principle on partial reduction of their strategic nuclear weapons and agreed to cut down their respective chemical weapons. Fruitful results can be expected of the negotiations for the reduction of conventional forces in Europe. The United Nations Disarmament Commission has reached consensus on some agenda items which dragged on for years. The negotiations for a treaty on the complete prohibition of chemical weapons are also going on in depth. Progress in all these respects are well received in the international community.

However, it must be noted that the task of disarmament is still arduous. We hope that the United States and the Soviet Union will continue to make efforts to drastically reduce their respective nuclear and conventional armaments, stop their qualitative arms race and completely destroy their chemical weapon stockpiles. The Chinese Government holds that in order to prevent a nuclear war and promote nuclear disarmament, all nuclear States should undertake not to be the first to use nuclear weapons at any time and under any circumstances and unconditionally not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon States and nuclear-free zones.

The world economy is being internationalized. The economies of the North and the South are closely related and inseparable. If the economies of the poorer countries, whose population makes up four fifths of the world's total, cannot be

developed, and if the North-South relations cannot be radically improved, this situation will not serve the interests of the richer countries either and will make it difficult to ensure world peace and stability.

Since the 1980s, many developing countries have suffered serious economic difficulties, facing such burning issues as huge debt burden, worsened terms of trade and reversed flow of capital. For hundreds of millions of people, the problem of adequate food and clothing is far from being solved. The soaring oil prices caused by the current Gulf crisis have generated enormous negative impact on the world economy, giving rise to wide anxiety. The developing countries of the third world, whose economies were already in great difficulty, have found themselves in deeper water as they are forced to bear the brunt. The world is faced all the more urgently with the question of establishing the new international economic order. We insist that it is essential to change the unfair and inequitable international economic order. In the handling of international economic relations, it is essential to abide by the principle of equality and mutual benefit. The developed countries are obliged to do their part in improving the international economic environment, and particularly in resolving the issue of foreign debt of the developing countries. People of all countries have the right to determine their own economic mode and their own path of economic development and make necessary readjustments in their economic policies when the need arises.

Many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America are strengthening their unity and co-operation, and more and more regional organizations are exploring ways for common progress. The Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC), the South Pacific Forum (SPF), the Gulf Co-operation Council (GCC), the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), the Latin American Economic System (SELA), the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), the Group of Rio and the trans-regional organizations such as

the Group of 77, the Group of 15 and the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) have played an increasingly important role in enhancing South-South co-operation and promoting North-South dialogue. We appreciate and support all this. We also support the efforts made by the Non-Aligned Movement for the economic development of the third world.

Environment is yet another salient issue facing the world today. The people of all countries are increasingly aware that improving the environment and protecting the Earth is a long-term interest of mankind and a basic condition for the survival of the human race. For historical and present-day reasons, the developing countries lack the capability to protect and improve the environment. We believe that, without the participation of the developing countries, there can be no fundamental improvement of the environment. So we appeal to the developed countries possessing financial resources and advanced science and technology to play a greater role in bettering the global environment. Besides doing a good job of improving the environment in their own countries, they are duty-bound to help the developing countries increase their capabilities for environmental protection in the course of their economic development. China attaches great importance to the problem of environment, and has made environmental protection a basic state policy and taken an active part in international co-operation in this field. We appeal to all countries and all regions to get well prepared for the Conference on Environment and Development scheduled for 1992.

In recent years, drug addiction and trafficking has spread world-wide and become a hazard to humanity. With a 150-year history of anti-drug struggle, the Chinese people are keenly aware of the evil of narcotics. After its founding, New China carried on an effective fight to eliminate the evil of opium, thus winning the good name of a drug-free country. In the past few years, some international drug rings have conducted transit drug trafficking in some border

provinces and cities of China, and along with it drug abuse has occurred in the border regions. The Chinese Government has taken resolute measures and achieved marked results in cracking down on drug addiction and trafficking. The Chinese Government consistently holds that drug prohibition is a responsibility that should be shared by the producing, consuming and transit countries. Only by the concerted efforts and more effective actions on the part of the entire international community can there be a final victory over the scourge of narcotic drugs. We appreciate the efforts made by the relevant United Nations bodies and other countries to fight against drug abuse and trafficking. We are ready to continue and strengthen our co-operation with other countries and the relevant United Nations bodies in this field.

The Chinese people, full of confidence, are advancing along the road of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. In the past decade, we succeeded in doubling the country's gross national product of the year of 1980. We have the confidence and capability to double it again in the 1990s. The decade of reform and opening to the outside world has brought enormous real benefits to the Chinese people. The policy of reform and opening up, which enjoys the strong support of our people, will not and cannot be changed. The past year has witnessed political stability and social tranquillity in China as well as steady improvement of its economy. Stability and development in China not only benefit the Chinese people, but also contribute to peace in Asia and the world as a whole. China needs stability and the world needs a stable China. China is ready, together with other countries, to do its part for the cause of human progress.

We are pleased to note that in the past year, the United Nations has continued to play an active part in maintaining world peace and security and in resolving a number of urgent problems facing mankind. In advancing the peace process and political settlement of regional conflicts the United Nations has made unremitting

efforts and scored commendable achievements. In the critical and complex situation in which the world finds itself, the United Nations has before it an even greater responsibility and more challenging tasks, and should play a more important role, so that it will not let down the high expectations of the people of the world.

We have consistently maintained that the internal affairs of a country can only be decided independently by the people of that country and that international affairs can only be decided by the countries of the world, big and small, strong and weak, through consultations on an equal footing. History has proved that the super-Powers cannot dominate the world. History will prove again that a small number of big and rich Powers cannot monopolize international affairs either.

Looking forward into the 1990s, we see a world which is faced with challenges and risks but is also full of opportunities and hopes. No matter how the international climate changes, the historical tide of peace and development is irresistible. The future of the world is bright.

Mr. YAQUB-KHAN (Pakistan): Mr. President, I have great pleasure in conveying to you cordial felicitations on your election as President of the General Assembly at its forty-fifth session. Your unanimous election is a befitting tribute to your qualities of statesmanship, as well as to your country, with which Pakistan maintains close and friendly relations.

I should also like to convey through you to your predecessor, Mr. Joseph N. Garba of Nigeria, our high esteem for the manner in which he conducted the proceedings of the forty-fourth session.

May I take this opportunity to convey to the Secretary-General,

Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, our deep appreciation for his unwavering commitment to
the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

It is also a privilege to welcome Liechtenstein as the newest Member of the United Nations.

The world is witnessing the universal triumph of human values, the affirmation of freedom and of all those virtues that give meaning to life. A new international order is on the horizon. East-West rivalry is already a relic of the past.

Co-operation and understanding are the order of the day.

With the changes in Eastern Europe, the imminent reunification of Germany, and the progressive integration in other parts of Europe, that entire continent stands at the threshold of another renaissance.

A pervasive spirit of change is sweeping the globe. Protracted and festering regional disputes in distant and disparate lands are moving towards settlement in Cambodia, Central America and Western Sahara. The dream of independence for Namibia has at last become a reality.

Together with these developments, there is a growing recognition that problems must be resolved through consultation and compromise. There is increasing recourse to the United Nations for the resolution of regional and international problems.

The Organization has once again come into its own as an instrument of international peace and security.

There are nevertheless other areas that remain inflamed and embattled. The State of Jammu and Kashmir is torn by strife and repression. For decades the people of Jammu and Kashmir have struggled and fought for their right to self-determination - a right persistently disregarded by India, which has resorted to massive use of force to suppress their struggle. Almost 300,000 Indian military and para-military forces have been engaged in an attempt to crush the spontaneous uprising of the Kashmiri people. Thousands of innocent people, including women and children, have been killed, injured and incarcerated. Houses have been burnt down, women have been molested, and major cities in the Valley have been placed under curfew. The Indian Government has banned foreign correspondents and is not prepared to allow any international agency to monitor the flagrant violations of basic human rights and fundamental freedom in Kashmir.

These repressive measures have failed to break the will of the people of Kashmir, or to dim their courage or to weaken their spirit of self-sacrifice for upholding the right of self-determination.

The roots of the dispute lie in the forcible annexation of Jammu and Kashmir by India in 1947 against the wishes of the Kashmiri people. The Security Council, in several resolutions, maintained and enjoined that the final disposition of the State of Jammu and Kashmir should be made in accordance with the will of the people, expressed through a free and impartial plebiscite under the auspices of the United Nations. Both India and Pakistan accepted those resolutions and are bound by their provisions which remain valid and operative.

Through its early resolutions, 91 (1951) and 122 (1957), the Security Council rejected the Indian claim that the people of Kashmir had exercised their right of self-determination by participating in the elections conducted in the territory by India. The Indian contention that elections in Jammu and Kashmir had obviated the need for a plebiscite was manifestly rejected by the fact that the turnout of voters in the 1989 elections was a mere 5 per cent.

In the Simla Agreement of July 1972, India recognized Kashmir as an outstanding issue that remained to be settled and it agreed that the final settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute was essential for durable peace and complete normalization of relations between Pakistan and India We urge our Indian neighbours to respect the letter and spirit of the Simla Agreement, which they never tire of repeating, and to come forward to discuss with us the substance of the dispute.

Let me state that the popular unrest in Indian-held Kashmir is entirely indigenous in character. India has, however, sought to raise the question of alleged interference by Pakistan as a smoke screen to mislead the international community. We have rejected those allegations as baseless and unfounded. As a further demonstration of our good faith, we have proposed to India the establishment of a neutral mechanism, such as the stationing of impartial international observers to monitor, observe and investigate such accusations and to

reach independent conclusions. India has regrettably rejected our offer. Pakistan stands by its proposal and we would be prepared to accept any fact-finding mission or other neutral mechanism for this purpose. We cannot accept - in fact we reject outright - the Indian pretension that they can arrogate to themselves the right to act as judge and prosecutor at the same time.

In its efforts to deny Pakistan its right to extend moral and political support to the struggle of the Kashmiri people, India has sought to intimidate us by minatory statements and a threatening concentration of troops in Kashmir along the Pakistan-India border.

While we remain committed to the preservation of peace in South Asia, we will not be intimidated or deterred from our quest for a peaceful settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute on the basis of the relevant United Nations resolutions and in the spirit of the Simla Agreement. We have therefore repeatedly expressed our willingness to enter into a constructive dialogue with India to defuse tension and to seek a peaceful settlement.

Although two rounds of talks at the level of foreign secretaries were held in July and August, no substantive results were achieved. The Indian side evaded the core issues, namely, the discussion of the Kashmir dispute and the redeployment of forces to peace-time locations. While we intend to persist in our efforts for a peaceful settlement, the international community must exert its moral and political influence to support the struggle of the people of Kashmir.

Last month the 19th Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers adopted by consensus a resolution which called for a peaceful settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute, in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions, and as agreed upon in the Simla Agreement. It expressed deep concern over the violations of human rights of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, and urged the redeployment of forces to peace-time locations. In this resolution, the Conference also expressed its willingness to send a good offices mission to ease tensions and to promote a peaceful settlement. The Indian Government has yet to respond to this positive proposal.

The long night of repression of the Kashmiri people who have endured tyranny and unspeakable sufferings must surely see the light of day. Their trial and agony must be brought to an end. How long are they to be denied the exercise of their right to self-determination?

Pakistan remains committed to a peaceful settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute through negotiations and dialogue on the basis of the United Nations resolutions. This is in consonance with the terms and the spirit of the Simla Agreement.

The unwavering and consistent support of the international community for the heroic struggle of the Afghan people against foreign military occupation was largely instrumental in the signing of the Geneva Agreements in 1988, and the withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Afghanistan in 1989. The Geneva Agreements

addressed only the external aspects of the problem. The framework for the internal settlement was provided by the General Assembly resolutions which called for the establishment of a broad-based government acceptable to the people of Afghanistan, the voluntary return of over 5 million Afghan refugees to their homeland, and the free exercise of the right of the people of Afghanistan to choose their own form of government.

The Kabul régime continues to deny the people of Afghanistan their legitimate right to form a government of their own choice. No representative group or segment of the population is willing to enter into negotiations or to share power with the Kabul régime, which is held responsible for the death and destruction that have occurred during the past decade.

Pakistan has an abiding interest in the restoration of a peaceful, sovereign, non-aligned and Islamic Afghanistan. The festering conflict prolongs the stay of more than 3 million refugees on our soil. We have, therefore, consistently encouraged Afghan efforts to develop a political consensus for an internal Afghan settlement. Accordingly, we had welcomed the formation of the Afghan Interim Government (AIG) in February 1989. The AIG is now poised to hold elections with the participation of diverse Afghan political elements. This move augurs well for a united front of all Afghans who had valiantly struggled for the liberation of their homeland and in the defence of their faith and traditions.

The recent decline in the international humanitarian assistance has aggravated the hardship of the millions of Afghan refugees. They have chosen to face the rigours of exile rather than to expose themselves and their families to the insecurity and uncertainty of conflict in their homeland. Over the years, Pakistan has borne nearly half of the financial cost of providing the Afghan refugees with the bare necessities of life. But our limited resources make it virtually impossible for us to make up for the shortfall in the shrinking international

commitment. The international community should not neglect these displaced Afghans and must continue to fulfil its humanitarian obligations towards them until they can return voluntarily to their homes.

I should like to pay a tribute to the United Nations Secretary-General and his Personal Representative for the efforts undertaken in the quest of a comprehensive settlement of the Afghanistan problem. I should also like to express our appreciation of the important role of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and also of the United Nations Co-ordinator for Economic and Humanitarian Assistance, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan.\*

Pakistan shares the deep concern of the international community over Iraq's invasion, occupation and annexation of a small neighbouring Islamic country. The Government of Pakistan deplores the use of force by Iraq against Kuwait in violation of the Charter of the United Nations. It is imperative that Iraq unconditionally withdraw its forces, and that the sovereignty and independence, as well as the legitimate Government, of the State of Kuwait, must be restored.

In the profound belief that international difficulties must be resolved through negotiations, we have supported the actions taken by the Security Council to counter Iraqi aggression against Kuwait and will extend full co-operation in the implementation of the Security Council resolutions.

We estimate that the crisis in the Gulf will result in an extra burden for Pakistan of over a billion dollars because of trade suspension, increase in the price of oil and the loss of remittances from our nationals employed in Kuwait and the Middle East. Our difficulties would be compounded by worsening terms of trade on account of enhanced prices of imports and reduced income from exports. These factors have compelled Pakistan to invoke Article 50 of the Charter, but we remain committed to adhere to the decisions of the Security Council.

<sup>\*</sup>Mr. Sutresna (Indonesia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

In the Middle East, Israel has systematically undermined all initiatives aimed at a just and lasting solution of the problem. An urgent effort by the international community is required to promote an equitable and comprehensive solution encompassing the withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, and the restoration of the rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination and to establish a State of their own in Palestine.

Pakistan has been following with interest the initiative of the five permanent members of the Security Council on the issue of Cambodia. We hope their efforts and those of the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) will prove fruitful.

The Cyprus issue remains unresolved after 27 years. We believe that the recent Security Council resolution which calls for a freely reached and mutually acceptable solution to be arrived at through negotiations on an equal footing, provides the right framework for the conduct of intercommunal negotiations. This should lead to the desired goal of the establishment of a bicommunal bizonal Federal Republic of Cyprus.

Recent developments in South Africa are a step in the right direction but all far short of the eradication of <u>apartheid</u>. The changes instituted by the Pretoria régime would not have been possible without the courage, determination and perseverance of the people of South Africa. Mr. Nelson Mandela symbolizes the indomitable spirit of that people.

The Government of Pakistan fully supports the valiant struggle of the people of South Africa for freedom, equality and justice. We believe that the sanctions imposed against the racist Pretoria régime should continue to be applied till the complete elimination of <u>apartheid</u> and the establishment of majority rule in South Africa.

Pakistan has always been in the forefront of endeavours to promote international peace and security and to eliminate the threat of nuclear weapons. We hope that the dialogue between the United States and the Soviet Union will culminate in an agreement for substantial reduction in their nuclear arsenals and eventually lead to the total elimination of nuclear weapons. Pending the achievements of the ultimate objective of nuclear disarmament, legally binding international arrangements must be worked out to assure all non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons.

The conclusion of a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty, which is an essential first step towards halting and reversing the nuclear arms race, has eluded us in the past. It is for that reason that we welcome the decision to convene in January 1991 a conference to consider converting the partial test-ban treaty into a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty.

Pakistan supports global negotiations for general and complete disarmament. Progress towards this goal has been slow. It is essential to consider measures for disarmament at the regional level in order to strengthen peace and security. The insecurity of non-nuclear States emanates from regional threats arising from territorial disputes, ambitions of dominance and interventionist policies of larger neighbouring States. Furthermore, the security concerns of States vary from region to region depending upon the nature of their threat perceptions. Therefore, a regional approach offers the most realistic prospects for rapid progress towards disarmament. We are gratified that such an approach is gaining wider acceptance, and we urge that disarmament negotiations should be pursued simultaneously at the global as well at the regional levels.

Pakistan is fully committed to the objective of nuclear non-proliferation. It calls upon the nuclear Powers to move towards nuclear disarmament and to promote international co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and technology. The concept of nuclear non-proliferation must not be used as a pretext to prevent the developing countries from acquiring nuclear technology for peaceful purposes. I should like to reiterate that Pakistan would be willing to accept any equitable and non-discriminatory agreement with effective verification arrangements that would commit the countries of the South Asia region, in a legally binding manner, not to acquire or produce nuclear weapons. Furthermore, we have proposed that, pending the adoption of a global treaty, regional or bilateral test-ban agreements

may be concluded. Pakistan has also made a proposal for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia, which has been repeatedly endorsed by the General Assembly.

pakistan supports all steps to prevent an arms race in outer space. We attach equal importance to the early conclusion of a comprehensive convention prohibiting the development, production, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons.

Negotiations on conventional disarmament at the global and regional levels must also be pursued vigorously, especially because of the increase in the sophistication and destructive power of conventional weapons. Similarly, naval disarmament has become an equally important objective because of the rapid augmentation of the naval power of some States. The acquisition of aircraft carriers and nuclear-powered submarines is a cause for grave concern.

During most of the past decade the international economic environment for the developing countries has been marked by negative resource flows, proliferation of trade barriers, a crushing debt burden and high interest rates, all of which combine to create devastating consequences for the economies of a large number of developing countries.

Official development assistance remains a major component of development financing. A substantial increase in the flows of official development assistance would be essential to meet the target of 0.7 per cent of gross national product, as reaffirmed by the Declaration adopted at the special session of the General Assembly in April this year. Multilateral institutions should also be provided with sufficient resources to support development and to facilitate structural reforms in the developing countries. For their part, those countries must take appropriate measures to mobilize domestic resources and effect structural adjustments to make their economies responsive to the impulses of growth. Needless

to say, an equitable and conducive external environment is indispensable for the success of their efforts.

A solution to the debt problem, which has serious implications for the developing world, should take into account considerations of growth and stability. It is equally important to ensure that a solution to the problem of external debt should provide relief to countries that have been prudent in managing their economies. It is becoming increasingly difficult to service debts in the climate of imbalances in external payments.

In order to ensure the creation and distribution of world liquidity on an equitable basis the exports of the developing countries must have easy access to world markets and their exports must be guaranteed reasonable prices. We hope that the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations will create a free international trading system with preferential treatment for the developing countries. We are gratified that the international development strategy for the fourth United Nations development decade, to be adopted at this session, incorporates the necessary guidelines to redress the serious economic problems confronting the developing nations.

We welcome the growing international awareness of the need to preserve the global environment. Pakistan has consistently supported efforts to achieve that shared objective. It remains our belief that in the developing countries the improvement of the environment is closely linked to the eradication of poverty. It is imperative that developed countries should provide additional financial resources and technology to the developing countries to combat environmental degradation. We hope that the 1992 Conference on Environment will address the complex dimensions of the problem in its entirety and will find credible answers to the effects on the environment of unbridled industrialization, on the one hand, and

abject poverty, on the other.

The problem of narcotic drugs has assumed alarming proportions and is threatening the fabric of contemporary society. The special session of the General Assembly on narcotic drugs in February this year underlined the need for the global community to act in concert. The guidelines provided in the Political Declaration and Global Programme of Action adopted at the special session need to be implemented in full, and we believe that reduction in the demand for narcotic drugs is as important as reduction in the cultivation, production and supply of narcotic substances. It is also necessary to provide the cultivators with alternate sources of income through crop substitution.

The events of the past year have demonstrated that the United Nations has a central and vital role to play in the maintenance of international peace and security. The Organization has an equally pivotal role in solving problems of an economic, social, cultural and humanitarian character and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Pakistan will continue to support, in the fullest measure, all the activities of the United Nations, confident of success and determined in its efforts to realize the cherished objectives of international peace and progress enshrined in its Charter.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.