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Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 29 September 1989, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. GARBA (Nigeria)

- Address by Mr. Mohamed Hosni Mubarak, President of the Arab Republic of Egypt
- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements made by

Mr. Nwachukwu (Nigeria)
Mr. Qian Qichen (China)
Mr. Fischer (German Democratic Republic)

- Appointments to fill vacancies in subsidiary organs and other appointments [17]:
 - (a) Appointment of members of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions: Report of the Fifth Committee

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The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.

ADDRESS BY MR. MOHAMED HOSNI MUBARAK, PRESIDENT OF THE ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will first hear an address by the President of the Arab Republic of Egypt and current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, Mr. Mohamed Hosni Mubarak.

Mr. Mohamed Hosni Mubarak, President of the Arab Republic of Egypt, 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 Arab Republic of Egypt and current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, Mr. Mohamed Hosni Mubarak, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President MUBARAK (interpretation from Arabic): It gives me pleasure at the beginning of my address to the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly to extend sincere congratulations to you, Sir, upon your election to the presidency of this session, as a faithful son of the glorious continent of Africa and as a representative thereof to this forum. Your election reflects the high esteem in which the international community holds your sisterly country, Nigeria, and your creative qualities and acumen. We are confident that you will discharge the onerous responsibilities of your high office successfully and enrich the traditions established by this great Organization.

On this occasion, I wish to pay tribute to your predecessor, the former Foreign Minister of Argentina, for his great efforts during his term of office as President of the forty-third session of the General Assembly.

Since the opening of the forty-third session last year, the world has witnessed important and cardinal developments, both at the international and regional levels. Such developments presage a new era of international relations and make it incumbent upon this gathering to prepare itself for it and follow it

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up through the creation of an appropriate environment that would preserve the rights of States, great and small alike, and safeguard their security. Such an environment should ensure a role for everyone in this process, which does not concern the great Powers alone but is related to the future of mankind at large, particularly at a time when the problems facing the third world, especially in the economic domain, are still awaiting agreement on an acceptable framework to cope with them effectively.

Therefore we should seek together to broaden our vision of the world in this new era and to define the role each one of us should play in order to contribute to shaping this era and laying down its foundations. Without such collective participation by the family of nations, the era of détente will remain lacking in coherence and be susceptible to vacillation and retrogression, which would adversely affect our vision of the future.

My brothers, the African Heads of State or Government, have conferred on me the honour of electing me Chairman of the Organization of African Unity at its present session. My country and I highly value this confidence. Egypt was in the vanguard of the liberation movement during an important phase of world history. As ever, Egypt is determined to pursue the struggle until the African continent is totally liberated from racism and oppression, until it rids itself of poverty and want, until it is able to tackle the serious challenges with which it is confronted, and to overcome the numerous problems impeding its drive along the path of development and progress. We firmly believe that, however acute those problems and challenges may be, the African community, with its rich reservoir of historic struggle and a capacity for collective action conducted on the basis of solidarity and team spirit, is amply capable of surmounting those obstacles with strong resolve.

(President Mubarak)

If our first preoccupation is to tackle our domestic and regional problems and issues, we are also aware of the interrelatedness and interdependence of those problems and international conditions. Consequently, we are willing to play a primary role in laying down the framework of a new, transformed world in which dispute and controversy give way to common interests and in which natural and human resources are geared to serving the objectives of development and progress, instead of war and destruction.

A cursory glance at the challenges facing us at the African level reveals that foremost among them is the issue of confronting the policies and practices of the racist régime in southern Africa. The international community is unanimous in considering those policies as the main cause of the outbreak of acts of violence in that vital region of the continent and of the absence of political and social stability and security therein.

We must also constantly bear in mind that what the racist Government in South Africa describes as "reforms" are mere superficial measures of form, which do not touch the substance. Moreover, they emanate from a racist outlook that aims at perpetuating the domination of the white minority and misleading the world into believing that steps are being taken in the right direction. If that régime were serious in its move, it would realize that democratic dialogue with the black majority is the only course for reaching a just settlement that would restore the legitimate rights of the oppressed majority, that would safeguard the interests of all parties and put an end to the escalating violence in the South.

(President Mubarak)

Since its establishment, the United Nations has assumed a primary role in working for the independence of Namibia. Several resolutions have been adopted regarding the termination of South Africa's mandate over Namibia and the assumption by the United Nations of direct responsibility for its administration. The efforts made by the international Organization were crowned by the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). This move was concomitant with the bitter struggle waged by the brotherly people of Namibia, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), to liberate their soil and regain their freedom. Allow me from this rostrum to pay a tribute to that heroic people which have given the greatest examples of sacrifice, and have demonstrated to the whole world the true mettle of the African peoples.

Despite our certainty of the inevitability of victory for the Namibian people and of their success in achieving independence on schedule, the situation calls for much caution and vigilance vis-à-vis attempts by the racist minority régime to sabotage this independence and undermine it from the inside, to fake the will of voters and to intimidate them. The Committee of African Heads of State or Government entrusted with following up the situation in southern Africa therefore met in Harare on 21 August 1989 to draw up plans to confront and foil these attempts so that the sun of freedom can rise again on that good land and we can celebrate this great event together next April.

The Committee also issued a declaration containing its conception of the African strategy required to confront moves by the racist régime of Pretoria. The strategy affirms equality of rights and obligations among all peoples, irrespective of colour, race, sex or ideology. It issued an appeal inviting peace-loving forces to adopt the call for the release of political detainees and prisoners in South Africa. Such a call deserves the wholehearted attention and support of the Assembly.

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We cannot tolerate the continuation of this ignominious disgrace in the history of humanity, nor can we be lax in dealing with the destructive effects it engenders. Therefore, it is the duty of the United Nations, which was established to uphold the right of all peoples to freedom and self-determination, to resist the perpetuation of that régime, to work for its further isolation, and to intensify pressure against it by all possible means so that it can bow to the will of the international community and renounce illusions of being able to continue crushing the vast majority through intimidation, imprisonment, or detainment of intellectuals and freedom fighters.

Besides these crushing problems, the African countries suffer especially from the debt problem which has assumed serious dimensions. It also threatens to abort development programmes and is preventing the African countries from modernizing their systems of production and acquiring advanced technology, thereby perpetuating the vicious circle that causes poverty and underdevelopment.

In view of the intensity of this problem and the growing awareness of its seriousness, some countries have made praiseworthy initiatives aimed at arresting its effects and containing its complications. However, the ideas put forward are, in our view, inadequate for coping with the problem, its ramifications and its repercussions on the economic and social conditions in various countries of the continent. Therefore, I participated with the leaders of three friendly developing countries - Senegal, Venezuela and India - in proposing an initiative last July designed to reactivate the North-South dialogue and to enrich it by discussing the debt problem in its context. My colleagues, the brotherly African Heads of State or Government, at the recent African summit conference, blessed this initiative. They have mandated me to make the necessary international contacts to push the dialogue forward in the hope that it will lead to the convening of the

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international conference on debt, in accordance with the resolution adopted at the first extraordinary African summit conference, held in December 1987.

There is no doubt that the problem of indebtedness is part of a larger and more comprehensive problem, namely, the existing imbalances in the international economic order. These imbalances have reached proportions that cannot be overlooked or condoned. Consequently, the Ninth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Belgrade earlier this month, paid particular attention to this problem and placed it at the forefront of the Movement's priorities. The participating Heads of State or Government, who represent more than two thirds of the world leaders, agreed on the need to deal with this problem in a pragmatic, effective manner, given its aggravation and deterioration in recent years. This came as a result of the deterioration of terms of trade, the decline in primary commodity earnings, tariff and non-tariff barriers imposed on developing countries' exports, stagnation of financial flows for investment and development, increase of debt burdens and the net reverse transfer of resources. The problem for many third world countries, especially the African countries, is no longer one of growth and development, but rather one of survival in the literal sense of the word.

In this context, we have to decide that world attention to the economic problems of third-world countries should not be limited to providing emergency relief in cases of natural disasters or famine, but should extend to genuine contribution to accelerating the development process.

As was the case at the African summit Conference last July, the Non-Aligned summit meeting underlined the importance of engaging in fruitful dialogue with the industrial developed countries about fundamental economic issues. The summit meeting welcomed the quadripartite initiative proposed in the French capital during the summit meeting of the seven industrialized countries.

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The leaders of the non-aligned countries called for the need to translate the measures and initiatives aimed at debt relief into a comprehensive confrontation of the debt problem, through debt and debt-service reduction, provided such comprehensive tackling embraced all categories of indebted developing countries and all types of debt, both official and commercial.

The Non-Aligned Conference paid special attention to the critical economic situation in Africa. It called on the international community to speed up the implementation of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development by adopting policies conducive to accelerating growth and development in African countries.

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The Conference also urged the developed industrialized countries and the financial and development institutions to seek to increase financial flows to Africa and to improve the conditions of transfer and disbursement of these flows. It proposed that Africa's Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programmes constitute a basis for constructive dialogue between African countries and their development partners in the implementation and financing of country programmes.

Related to the international economic problem is the issue of the environment, whether at the world level or on that of Africa. In this regard we have to state two basic facts: first, that African countries are the least responsible for the disruption and deterioration of the environment in comparison with the responsibility of developed countries; secondly, that the deterioration of the environment in Africa is due mainly to poverty, and that an effective resolution of environmental problems resides in environmentally sound development, refrainment by developed countries from dumping nuclear and chemical debris in the territories and on the shores of African countries, and in helping those countries to use clean technology.

We have found in some of the developments on the international scene in recent years a glimmer of hope, whether those related to détente in East-West relations or the achievement of tangible progress in the field of disarmament. We are also witnessing the onset of a settlement to a number of regional problems within a limited span of time after long years of escalation and political and military confrontation. The progress made in this context cannot be accidental. Rather, it is a direct reflection of this improvement in the international climate because international political, economic and strategic conditions have become so intertwined and interrelated that each affects, is affected by, and interacts with the others, whatever the distance that separates the sites of events.

(President Mubarak)

A scrupulous observer can reach the conclusion that, after our having been faced by challenges, hardships and common dangers that jeopardize our future, these positive developments usher in a new renaissance for all peoples of the world, characterized by dialogue between various communities towards coexistence and fruitful co-operation between East and West, North and South, rich and poor.

While the peoples of the third world welcome this positive development which heralds a new era in the history of international relations, they still have many fears and suspicions. This is due mainly to the fact that the détente we witness at present is still largely focused on super-Power relations. Its positive impact has not yet affected the international situation in general. It has not extended in a tangible manner to conditions in the third world, especially economic conditions and related serious social, environmental and political problems.

It is true that the super-Powers have concluded significant agreements in the field of disarmament. However, we deem it important for the world to make substantial progress in the field of comprehensive disarmament everywhere. Failing that, no actual development or genuine peace can be achieved. Nor can the results of disarmament be reflected in the enhanced security of third world countries or the prosperity of their peoples.

Third world countries also complain that the limited progress made in settling some regional problems has not embraced other, no less important and serious issues, and possibly even more crucial to the security, peace and stability of the whole world.

All this leads to the necessity of involving the developing countries in the ongoing dialogue because they are main parties to international problems.

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Furthermore, they possess many human capabilities and natural resources. They also have social and cultural conditions that should be taken into account when examining major international issues.

For example, no one can question the call for respect of human rights. We all share the belief in the right of the individual to a free dignified life and his right to contribute to the formulation of the political and economic options of his country. However, we in the third world see another premise for this issue, namely that human rights are adversely affected by hunger, poverty and fear, by the unjust conditions of international trade, let alone foreign occupation of some of the territories of developing countries and the practice of a racist and exploitive policy against their citizens and their interests. Consequently, we insist on linking human rights as generally defined with the rights of peoples to freedom, progress and self-determination.

These notions were behind the objective discussion that took place at the recent summit of the non-aligned countries about those issues which preoccupy peoples everywhere and affect their security and safety. There was consensus within the Movement to seek to reach a common concept to face these urgent issues on the basis of comprehensive dialogue with developed countries. We hope this consensus will meet with the approbation of those countries and that they will look upon third world countries as an equal partner in the management of tomorrow's world, not a third party merely receiving what was decided in absentia, benefiting from the positive aspects, which it had not shared in forging, and suffering from the negative aspects, which it had not caused or helped aggravate.

The United Nations has always assumed an important role in laying down the bases of a settlement to the Middle East problem, particularly as regards the Palestinian problem, which enjoys special attention by all African and third

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world countries. A milestone on the path of a just and peaceful settlement was Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, which incorporated a perception of the balance that should be struck between the rights and obligations of both parties. This was complemented by the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its consecutive sessions dealing with the rights of the Palestinian people.

The Middle East problem has undergone several developments that have brought the Palestinian question to the fore and demonstrated the importance of dealing with it in all its aspects if the objective is to reach a historic comprehensive reconciliation between the Arabs and the Israelis. Such a reconciliation would put an end to war, conflict and devastation. It would also pave the way for a creative coexistence between two parties which are not alienated by historical enmity or by theories based on racist or ethnic considerations. The two parties are bound by the same interest in consolidating peace, stability and development in favour of all the peoples of the region.

(President Mubarak)

Therefore, we have insisted that the Palestinian people participate directly in the settlement efforts through the initiation of a Palestinian-Israeli dialogue supported by all peace-loving forces. Such dialogue is aimed at bridging the existing gap in positions, exploring the way to eliminate the conflict once and for all on the basis of applying the principle of land for peace and attaining coexistence and co-operation among all the peoples of the region. The Palestine Liberation Organization, as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, has taken positive positions that will help to achieve those goals. This deserves the full support of the international community.

I am pleased to state that the efforts we have been making in this respect in the past years have begun to bear fruit. Conditions are now favourable for launching such a dialogue without pre-conditions. It is hoped that the proposed dialogue would lead to a converging perception of steps that would pave the way for peace and for an overall agreement on the conditions and terms for a comprehensive settlement. Therefore, we believe that if this opportunity should be lost it would be a grave mistake certainly surpassing all errors made in the past which led to the loss of historic opportunities to contain the conflict and to end its aggravation.

Needless to say, this dialogue will not start from a vacuum. Rather, it will be based on the resolutions and positions which give it international legitimacy, in particular Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and on the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people. The dialogue should be followed by steps that require wider international participation within the framework of an international peace conference so that a final comprehensive settlement to that dispute, which has persisted for more than 40 years now, can be reached.

(President Muharak)

As far as the Iran-Iraq war is concerned, we express our satisfaction that the cease-fire has become an established fact. However, we cannot conceal our concern with the existing state of no peace, no war, and the probabilities of a new flare-up as a result of the non-completion of arrangements that would lead to the end of belligerence and all its related claims as well as the removal of all its complications. We truly consider that Iraq has declared its willingness to honour its obligations in the context of the sincere implementation of Security Council resolution 598 (1987) and in conformity with the August 1988 agreement. It has demonstrated its good faith to participate in the achievement of a just and lasting peace in that region.

We hope that Iran - which is bound to the Arabs by deep-rooted historical and spiritual ties - will adopt a decisive position in favour of peace and will seek to establish normal good-neighbourly relations with its Arab neighbours, especially with Iraq, so that Arab-Iranian relations can return to the situation maintained throughout history - a situation that is necessitated by geographical neighbourliness and a similarity of perils and interests.

We have also followed the bloody tragedy in sisterly Lebanon for years now with great regret and sorrow. We believe that the suffering of the Lebanese people must be ended. The threats to which they are subjected, which endanger their national and territorial unity, should be halted. This will be achieved only through the cessation of all forms of occupation and foreign intervention in its affairs, the removal of all restraints imposed on its independent national decisions, respect for its sovereignty and right to free choice and the elimination of aspects of partition which have intruded on Lebanon in these years of agony. We therefore support the sincere efforts made by the Arab tripartite committee towards achieving those objectives. We hope that those efforts will succeed, thus leading to the adoption of the decisive steps we anticipate within the few coming weeks.

(President Muharak)

Any setback in these efforts would have the most serious consequences to all parties, even if they are unable to grasp this indisputable fact.

I need not emphasize our full support for the United Nations and our adherence to its purposes, principles and Charter. They are entrenched in the hearts of our peoples and have been a source of inspiration for our peoples in formulating the framework that governs their domestic and international actions, particularly with respect to the Organization of African Unity, which was established to liberate Africa from domination and exploitation, and to apply the principle of equality among individuals and States, irrespective of their share of power or might, to achieve co-operation among the African States, which face the same dangers and challenges, to spread a human and noble message based on adherence to morality and sublime ideals in transactions, respect for the rights of others, rejection of the theories of supremacy or discrimination between human beings and on building bridges between all nations and peoples.

The third world countries stand firm with all other countries in the world in expressing their confidence in the United Nations and their appreciation of its role, looking to the future of collective life on our planet with great hopes and aspirations. They have resolved to assert their will for the option of peace, to mobilize their resources to serve the objectives of development and progress, to orient their potential towards safeguarding security and stability and to open up vistas of hope for generations to come.

Through objective and constructive action, armed with clear vision that does not miss the target, with faith in the unity of human destiny and through adherence to legitimacy and the rule of law, we shall forge ahead towards a better tomorrow, nurturing the growth of freedom and hoisting the banners of peace, building glory and spreading civilization. With enlightened thinking and determined action, we

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shall overcome hardships, surmount obstacles and barriers, place right before might and civilized discourse above the harsh growl of cannon.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Arab Republic of Egypt and current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity for the important statement he has just made.

Mr. Mohamed Hosni Mubarak, President of the Arab Republic of Egypt, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. NWACHUKWU (Nigeria): It is with great pleasure that I congratulate you, a compatriot and comrade-in-arms, on your unanimous election as President of the United Nations General Assembly at its forty-fourth session.

On behalf of my President, the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, His Excellency General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, and the Government and the people of Nigeria, I want to thank the Member States of this august Assembly for electing Major-General Joseph Nanven Garba, our Permanent Representative, as President. In particular, I wish to pay tribute to the African Group and to place on record the gratitude of my Government to the Governments of Cameroon and Egypt for facilitating the African consensus which led to your unanimous election. I also salute the Caribbean Group for its support. Your election to this esteemed office at this time is as much a recognition of Nigeria's role in international affairs as it is a tribute to your sterling qualities.

I also pay tribute to your predecessor in office, Mr. Dante Caputo of Argentina, for the exemplary manner in which he guided the affairs of this Assembly during the forty-third session.

I should also like to take this opportunity to express the gratitude of my delegation to the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Perez de Cuellar, who has, once again, piloted our Organization through the rough waters of international relations in the past year.

The tasks before you, Mr. President, are many and challenging. You have the responsibility of building upon the rich traditions and challenges associated with the conduct of the General Assembly. We are confident that under your guidance our Organization will rekindle the hopes and aspirations of mankind for a peaceful world.

(Mr. Nwachukwu, Nigeria)

We have witnessed significant changes in international relations in recent years. There is need for us, as the United Nations, to respond to this emerging situation in a manner that offers opportunities in resolving problems in the critical areas of international peace, security and development.

At no time in the recent past has there been greater hope for peace than now. Super-Power relations have become less frosty. There has been modest progress in disarmament negotiations. While tensions have not been completely eliminated, the serious threats of a major conflict have receded. This improvement in the international political climate must, however, be simultaneously accompanied by an equal emphasis on urgent and effective solutions to the non-military threats to the security of the developing countries. We must ensure that no section of the international community feels excluded from the benefits arising from the new spirit of international co-operation.

The African continent, where the general situation is deteriorating at an alarming rate, has that feeling of exclusion, and justifiably so. National economies have been gravely weakened, especially by the crippling debt burden, setting in reverse the living standards of our peoples. While we have made courageous structural adjustment sacrifices, the expected international support has either turned out to be a trickle or even non-existent. The vital sectors of health, education and other social infrastructure have suffered immeasurably. The consequence of all this is the increasing impoverishment, marginalization and alienation of the African continent. We do not believe that this augurs well for international peace and security. It is a sombre situation that must not continue into the last decade of this century. The response to this challenge calls for a new imagination and resourcefulness, new approaches and a new resolve on the part of us all.

(Mr. Nwachukwu, Nigeria)

There continues to be a marked contrast between the sense of relative accomplishment and progress on international political questions and the lack of progress in international economic issues. While the economies of the industrialized countries have enjoyed unprecedented growth, the economies of developing countries, as a group, have continued to stagnate and decline.

(Mr. Nwachukwu, Nigeria)

On the critical question of the external debt of developing countries, there has been some movement from preoccupation with short-term crisis management to the recognition of the need for reduction of the staggering debt stock and its servicing. As promising as the debt reduction process seems, we are concerned not only about the inadequate resources committed to it, but also that some Governments and commercial banks are hesitant to participate in it. Universal participation by the Governments of such industrialized countries and their commercial banks is essential if the benefits of debt reduction are to be spread to all indebted countries.

But today, substantial resources needed to promote growth and development have been used up to service debt. The debt crisis has been transformed into a growth crisis. In the heavily indebted countries, growth has faltered as have investment and per capita consumption.

The appalling economic conditions of the indebted countries leave us in no doubt that there is need for strong international support for those countries. It was for these reasons that my President, General Ibrahim Babangida, put forward at the ninth summit meeting of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, a number of important proposals regarding the debt question, which I now commend to the Assembly, as follows:

"(a) All official debts owed to creditor countries in bilateral transactions, should qualify for outright cancellation by the creditor countries involved. This proposal has been made to take account of the generalized poverty of developing countries which is manifested in the weak and persisting primary structures and monocultural nature of their economies;

(Mr. Nwachukwu, Nigeria)

"(b) Regarding debts owed to the Bretton Woods institutions, that is, the IMF and the World Bank, a few devices should be considered to bring relief to debt-distressed developing, particularly, sub-Saharan African, countries:

(1) 50 per cent of the resources under the IDA-9th Replenishment should be made available to African countries. (2) Resources under the Structural Adjustment Fund (SAF) of the IMF, and the sub-Saharan African Facility of the World Bank, should be made available to countries with overdue debt service obligations to the two institutions. Repurchases can then be undertaken by the affected countries, with the advantage of enjoying the relief inherent in those facilities;

"(c) Regarding debts owed to commercial banks, an international debt purchasing institution or agency should be set up under the aegis of the IMF and the World Bank to purchase the existing debt of developing countries at substantial discounts of up to 80 per cent. The transactions could be financed partly with voluntary contributions from developed countries and also with uncommitted resources under the specialized facilities of the World Bank and the IMF with low or no conditionality attached."

The economic situation in Africa is particularly grave. African countries remain highly vulnerable to adverse trends in weather and the international economic environment. They did not benefit from the price surge and expansion of world trade in 1988.

In general, African countries have fared badly in the 1980s. The cumulative trade deficit stood at \$57 billion as of 1988. Africa's external debt rose from \$128 billion in 1982 to \$230 billion in 1988, which is approximately 82 per cent of total regional gross domestic product and represents 314 per cent of exports of goods and services.

(Mr. Nwachukwu, Nigeria)

That Africa's economic situation has worsened at a time when many African countries have embarked on economic policy reforms, is evidence that policy reforms are, by themselves, no guarantee of growth and development, unless they are adequately financed. That the international economic environment continues to be harsh on the African countries is further proof that the commitments made by the international community to support Africa in the context of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development are far from being fulfilled.

I submit that both the premise and the practice of international co-operation for development would be most severely tested in Africa in the 1990s, as medium-term prospects for the continent appear less bright than in other regions. Sustained international support for the economies of African countries is most urgent if we are to resume growth and development. In this regard, Nigeria welcomes, as part of the solution to the problem, the recommendation of the Independent Group on Financial Flows to Developing Countries, the Schmidt Commission, that major surplus countries in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), should establish a \$1 billion Endowment Fund to be administered by the African Development Bank (ADB) to provide debt relief measures and further increase official development assistance to the region.

The international community - particularly the industrialized nations among us - must utilize the opportunity afforded by the special session of the General Assembly devoted to international economic co-operation in April 1990, to give fresh impetus to development co-operation.

The environmental degradation consequent upon modern technological and industrial developments has been causing great concern. Indeed, there are some who are already positing that environmental issues may well dominate the decade of the

(Mr. Nwachukwu, Nigeria)

1990s. However, the problem cannot be solved by shifting environmental degradation from one part of the world to other unsuspecting parts. Nor will a neglect of the requirements of one part, while concentrating on those of another, provide an effective global solution.

In this connection, the dumping of toxic wastes in developing countries, especially in Africa, constitutes a serious danger to the lives of our people and to the environment. My delegation calls on the international community to intensify its effort to prohibit this unwholesome practice. We urge the United Nations to adopt the Dump Watch for effective action against indiscriminate waste dumping.

On the subject of international efforts to clean up the environment, I should like to underline the need for a global vision that does not neglect the developing countries. International co-operation for preventing and countering the devastating effects of flooding, desertification, sudden weather changes, water pollution, to mention a few, can be as important in some countries as are measures aimed at the restoration of the ozone layer.

Countries are now being urged to pursue the path of environmentally sound and sustainable development. Adequate financial resources, as well as technical and technological assistance, need to be provided to the developing countries to enable them to reinforce their policies of environmental protection. It is equally important that policy prescriptions and measures for alleviating environmental degradation are not directed at developing countries alone, nor environmental criteria made a condition for extending the requisite assistance to them.

(Mr. Nwachukwu, Nigeria)

It is recognized that there is a direct linkage between the prevention of environmental degradation and development in developing countries. We believe it is in the interest of the technologically advanced nations to invest in developing countries in the critical areas of water resources, erosion control, reforestation and alternative sources of energy, to mention just a few. That will assist in preserving the ecosystem world-wide.

In the field of human rights, Nigeria commends the continued and untiring efforts by all exponents of those basic rights and freedoms. As the international community this year celebrates the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on Social Progress and Development (General Assembly resolution 2542 (XXIV)), Nigeria notes the work of the Committee which over the past decade has been working on the draft convention of the rights of the child. We hope that the proposed convention will be adopted by consensus.

The situation in southern Africa remains a source of serious concern. Racist South Africa persists in its aggression and policy of destabilization of its neighbours. The present situation in that country must be viewed with great circumspection. A new President elected under the apartheid system, which denies 28 million black people constituting more than 70 per cent of the population the right to vote, has been making statements intended to project the image of a reformer. It was only a few years ago that the former President of the apartheid régime announced, with a fanfare, impending reforms. The result was a constitutional sham that did not address the basic problem of the inhuman South African system. If this new apartheid President has begun his régime by speaking the language of peaceful change, we have every right to say to him: We have heard all this before; we are not impressed.

(Mr. Nwachukwu, Nigeria)

Action is what is required, action immediately to release Nelson Mandela and other political detainees, action to lift the state of emergency and to legitimize all anti-apartheid groups, and action to commence dialogue and negotiation with the authentic leaders of the non-white majority with a view to working out arrangements for a non-racial democracy. The South African régime must first seek acceptability at home among all South Africans before seeking respectability abroad. Those are the basic requirements for taking seriously any talk of changes in South Africa. In that context I reaffirm Nigeria's support for the Harare Declaration of 21 August 1989 adopted by the Organization of African Unity's Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa, aimed at facilitating the peace process in the entire southern-African region.

In the meantime my delegation will press with all vigour for the intensification of sanctions against South Africa. The Assembly must not be deterred by the apartheid régime's propaganda regarding the ineffectiveness of sanctions. The limited sanctions imposed on it are indeed working. What is required of all States Members of the United Nations is whole-hearted support for the imposition and application of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa as the only viable alternative to a violent change of the apartheid system.

May I again call on all Member States of the United Nations to attend in full force the special session on apartheid scheduled to take place here later this year. We must all join hands to destroy apartheid, that inhuman system of government.

With respect to Namibia, we are relieved that the United Nations independence plan for the Territory has finally been put into operation. We are also relieved that the initial problems encountered in the implementation process - particularly the avoidable tragedy that accompanied the emplacement of the United Nations

(Mr. Nwachukwu, Nigeria)

Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia on 1 April 1989 - have been resolved. None the less we are concerned about the climate of intimidation and terror that still exists in Namibia, and especially about the activities of the Koevoet units, some of which have been absorbed into the regular police force. We demand their immediate removal. As a measure of our support of the transition process, Nigeria is contributing police personnel and electoral monitors as well as rendering financial and other assistance.

At this critical period we call on the international community to remain vigilant so as to ensure the integrity of the United Nations in the implementation of the Namibian independence plan. That is required in the face of calculated attempts by racist South Africa to manipulate the transition programme. We are particularly concerned about the inherent perfidy of the proclamations of the Electoral Constituent Assembly.

We insist the the elections be free and fair, as envisaged in the enabling Security Council resolutions. Until independence is achieved Namibia remains the responsibility of the Organization. The United Nations cannot afford to disappoint Africa and the world. For this last colony on the continent of Africa so much is at stake, not only for Namibia and Namibians but also for peace and stability in all of southern Africa.

An independent Namibia will require considerable assistance. It is in recognition of that fact that, even in these difficult times, Nigeria has rallied to the support of the brotherly people of Namibia. As a demonstration of our commitment to the cause of the freedom and independence of Namibia, Nigeria launched, on 16 June 1989, a Namibia Solidarity Fund of 100 million naira to assist the new State at independence. We urge the international community to rise to the challenge and render all possible assistance to the Namibian people.

(Mr. Nwachukwu, Nigeria)

Related to the events in Namibia was the attempt on 22 June 1989 to reach a settlement of the conflict in Angola and to end the fratricidal war in which brotherly Africans are being killed. The delay in the peace process has been due to the continuing foreign meddling in the Angolan dispute. Africans, if left alone, are capable of peacefully resolving their disputes by themselves. We call upon the international community to support without meddling our efforts to resolve the Angolan problem.

With regard to Western Sahara, Nigeria notes with satisfaction the visit of the United Nations Secretary-General to the region last June. We urge the Moroccan Government and the POLISARIO Front fully to embrace the settlement proposals jointly designed by the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations.

It is very regrettable that the Middle East crisis, which has been featured in every agenda of the United Nations since 1948, remains as intractable as ever. It is our hope that a solution acceptable to all parties to the Middle East conflict will soon be found. Nigeria will continue to insist that the Palestinians must be allowed to exercise their right to self-determination in a well-defined homeland, like other States in that region. Nigeria also supports the call for an international conference on the Middle East.

(Mr. Nwachukwu, Nigeria)

On Cambodia and Central America, the international community must persist in the search for a durable peace. We support the ongoing initiatives for attaining this objective, including those undertaken within their respective regional frameworks.

By the same token, Nigeria supports the efforts towards peaceful unification on the Korean peninsula. It is noteworthy that in spite of their present circumstances the Korean people have, in various ways, made significant contributions to international understanding and co-operation. The international community will benefit even more from the admission of the Koreans into the United Nations and other international organizations of their choice.

Nigeria will continue to contribute significantly to reaching the objectives of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. The arms race threatens international peace and security and still constitutes an unacceptable diversion of resources which could better serve the cause of world-wide economic and social development. We therefore note with satisfaction the current bilateral negotiations between the super-Powers. This should lead to deep reductions and, subsequently, total elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons. However, the abiding general interest of our community demands that the multilateral disarmament machinery be involved in the process of negotiating disarmament agreements.

There was once an Africa strong and adventurous. That glorious past is adequately chronicled. Later Africa became the victim of actions to which the continent was not a party. That past also belongs to history. On the eve of the last decade of this century we in Africa are determined never again to be marginalized in any area of human endeavour. The international community should respond positively to Africa's yearnings for co-operation and development. We

(Mr. Nwachukwu, Nigeria)

believe that on the basis of the principle of shared responsibility for the destiny of our planet Africa can offer a credible partnership for a better and more prosperous world.

The developed world must appreciate our common humanity and adopt policies that will eliminate the present yawning gap between the privileged and the underprivileged. It is our hope that through the instrumentality of the United Nations mankind's aspirations to fairness, justice and equity will be achieved. We look forward to an international system that eliminates the present reality, in which a large section of humanity is economically and politically underrepresented. For in a world of persistent inequity there is no guarantee for peace, stability and progress. It must be borne in mind that no one is secure until all are secure in an increasingly interdependent global village. However, there comes a time when a people, no matter how embattled, must take its future into its own hands. That journey must begin now. The African train is on the move: we must rebuild Africa.

Our vision is of an Africa whose dignity and independence will be reinforced by the birth of a free and sovereign Namibia; an Africa free of the scourges of apartheid; an Africa that will direct its energies to the urgent development needs of its peoples; an Africa that will uphold the rights and defend the interests of people of African descent wherever they may be; an Africa that will have the courage, the will and the determination to summon the creative ingenuity and acknowledged resourcefulness of its people; an Africa that will make a major contribution to and use advances in science and technology to enhance its productive capacity and development. It is, above all, a vision of a self-confident Africa in which democracy and human rights will flourish.

Mr. QIAN Qichen (China) (interpretation from Chinese): Permit me to begin by warmly congratulating you, Sir; on your election to the presidency of the current session of the General Assembly: I am sure that this session will be a success. I also wish to take this opportunity to express my sincere thanks to the President of the last session, Mr. Dante Caputo, for his outstanding contribution in fulfilling his high mission.

The past year has been marked by fresh achievements in the efforts of various countries to seek solutions to regional conflicts, reduce the threat of war and improve the international situation, and by new prospects for world peace. However, ours is not a trouble-free world. Regional conflicts have not yet come to a halt. The arms race is still going on. Certain international contradictions have sharpened, owing to violation of the established norms of international law. The economic situation in the developing countries is further deteriorating. All this demonstrates that the source of world turbulence and tension still exists. The Chinese delegation would like to expound its position on the major questions confronting the world today.

The first question is regional conflicts.

Regional conflicts affect peace and tranquillity in the world and have caused direct, tremendous losses, particularly to many third-world countries. As a third-world country and a permanent member of the Security Council, China is naturally very much concerned about the issue of regional conflicts. The Chinese Government has all along stood for a fair and reasonable political settlement of those conflicts, and has played a constructive role in this regard.

In accordance with the Geneva Agreements on the settlement of the Afghan question, the Soviet Union has withdrawn its troops from Afghanistan. That is a positive development. Genuine peace, however, has yet to come to the land of

(Mr. Qian Qichen, China)

Afghanistan. We hope that the various political forces there will set up a broadly based coalition Government through consultation and achieve peace in that land so that the Afghan people may rebuild its country.

Iran and Iraq reached a cease-fire a year ago on the basis of mutual acceptance of Security Council resolution 598 (1987), and each is now busy rebuilding its war-ravaged economy. We hope that these two developing countries, with which China enjoys friendly relations, will soon resume contacts and negotiations so as to turn their cease-fire into a lasting peace.

The recent summit conference of the five Central American States has been well received by the international community, as it produced important new agreements on promoting the peace process in Central America. It is our hope that the United States also will respect the peace efforts of these countries. The smooth implementation of the agreements will benefit the stability and development of the region.

(Mr. Qian Qichen, China)

Over the past year positive changes have occurred on the scene of southern Africa. With the start of the process of Namibian independence, the ultimate accomplishment of the historic mission of decolonization on the African continent is now in sight. Angola has made headway in trying to bring peace to the country. The Government of Mozambique is working hard to end the unrest in its country. The Chinese Government has always sympathized with and supported the Namibian people in their struggle for independence. We hope that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and other relevant agreements will be seriously implemented and that the South African authorities will honour their commitment, so as to ensure the holding of a free and fair general election under effective United Nations supervision and to bring about Namibian independence as scheduled. We call on the international community to be watchful, to work to eliminate obstacles to the Namibian independence process and guard against any incident that may arise to the detriment of a free and fair general election.

The Chinese Government has always supported the African countries in their just struggle against racism, and the efforts made by the front-line States and people in southern Africa to achieve peace and stability in the region and develop the national economy. We hope that their efforts will enjoy broad sympathy and vigorous support from the international community. The black people in South Africa are entitled to racial equality and democratic rights. We strongly demand that the South African authorities abrogate the universally condemned apartheid system, which is contrary to the spirit of our times.

Since the last session of the General Assembly there has been an ever-stronger call for a political settlement of the Middle East question. The just struggle of the Palestinians living in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip has clearly demonstrated that the question of ending the Israeli occupation and solving the

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Palestinian issue brooks no further delay. The Palestine Liberation Organization has adopted a series of flexible and practical policies, winning wide appreciation and support from the international community. It is high time the Israeli Government went along with the trend of history by replacing its rigid position by a flexible approach.

The Chinese Government stands for a settlement of the Middle East question through political means without resorting to force. We support the convocation of the International Conference on the Middle East under United Nations auspices with the participation of the parties concerned, including the five permanent members of the Security Council. We appreciate the efforts of the parties concerned in the Middle East question to conduct dialogues of such diverse forms as they deem appropriate. We demand that Israel stop forthwith its suppression of Palestinian residents in occupation zones and that it withdraw from the occupied Arab territories. We hope to see mutual recognition between the State of Palestine and Israel, guaranteed security both for Arab States and for Israel, and the peaceful coexistence of the Arab nation and the Jewish nation. That, in our opinion, is the correct way to lead a Middle East long plagued by turmoil to peace and tranquillity.

Together with the other justice-upholding countries concerned, the Chinese Government has over the past 11 years consistently worked for a fair and reasonable settlement of the Cambodian question. To that end the United Nations has adopted 10 successive resolutions. The Cambodian question arose as a result of the Vietnamese invasion. Therefore, a comprehensive settlement of the question calls for an end to the Vietnamese invasion and the removal of its consequences. That is the very essence of the successive resolutions adopted by the United Nations on the Cambodian situation, and it is also the consistent position of the Chinese Government. During the transitional period from the withdrawal of Vietnamese

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forces to the holding of a general election in Cambodia, the only way to ensure peace and forestall a dangerous situation in the country is to set up a provisional coalition Government headed by Prince Sihanouk and composed of the four parties in Cambodia. Cambodia should be restored to its independent, neutral and non-aligned status, while the countries concerned should provide an international guarantee for that status. Recently, the International Conference on Cambodia was held in Paris; it was attended by foreign ministers of many countries and leaders of the four parties in Cambodia. This in itself is of major significance, but regrettably, the Conference did not produce the anticipated results, owing to the rigid position taken by Viet Nam and Phnom Penh on the proposal put forward by the majority of the States participating in the Conference for an international control mechanism under United Nations auspices, the establishment of a provisional quadripartite coalition Government headed by Prince Sihanouk, and a comprehensive settlement of the Cambodian question. As for the withdrawal of forces from Cambodia promised by Viet Nam, without the necessary international supervision people have reason to doubt whether Viet Nam has genuinely pulled out all its forces and military personnel of other categories. We hope that the international community will continue to follow the situation in Cambodia closely, render sympathy and support to the Cambodian people in their just cause, and keep working for a fair and reasonable ultimate settlement of the Cambodian question so as to remove completely this regional hot spot.

The second question is disarmament.

The past year has witnessed new progress in the field of international disarmament. The Treaty between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles - the INF Treaty - is being implemented. Positive results emerged

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emerged from the International Conference on the prohibition of chemical weapons held in Paris last January. With the start last March in Vienna of the negotiation on conventional armed forces in Europe and the subsequent specific proposals put forward by each side, long-deadlocked European conventional disarmament has taken a turn for the better. Moreover, the Soviet Union and some East European countries have decided to carry out a unilateral reduction in their forces and armament or withdraw some of them from abroad.

Nevertheless, it is noted that the arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union has not come to a stop. They continue to vie with each other in developing high-technology weapons systems and in going all out to upgrade their nuclear weapons and have even extended their arms race into outer space. So the halting of the arms race and the achievement of effective disarmament remains an arduous task.

The international community expects the United States and the Soviet Union to shoulder their special responsibility for disarmament by taking the lead in drastically reducing their nuclear arsenals and conventional armaments and by stopping their arms race in all forms, including that in outer space. It is our consistent view that chemical weapons should be completely banned and thoroughly destroyed. At the present session of the General Assembly, the United States and the Soviet Union have made proposals on the question of chemical weapons. We hope that they will take practical steps to stop production and development of those weapons and destroy their existing stockpiles, so as to facilitate the conclusion of an international convention on a comprehensive ban on chemical weapons.

Disarmament is a question bearing on world peace and the security of all countries. Therefore, all countries, big or small, strong or weak, nuclear or non-nuclear, should have an equal say in the question, and each can play an active

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role. The reasonable demands and propositions of the many small and medium-sized countries ought to be respected, and full play should be given to the role of the United Nations and the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva on disarmament issues. All this is highly necessary for the healthy development of the international disarmament process.

The third question is the proper handling of State-to-State relations.

Over the past year a number of countries have improved their relations with each other to varying degrees, which is a valuable contribution to world peace. What is particularly encouraging is that the Arab States have closed their ranks, in a spirit of conciliation. Countries in Africa are working for increased peaceful co-operation on that continent, while Latin American countries have made further headway in their regional co-operation.

China has all along devoted its efforts to the establishment and development of friendly relations and co-operation with other countries on the basis of 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 coexistence. The past year saw even better and stronger relations between China and many other countries, especially its neighbours.

(Mr. Qian Qichen, China)

China maintains a traditional friendship with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. We are interested in peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula. We support the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's reasonable proposition on the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, and wish to see positive results flow from the dialogue and contacts between the North and South of Korea. We have always enjoyed good relations with Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Thailand and many other neighbours in South and South-East Asia. We have normalized our relations with the People's Republic of Mongolia and Laos. Our relations with India are improving in many fields. The consultations on normalization of Sino-Indonesian relations are proceeding smoothly. The solidarity and co-operation between China and Arab States, African States and Latin American States have also made new progress.

In May this year, China and the Soviet Union held a top-level meeting, thereby normalizing their bilateral relations. In a spirit of bidding farewell to the past and opening up the future, leaders of the two countries reviewed and summed up the history of Sino-Soviet relations and agreed to develop the bilateral relations on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Good-neighbourliness between the two big countries, China and the Soviet Union, is in the interests of not only their two peoples but also peace and stability in Asia and the world at large. This has been well received by the international community as it benefits the whole of mankind.

China's relations with Western countries were on a course of steady development. However, difficulties of varying degrees have emerged over the past few months in our relations with certain Western countries. What has exactly happened? Has China acted contrary to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in its relations with these Western countries? No. Has China encroached upon

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their interests in any way? No. It is known to all that in late spring and early summer this year turmoil occurred in China's capital Beijing, which was aimed at subverting the Government of the People's Republic of China and overthrowing the socialist system stipulated in the Constitution of the People's Republic. It goes without saying that how to deal with this problem is China's internal affair. The whole world witnessed the fact that for almost two months the Chinese Government had exercised the utmost restraint and tried to solve the problem by persuasion and education rather than compulsory measures. It was not until the critical moment when the events had turned into an anti-government rebellion that the Chinese Government was compelled to take decisive measures to quell the rebellion. The overwhelming majority of countries in the world have expressed their understanding of this action by our Government. Only certain Western Governments, ignoring the facts and basing themselves on nothing but distorted news reports and misinformation, levelled unwarranted charges against the Chinese Government and applied pressure on it. It should also be noted that there is much evidence pointing to involvement in the above-mentioned events by some hostile foreign forces, which added fuel to the flames. They know full well what role they have played. In order to maintain State sovereignty and national dignity, it is only natural that the Chinese Government should have firmly rejected their meddling in the events in China and interference in its internal affairs, which contravene the norms governing international relations and the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter. In their statements at the General Assembly in the past few days, the delegates of some countries continued to attack the Chinese Government groundlessly. To harp on "democracy" and "freedom" while indulging in the habit of making arbitrary criticisms and imposing one's own will on others in

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State-to-State relations represents precisely the kind of behaviour that goes against the historical tide. This is indeed regrettable.

The day after tomorrow, the People's Republic of China will celebrate its fortieth anniversary. For China, 1 October 1949 is a day of great historic significance, marking the end of an era in which the Chinese people were subjected to every kind of national humiliation. Over the past four decades, foreign pressure on New China has never ceased, but what has come of it? New China is ever forging ahead. It has never feared, and will in no way bend to any foreign pressure. China's affairs can only be decided by the Chinese people, and China's policy can only be determined by the Chinese Government. Through long years of practice, we have found a development path suited to China's conditions, and we will continue along that path. We have formulated an independent foreign policy of peace attuned to the fundamental interests of the people of China and the world, and we will keep pursuing that policy. China will adhere to its policy of reform and opening to the outside world and continue to work for development of relations with other countries throughout the world.

A normal relationship between China and a foreign country serves mutual interests, whereas in case of a disruption of such a relationship, China will by no means be the only one to suffer. Past experience has repeatedly proved that normal State-to-State relations can only be based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. China abides by these principles, and if other countries also do so, normal relations can certainly be established and developed between them. Herein lies the way out of the current difficulties in the relations of some Western countries with China.

The fourth question is the establishment of a new international political order.

(Mr. Qian Qichen, China)

Now that the world has advanced to a stage where most former colonies and dependencies have won independence, all States should treat one another as equals and an end should be put to hegemonic practice. Yet, facts show that hegemonic practice and power politics still exist. From time to time, there are cases in international relations, such as the big bullying the small, the strong domineering over the weak, the imposition of one's own will on others, or even armed encroachment upon the sovereignty of another State and damage to its territorial integrity by force. Should these acts which contravene the norms governing international relations remain unchecked, there can be no tranquillity in the world or guarantee of peace.

With the concerted efforts of the international community, the world now witnesses a trend towards relaxation of tension and increased contacts among nations. This is a good thing. But meanwhile, in international contacts, there are still obvious attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries by various means in violation of the basic norms governing international relations. It is dangerous for State policies to be formulated and pursued with such attempts in mind, as it will detract from relaxation of international tension and lead to the continuation of the cold war. This is a question which merits the attention of the international community.

On the one hand, there are vast numbers of countries in the world with quite different social systems, ideologies, values, historical backgrounds, cultural traditions and religious beliefs, and on the other hand, their interests predetermine the need for contacts with one another. Consequently, all countries are required to adopt a realistic attitude by recognizing the diversity of the world, refraining from interfering in each other's internal affairs, and observing in their contacts the mutually accepted norms governing international relations.

(Mr. Qian Qichen, China)

Only thus can they live in harmony, co-operate with one another and make up each other's deficiencies in an endeavour to seek common prosperity.

The Chinese Government stands for the establishment of a new international political order on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. These principles, jointly initiated by China and some of its neighbours in Asia, have won extensive endorsement from the international community. They summarize the most basic norms governing international relations and embody the essential characteristics of a new type international relationship, hence in full conformity with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. If the five principles are universally observed in international relations, a new international political order will come into being, under which all countries, big or small, strong or weak, will be equal and respect each other regardless of differences in social system and ideology. No country will impose its will on others or seek hegemony. The internal affairs of a country will be dealt with by the country itself, while the common affairs of the world will be handled by all countries through consultation. International disputes will all be resolved through peaceful negotiations without resorting to force or threat of force.

(Mr. Qian Qichen, China)

We firmly believe that such a world will be in line with the interests and aspirations of the people of all countries. I wish to use the forum of the United Nations to present this idea of the Chinese Government, hoping that statesmen of various countries will give it serious consideration when exploring the future of the world.

The fifth question is the establishment of a new international economic order.

For a long time developing countries have suffered greatly from inequitable exchanges, owing to irrationality in existing international economic relations. For them the recent years have seen worsening terms of trade, plummeting export earnings, dwindling production investment and heavy debt burdens. There has been even the phenomenon of reverse capital flow from poor to rich countries for many years running. So the tendency of poor countries to become poorer and rich countries richer is more pronounced than it was a decade ago. If allowed to continue, this situation will bring in its wake even more serious consequences for the whole world, including both the developing and the developed countries. The economic development of the third world has become a pressing issue affecting the global scene. Current international economic relations should not and cannot remain completely unchanged in the time to come. The establishment of a new international economic order is the need of the times.

In our view, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence should also be abided by in the conduct of economic relations between countries. A country's economic problems can be solved only by the government and people of that country with policies appropriate to their national conditions. Economic contacts between countries should serve friendly co-operation between them and not be turned into means of exerting pressure on other countries or interfering in their internal affairs. Any attempt to impose a certain economic system or developmental model on other countries and to interfere in the economic policies or development efforts of

(Mr. Qian Qichen, China)

developing countries means power politics in the economic sphere. It runs counter to norms of international relations and the current historical trend and will not work in practice.

To promote the establishment of the new international economic order in the interest of common development of all countries, what is urgently needed at present is a new round of truly substantive North-South dialogue with emphasis on solving the pressing problems facing the developing countries, such as debt, trade, capital and finance. We call on the developed countries to respond constructively to the proposals for reviving the North-South dialogue made by the Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Non-Aligned Countries held in Belgrade in September this year and the Special Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77 held last June in Caracas. We hope that the special session of the General Assembly devoted to growth and development, scheduled for April next year, will arrive at a fresh common understanding on future international economic co-operation and will provide a sound guideline for it. We also hope that the new international development strategy being worked out will offer effective measures in this regard.

Protecting the environment has become a pressing issue of universal concern; it must be given full attention while efforts are made to solve the question of development. China has made the protection of the environment its State policy. We attach importance to and will participate in the United Nations conference on environment and development scheduled for 1992, and are ready to make necessary preparations for its convocation with other countries and relevant international organizations.

We note with pleasure that, as the most influential international organization, the United Nations has in recent years had some outstanding achievements in facilitating the political settlement of regional conflicts, maintaining world peace, and promoting international co-operation and economic and

(Mr. Qian Qichen, China)

social development. As a result, there is universal recognition of the importance of the United Nations. The positive efforts made by the Secretary-General have also won extensive acclaim from the international community.

The final decade of the twentieth century is approaching. A new century is setting in, the times are progressing and the face of the world is changing. Like the entire international community, the United Nations is faced with unprecedented opportunities and extraordinary challenges. In order to adapt better to an ever-changing world, the United Nations needs to continue its own reform and further improve its efficiency. World peace and development need the United Nations, while the success of the United Nations depends on the support and co-operation of all its Member States. Together with the many other United Nations Member States, China is ready to fulfil the duties prescribed in the United Nations Charter and to contribute its share to a strengthened role of the Organization in world affairs.

Mr. FISCHER (German Democratic Republic) (spoke in German; English text furnished by the delegation): May I congratulate you, Sir, on your election as President of the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly and warmly wish you success.

A few weeks ago the international community observed the fiftieth anniversary of Hitler Germany's criminal aggression against Poland, which was the beginning of the most devastating and murderous of all conflagrations in the history of mankind. That inferno forged a coalition of States with different social systems and also gave birth to the United Nations, whose deeds offered mankind the chance of a peaceful future. The lesson drawn by the peoples was that war and fascism must be done away with and violence banned from international life forever and that henceforth joint action must be taken for their elimination in peacetime.

(Mr. Fischer, German
Democratic Republic)

To remove the kind of threat which weapons of mass destruction pose in our time, the German Democratic Republic believes the authority and influence of the United Nations will have to be brought into play more effectively than has been the case so far. Moreover, economic underdevelopment must be overcome and the natural environment preserved for man to exist. The potentials are there. What it takes to harness them is boldness in strengthening positive elements, carefulness in shoring up achievements, and resoluteness in stemming reverse tendencies.

But there is cause for concern: since the arms race is continuing in all fields while Treaty on the Elimination of the Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles - the INF Treaty - is being implemented and disarmament negotiations are under way; since long-standing conflicts cannot be solved because not all of those involved are willing to take account of the legitimate interests of each and every party to those conflicts; since a number of countries have recorded substantial economic growth while an increasing number of third-world nations are falling back further and further in their levels of development; since the natural environment is increasingly deteriorating - one reason being that international measures taken to protect it are insufficient; and since attacks against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, as well as interference in international affairs of other States, are mounting while world-wide demands are made for strengthening the international order of law.

Bertolt Brecht, the playwright, has Galileo Galilei expressing faith in the "gentle force of reason", which people cannot withstand in the long run. The nuclear and space age, with the apocalyptic risks for humankind, makes imperative a new kind of thinking on security policy. Yet this awareness does not grow all on its own.

(Mr. Fischer, German
Democratic Republic)

Shop-worn notions and attitudes need to be shed through a dialogue, across all frontiers, among political and military leaders, scholars, scientists and indeed all people committed to peace. They need to be replaced by a modern way of thinking and conduct marked by high ethical values and a sense of reason and reality. On the threshold of the next millennium, this is the only approach that can hold out a perspective of peace for all nations. Quite a few of these aspects have been reflected in international documents.

It has been encouraging to note that the declarations adopted at the Ninth Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned States express a firm resolve to find agreed solutions to the pressing problems of our planet in a peaceful and constructive dialogue with all other States.

On the other hand, much remains to be done for the awareness to gain ground that lasting security can be built only through co-operation, rather than confrontation. Above all, it is imperative to abandon all doctrines which preserve, or even feed, hostile images, stimulate the arms race and even keep open the first-use option for nuclear weapons.

The German Democratic Republic insists on a joint review of military concepts and their strict orientation towards defence. Also, the United Nations should seize upon this matter. Thus substance would be built into the prohibition of the use of force as spelled out in the Charter, and world-wide adherence to it would be ensured.

Stable security for all can grow only from a policy that takes account of the intertwining of military, political, economic and humanitarian factors and seeks further to push back military might in favour of shared political endeavours. This is the purpose of the initiative of socialist States for a comprehensive approach

(Mr. Fischer, German
Democratic Republic)

to the strengthening of international security, which would guarantee that all States in the different regions could live together without conflicts and tensions in true good-neighbourliness.

In Europe, efforts must remain concentrated on reducing the cram-full arsenals to a level where the danger of war will be banished for ever. The East and the West could then on a new basis and for the benefit of all peoples co-operate and build harmoniously.

The Vienna negotiations on conventional armed forces and on further confidence- and security-building measures could soon produce first agreements on mutual force and arms reductions if all participants negotiated constructively and were ready for compromise. The German Democratic Republic, like its allies, has made exemplary unilateral moves contributing to propitious conditions for speedy negotiations. Before 1990, the German Democratic Republic's armed forces will be reduced by 10,000 troops, 600 tanks and 50 aircraft. We already have at hand initial practical experience in partial areas of arms conversion, which we gladly share at the international level.

I wish to recall with all due emphasis the proposal by the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty that, in parallel with the Vienna talks on conventional forces and armaments, negotiations should be started also on tactical nuclear weapons. Our aim remains a Europe, indeed a world, without nuclear weapons.

Mindful of the sensitive divide between the two military alliances, and seeking cuts in weapons of mass destruction in Central Europe, the German Democratic Republic advocates the establishment of zones free of nuclear and chemical weapons, with specific confidence-building measures being applied.

(Mr. Fischer, German
Democratic Republic)

Let me point out in this context that it is not the diversity of systems of society that renders the construction of the European home problematic. Rather its coming into being is obstructed by the arms race, the sustained military threat and, recently, the redoubled attempts to do away with socialism as a social system.

The road towards stable peace and productive co-operation is not smooth, yet it is practicable. However, it must not be made harder to travel on than it already is. The achievements made in Europe over the last two decades through joint efforts - a record all can take pride in - were possible because the Helsinki Final Act meant recognition of international legal principles as set out in the United Nations Charter and the political and territorial realities that emerged after the Second World War. This must remain agreed. Claims to the effect that the "German Reich" continued to exist within the 1937 borders are as dangerous as they are irrational, for the "German Reich" fell asunder in 1945 as a consequence of its own policy of aggression.

The realities in Europe that have since emerged include the existence of two sovereign German States. Their mutual relationship is, and continues to be, of great importance for stability in Europe and the progress of détente in the world. This is what guides the socialist German State, which will be observing its fortieth anniversary in a few days. Anyone who wants stability in Europe will appreciate the fact that at the divide between the world's two biggest military alliances there exists a State whose supreme credo is, "No more war - only peace shall ever emanate from German soil". The German Democratic Republic's policy, firmly rooted in anti-fascist traditions and relying on the dynamic development of its society, remains predictable. The socialist German State has done a great deal

(Mr. Fischer, German
Democratic Republic)

on behalf of peaceful coexistence in Europe in the past, and it will do likewise in the future.

The German Democratic Republic abides by what the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party and Chairman of the Council of State, Erich Honecker, and the Federal Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Helmut Kohl, agreed in March 1985 and what they reaffirmed in their joint communiqué in September 1987: that inviolability of the frontiers is a basic condition for peace. To preserve and to strengthen it through new confidence-building measures remains the need of the hour. Calling frontiers into question or making presumptuous claims under the mantle of concern for humanity and in violation of the sovereign rights of other States, and exercising so-called custodianship over nationals of other States - that is bound to provoke conflicts that erode co-operation in the heart of Europe and even put peace in jeopardy. Disarmament, the settlement or prevention of international conflicts and the strengthening of the international rule of law are guarantees for a world of peace, security and common welfare.

In this context disarmament remains the key issue. The implementation of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, which must not be undercut by what is called modernization, is in the interests of all peoples. But it is equally obvious that the pace of the ongoing negotiations is insufficient, in fact very far from what is necessary.

From the German Democratic Republic's viewpoint it is imperative to include all weapons categories in the negotiations, to break the vicious circle in the arms race and to make no compensation for weapons eliminated and, consequently, to offer results to the peoples.

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We would like to see the USSR and the United States succeed as soon as possible in halving their strategic nuclear armaments while adhering to the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems - the ABM Treaty.

In order to halt the nuclear arms race, an overwhelming majority of States has been calling for a complete ban on nuclear-weapons tests. Such a ban would, at the same time, strengthen the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. In that context, the Soviet Union's proposal to cease the production of fissionable material for armament purposes deserves the support of the United Nations.

In January this year, the participants in the Paris Conference urged the earliest possible conclusion of a convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons. However, the Geneva negotiations have yet to make any real progress. Yet the risk of a proliferation of these means of mass destruction increases proportionally to the delay in concluding a world-wide convention.

This delay is incomprehensible, since there is agreement on the essential issues of the convention. Data are being exchanged and verification methods have been tested. The German Democratic Republic, which neither possesses chemical weapons nor has such weapons stockpiled on its territory, has transmitted data relating to its chemical production and the results of a national trial inspection. Before this forum, I wish to reaffirm the proposal to convene a meeting of foreign ministers at the Geneva Conference so as to proceed to the final stage of the negotiations. We welcome the results of the recent talks between the USSR and the United States committing them to the conclusion of a relevant convention not later than next year.

The prevention of an arms race in outer space is becoming ever more urgent. For the sake of step-by-step solutions, the German Democratic Republic submitted basic elements at the Geneva Conference for a treaty to ban anti-satellite weapons,

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and it hopes that negotiations will start soon. In that respect, the world Organization will certainly find important areas for action.

It could, for instance, evaluate existing findings and available experiences in respect of arms conversion and make them accessible to all States. This directs our attention to the general requirement to utilize modern sciences and technologies for disarmament. I propose that henceforth this topic be considered by the United Nations.

The German Democratic Republic believes that efforts to define criteria for comparing military budgets should be continued, so as to promote openness in the military field. Consequently, my country will be making use of the United Nations international system for the standardized reporting of military expenditures and provide the available data as from 1990.

Apparently, one of the most important experiences which the end of the twentieth century will leave behind is that disputes and conflicts can no longer be resolved by military means. They can only be settled on the basis of respect for the legitimate interests of the parties in conflict, who must meet each other halfway in a spirit of compromise.

In those terms, the United Nations and its Secretary-General - and I take pleasure in emphasizing this - play a highly appreciated promotive role. The Organization's peace-keeping operations have stood the test, and my country supports them.

It is with great sympathy that the world is following Namibia's transition to independence. The German Democratic Republic has long supported that process. It helped repatriate Namibian refugees and has met the Secretary-General's request to dispatch police monitors and election supervisors. It is imperative that the elections in November not be impeded, so that we can welcome a free Namibia as a

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Member of the world Organization before long. Implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) is conducive to peace and stability in southern Africa. Yet apartheid, the main cause of conflicts, continues to exist in that region, and all human standards require its elimination.

Despite the Geneva accords on Afghanistan, the hostilities are continuing. Over many years, this forum has been told that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan would precipitate peace. Abiding by the accords, the USSR has withdrawn its troops and the Government of Afghanistan has presented a reasonable national reconciliation programme that excludes no political or military faction. Anyone truly desiring peace and concerned for the well-being of the Afghan people should now choose the course of reconciliation. In that sense, the United Nations needs to involve itself actively.

The States of Asia are anxious to normalize their mutual relations. That confirms our hope that a peaceful and just settlement will be found not only to the situation around Afghanistan but also to the Iran-Iraq conflict and the question of Cambodia.

On the Korean peninsula, too, the problems can only be resolved by patient dialogue and accommodation. The German Democratic Republic supports the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for ensuring a durable peace and détente in the region.

I am pleased to note that there are real prospects for the Nicaraguan people finally to address itself to peaceful work. The German Democratic Republic appreciates the contribution of the five Central American Presidents to a political solution to the problems. Implementation of their proposals and accords presupposes good will and strict respect for international law on the part of all sides.

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The socialist German State is very much concerned that no peace is yet in sight in the Middle East. The Palestinian people is still being deprived by force of its legitimate rights, and its uprising is being rigorously repressed.

It would be in the interest of all concerned and of peace in general to resolve these and other problems in the region through an international Middle East peace conference under the auspices of the United Nations and with the Palestine Liberation Organization, Israel, and the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council participating on an equal footing.

A peaceful settlement of the question of Western Sahara, with the participation of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations, would constitute another milestone on the road of the African nations towards a durable peace and social progress.

The Cyprus question, too, remains unresolved. Negotiations should be encouraged between the leaders of the two ethnic communities, mediated by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, on a settlement that would meet the interests of the entire Cypriot people.

In today's international conditions and in view of the requirements of tomorrow, international law assumes increasing importance for the security of States and good-neighbourly co-operation. Nothing could conceivably be more effective than such principles as the prohibition of the threat or use of force and the obligation to settle disputes peacefully.

The German Democratic Republic therefore supports the initiative of the non-aligned countries to have a decade of international law adopted by the United Nations for the next ten years.

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In our view, the most urgent tasks in strengthening the international order of law which must be the foundation of an order of peace are, first, to bring about a reliable consensus on the interpretation and application of existing principles as enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

The second task is to work out treaties to manage problems that need to be addressed globally. We think these include protection of the environment, the use of modern communication technologies, the combating of terrorism, and the prevention of drug abuse. The early adoption of a code covering crimes against the peace and security of mankind and of a convention against the use of mercenaries would create a solid legal foundation for the prosecution and punishment of the gravest of crimes and would at the same time have preventive effects that should not be underestimated.

The third task is to make greater use of international mechanisms and, where necessary, create new ones to ensure the fulfilment of commitments that have been undertaken.

In the field of human rights and social issues, the requirements of peaceful co-operation must be lived up to. That requires the strengthening of peace as an indispensable foundation for the implementation of human rights. In its practical work the United Nations should heed the interrelationship of political, economic and social rights.

A stable and prosperous world needs sound and mutually advantageous economic co-operation. Historical reasons account for the existence of imbalances, but nothing can justify the fact that many third-world countries, not least because of inequitable terms of trade, cannot develop in socio-economic terms. Evidence of that is the fact that the World Bank recently settled its accounts with a net

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profit of \$1 billion, squeezing more out of developing countries than it put into them.

The United Nations can and must commit itself to a marked improvement of that situation. The 1990 special session of the General Assembly devoted to economic issues and preparatory work for the international development strategy for the next decade are appropriate contexts in which to define priorities for international economic co-operation and for the activities of the United Nations in that area. An agreed settlement of the debt problem of the developing countries has to be regarded as the most pressing issue in that respect.

Against that background, the German Democratic Republic deems implementation of the principle of disarmament for development to be an imperative of the highest priority. Since disarmament and the safe elimination of highly sophisticated weaponry, no less than armament itself, are becoming more and more costly, it would be most beneficial for all to break once and for all the cycle of arms build-ups and subsequent disarmament.

Fruitful development of the entire world economy requires political will by all to bring about co-operative and viable solutions.

The same applies to ecological problems. Mankind must not destroy its own natural basis of existence. Today we are more aware of the life-sustaining interaction between our planet's water, air, soil and forests. We can now see more clearly that the sensitive balance between those factors cannot be upset with impunity.

The United Nations brings together the collective spirit and will of nations and pools their efforts into a single stream. It harmoniously combines national and international security interests. There is no more competent forum that could keep watch over world peace in a better way. The main source of the effectiveness

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and strength of the United Nations is the determination and willingness of its Member States to pursue the only road that could possibly lead mankind into a peaceful third millennium: the road of constructive co-operation in all fields of human life.

AGENDA ITEM 17

APPOINTMENTS TO FILL VACANCIES IN SUBSIDIARY ORGANS AND OTHER APPOINTMENTS:

- (a) APPOINTMENT OF MEMBERS OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATIVE AND BUDGETARY QUESTIONS: REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (PART I) (A/44/560)

The PRESIDENT: In paragraph 4 of its report (A/44/560), the Fifth Committee recommends that the General Assembly should appoint Mr. John Fox as a member of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions for a term of office beginning on 29 September 1989 and ending on 31 December 1990.

May I take it that the Assembly decides to make that appointment?

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.