



## General Assembly

PROVISIONAL

A/47/PV.12

2 October 1992

ENGLISH

Forty-seventh session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 12th MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Friday, 25 September 1992, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. GANEV (Bulgaria)  
later: Mr. CETIN (Turkey)  
(Vice-President)

Address by Mr. Anatolijs Gorbunovs, Chairman of the Supreme Council  
of the Republic of Latvia

Address by Mr. Sixto Durán Ballén, President of the Republic of  
Ecuador

Address by Mr. Eduard A. Shevardnadze, Chairman of the Council of  
State of the Republic of Georgia

/...

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

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

General debate [9] (continued)

Statements made by

Mr. Moravcik (Czechoslovakia)

Mr. Moussa (Egypt)

(Mr. Moravcik, Czechoslovakia)

Globalism and nationalism are not necessarily opposing trends, provided that the right to self-determination is accompanied by the desire for closer cooperation with other nations and by efficient participation in international systems of guaranteeing the basic values upon which the world and especially the fragile structure of peace are built. We live in an era of global integration comprising different subsystems, among which the United Nations has an irreplaceable role to play.

I should like, in conclusion, to say that this statement is a sort of farewell speech of the Czechoslovak federation to the United Nations. It is highly probable that by January of next year the federation will have ceased to exist. Thus one of the founding members of the United Nations will give its place in international politics to the two new independent States. It is my hope that all the current Members of the United Nations will extend to the Czech republic and the Slovak republic the understanding that they have always shown to Czechoslovakia, by admitting them to membership as soon as possible.

Mr. MOUSSA (Egypt) (interpretation from Arabic): At the outset, I wish to convey the Egyptian Government's congratulations to the Presidency of Bulgaria on the election to the presidency of the General Assembly of Mr. Ganev and his assumption of that high post.

I should like also to put on record our appreciaiton of the capable manner in which Mr. Samir Shihabi, the permanent representative of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, conducted the work of the Assembly at its last session.

In addition, I want to congratulate the States that have recently joined the United Nations. I hope that they will participate effectively and constructively in the activities of the Organization and in defence of the purposes and principles of its Charter.

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

This session, like past sessions and those that will follow in the 1990s, is of great importance. It is being held at a stage of evolution and change characterized by unprecedented dynamism and speed. It is a transitional stage in the course of which new patterns of international relations are being moulded. Hence, what the current session of the General Assembly is witnessing is not a stable international situation but, rather, a phase in a continuing process of evolution and change. Consequently, it is difficult to predict with any certainty what the years and decades to come may hold for the future of the world and its order.

This uninterrupted process of change, however, requires the reaffirmation of certain matters which, in our view, constitute the basics which should determine the image of the future.

The process of change should have a human content. No progress or civilization could have a point of departure other than respect for man, his rights, freedoms and dignity without discrimination because of colour, creed or religion. Only in a context of respect for peoples' rights, cultures and achievements and for their right to have their just demands met can there be any change or progress.

International cooperation and interdependence based on justice and fairness constitute the basis for salubrious change and for positive movement towards any breakthrough of the future.

In the context of the existing challenges, international peace and security are the collective responsibility of North and South, which should shoulder their burdens and obligations and, thereafter, share the dividends of success. Undoubtedly, the ever-increasing role of the Security Council necessitates a review of its membership and the scope of its responsibility, so that it may be a genuine reflection of international and regional forces.

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

In their new concept, international relations should be integral in substance, rational in content and democratic in context. Therefore, the formulation of those relations requires collective participation if they are to reflect the interests of the international community, with all its components, and of the balance between rights and duties and between power and responsibility.

International relations, in their current state of evolution, reflect a greater awareness and wider recognition of the relationship between future and destiny. Similarly, they reflect constant movement towards realism in dealing with inherited and nascent dilemmas. Nevertheless, they have been unable to remove elements of suspicion and feelings of frustration. Rather, they have helped to exacerbate such feelings in many places and about many issues, especially in the third world.

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

While the seeds of change indicate a relaxation of global military confrontations, at the same time, they have crystallized the inherited sediments of regional and ethnic tensions and have transformed the equation of rivalry between East and West into an equation between North and South that has not taken final shape yet as it has not dealt, and does not seem to be going to deal, rationally, with the massive historic imbalances between regions of affluence and regions of scarcity, between regions of progress and those of backwardness. Indeed, there is genuine concern that unless it takes place under agreed controls, the ongoing process of change, will lead to the codification of these imbalances and, thereby, make them a feature of the new world order, with all that that would entail in terms of turmoil and chaos.

These features of today's world, and portents of tomorrow's world, give rise to very real fears regarding the dominance of injustice and inequality in international relations on the political, security, economic and social levels.

After this foreword, which reflects the feelings of the third world, Egypt's delegation would like to discuss four issues: the state of affairs in the United Nations; the situation in the third world; disarmament; and peace efforts in the Middle East, Africa, Asia and Europe.

It is highly important that the purposes of the Charter be made the foundation of the new era, so that justice may be ensured, social progress promoted and better standards of living achieved in greater freedom as expressed by the Secretary-General in his Agenda for Peace. In our view, this is the real core of positive development and of any world order that strives for stability and peace.

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

The purposes of the Charter, however, cannot be realized, and the strong desire to ensure justice and to promote social and economic progress cannot be fulfilled, in an age in which acute racialist trends rear their heads anew, in which dangers threaten the lives of whole communities, and in which there are signs of a return to foreign intervention in the affairs of States and of peoples.

Hence, foremost among the main goals highlighted by the Secretary-General in his plan is action to deal, in a wider context, with the deepest causes of tension economic deprivation and social injustice. Dealing with these banes should be the cornerstone of the new world era. In this connection, I should like to voice our strong support for a statement made by the Secretary-General a statement that seems to have commanded insufficient consideration and appreciation. The Secretary-General said:

"It is noticeable that there is a common moral concept which is increasingly emerging and spreading among the world's peoples and nations. It is reflected in international laws, most of which have emerged through efforts made by the United Nations."

This statement deals with an issue on which, in our view, we should reflect, for we are in real need of a common moral concept. For many decades, the world has been plagued by policies of racial discrimination. Now is the time, the opportunity, to rid ourselves of those policies. Unfortunately, however, other racial conflicts have erupted, and there have been calls for ethnic purity. This shows that the world still lacks a common moral concept and the means of developing it in a rational and sound way.

Such a concept should be based on consensus among our various societies, and it should be developed within the framework of our political experience

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

since the Second World War. It should also be based on an analysis of all that has been achieved and all that has not been achieved, with a view to assessing the role played by existing human-rights instruments and deciding whether to develop such instruments further or to replace them with new ones.

We need a new world social contract between various world communities, cultures and civilizations. This new social contract should be based not on one model, no matter how successful such a model may have proved to be, but on rules upon which there is common agreement and which take into consideration the intrinsic characteristics of various societies, with a view to devising the best framework for the achievement of unity through diversity. In this way, we would define "respect for human rights" with reference to a concept shared and approved by all a concept that all would contract to implement.

The new world social contract for which we call a contract linking parties from different civilizations and cultures should be constructed within the framework of the new era in which neither globalism and nationalism nor commonality and individuality should be regarded as opposing trends, but should be discussed from the point of view of peaceful evolution, equilibrium and respect for the purposes of the Charter.

I strongly believe that calling for a new social contract is linked organically with the preventive diplomacy, participation in peacemaking and contribution to peace-keeping called for in the Agenda for Peace.

The vision that the Secretary-General has put forth last June in his Agenda for Peace reflects hope as much as it reflects challenges.

This vision embodies a call for the development of the role of the United Nations from one of mere crisis management and conflict resolution to a more comprehensive one which would embrace social, economic and humanitarian



(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

issues. It is a vision that presents newly developed dimensions imposed by the nature of the profound changes now taking place in the patterns of international relations.

There should be a comprehensive and in-depth debate on this report and on the quintessence of this vision of the future. This debate should take place in the General Assembly and the Security Council, as well as in the various bodies of the United Nations, side by side with intensive examination in many other forums. It should involve research institutes in various States and continents, and should be aimed at reaching an acceptable formula to meet the political, security, economic and social requirements of the next stage in the history of the world.

This Agenda for Peace keeps hope alive and sets concrete goals. It is characterized by the fact that it does not ignore or overlook the realities of the situation. It strikes a balance between the possible and the desirable, and it constitutes a prelude to the major aim of adapting the existing instruments to the new realities.

The international community, which accepts even calls for - greater responsibility in the resolution of global and regional conflicts, also calls for an effective role for the United Nations in preventing wars and making peace.

Respect for the United Nations involves, by definition, respect for its resolutions and the mobilization of its collective will to implement those resolutions with a view to imposing peace, if necessary, or negotiating peace if intentions are genuine and the parties concerned cooperate.

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

In the midst of all this, we find the problems nay, problem of the third world which is one of the most important issues we have to discuss in this forum that brings together all the peoples and nations of the world.

In recent weeks the third world has convened a summit meeting in Indonesia, in the framework of the Non-Aligned Movement. President Soeharto addressed the Assembly in detail, yesterday, on the meeting, in his capacity as head of the Non-Aligned Movement. Today, I wish to dwell on a few points: first, the new world order should be based on solid foundations of law and on the principles of the Charter, as well as on an equitable sharing of responsibility and a joint commitment to cooperation and solidarity; secondly, the structure of that order should be dedicated to peace and justice, security and development and democracy at the domestic national levels, and in international relations, as well as to the promotion of the fundamental rights and freedoms of individual human beings and peoples;

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

thirdly, respect for sovereignty and adherence to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States as a principle that should not be impaired or diminished; fourthly, settlement of disputes by peaceful means and through continued dialogue and negotiation; fifthly, peace and stability are contingent on social and economic factors as much as they are contingent on political and military factors. Therefore, the diminishing prospects of economic development and social progress result in a serious threat to stability, and hence, to peace; sixthly, support for holding a world summit on social development that would put people and their social needs at the forefront of international efforts, and provide an opportunity to deal with the multi-faceted dimensions of social issues; seventhly, the United Nations, as the world embodiment of multilateralism, has a unique opportunity to be the international collective instrument for establishing a new world order based on justice and equality.

Herein lies the link between the Agenda for Peace and the hopes and aspirations of the third world for a positive role through which it would contribute to building the new world order. We believe that the establishment of this order cannot and should not be realized through imposition or coercion, but rather through a democratic process in which all peoples and States of the world would have a role and a say. This can be achieved only through this Organization: the United Nations.

In today's world, there exists a great tide towards disarmament and tangible progress towards agreement on its mechanisms and the achievement of its aims which, for long, have been sought by developed and developing nations alike. Third world States, represented by the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77, have made abundantly clear their determination to give priority

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

to disarmament issues, particularly nuclear disarmament, and the rechanneling of released resources to the areas of development and to the achievement of socio-economic progress.

Today, at this very same session, the new world is trying to take yet another step in that direction by introducing the **Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and on Their Destruction**. Egypt, which was one of the first States that participated in drafting this Convention and which called for the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones and for the elimination of weapons of mass destruction, should like to present to the General Assembly our regional view of this Convention.

First, we are in favour of moving towards chemical-weapons disarmament in the framework of an international Convention that would constitute a part of an evolving and comprehensive process of disarmament towards general and complete disarmament, particularly of weapons of mass destruction;

Secondly, we agree with the framework and content of the Convention as presented by the Conference on Disarmament;

Thirdly, however, from our regional perspective, we consider that this Convention should not be dealt with in isolation from other efforts related to other weapons of mass destruction, mainly the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the international system of safeguards and inspection, and the provision of credible international guarantees;

Fourthly, we have a declared initiative regarding the establishment of a zone free of weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East, including nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and other delivery systems. Therefore, our view of the Convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons comes within this overall framework and is an integral part of it;

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

Fifthly, Middle East Arab and non-Arab States, with the exception of one, have joined the international system of inspection or the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Thus their support for the disarmament process is evident. However, the existing exception of one State gives rise to many security concerns, particularly as we know that this exception enables one State in the Middle East to possess nuclear weapons without any international restrictions. It also enables this State, which possesses a massive arsenal of military industries, to be engaged in a process of missile development in a manner that makes it an enshrined exception in the framework of the disarmament process. This greatly negates the effectiveness of all disarmament operational instruments and threatens the whole concept of regional and even international disarmament. It also restricts the freedom of the region's States in acceding to the Convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons;

Sixthly, against this backdrop, the ministerial meeting of the **League of Arab States** conducted an in-depth discussion of this issue in mid-September. The meeting approved the following points as a basis for the Arab position towards the Convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons: full willingness to deal with all disarmament proposals that would provide security through equal obligations applicable by one standard to all the States of the region; reaffirmation of full support for the elimination of all weapons of mass destruction from the Middle East, including nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, as the best way to achieve security for all the States of the region; and willingness to deal with the Convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons and the framework of efforts aiming at the establishment of the zone to the extent that the excepted State, namely Israel, would respond

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

to international calls to accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and to subject its nuclear facilities to the international safeguards system.

That is our position towards the Convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons. It is a position of support, but within the framework of an integrated disarmament process at the regional level in order to maintain the security of the Middle East States that are threatened by the existence of nuclear weapons in their region without any international control or legal obligation.

Still dealing with the Middle East region, I should like to say that the stage through which the region is passing now is characterized by many positive elements as well as negative ones.

In connection with the Middle East problem and the Palestine question, negotiations are currently under way, bilaterally and multilaterally, within the framework of a peace process based on the land-for-peace formula, and on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), adopted in the framework of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. They clearly provide for inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war, and thus safeguard the sovereign rights and territorial integrity of all, through withdrawal from the territories occupied in 1967; and for the right of each State in the region to live in peace within its internationally guaranteed borders, thus ensuring security for all, Israel and Arab States alike.

In fact, the Government of Mr. Yitzhak Rabin has moved in the right direction, dissipating clouds of uncertainty and clearing the way for hope and

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

optimism. A basis of credibility has thus been created for the negotiations. That credibility was about to be lost indefinitely because of the actions of the previous Israeli Government and the former Prime Minister's statement that his intention was to procrastinate for 10 years.

However, it is not only the atmosphere of the negotiations that is important but also the content of those negotiations, particularly in view of the fact that the Arab parties, mainly Syria, have agreed to enter into comprehensive peace agreements with Israel, provided that the latter adheres to its obligations under the Charter, and international law as well as to the unanimous international resolutions that stipulate withdrawal to the international boundaries and the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

Egypt has set out in detail its integrated view of the components of a comprehensive peace based on the elements of security and justice in accordance with the following principles:

First, that the Arab-Israeli conflict in its entirety has four components: land, palestinian rights, security for all, and regional cooperation in the framework of peace;

Secondly, the need to implement the Security Council resolutions which represent the acceptable terms of reference for a negotiating process based on the formula of land for peace;

Thirdly, the special status of Al-Quds city does not prejudice the fact that East Jerusalem is a part of the territories occupied since mid-1967. The principles of any settlement are as applicable to it as they are to any other part of the occupied territories. Its future is not to be foreclosed nor decided upon unilaterally. Consequently, it represents an area of the peace negotiations, whether in the interim stage or in the final stage, of a Palestinian-Israeli settlement;

Fourthly, a settlement should be comprehensive for all fronts, including the Golan, Gaza and the West Bank, the Jordanian territories and South Lebanon, under Security Council resolution 425 (1978), and the behests of international legality.

Fifthly, interim arrangements in the context of the talks on full autonomy should be made without prejudice to the right of the Palestinian peoples to decide their own future and the exercise of their right to self determination;

Sixthly, the problem of the post-1948 war Palestinian refugees and the persons displaced after the 1967 war should be dealt with in conformity with resolutions based on international law and consensus based on good faith.



(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

The Egyptian view of a future Middle East within the context of new international relations, as well as the context of cultural affinity and the historical ties that bind all Arab States, together with Egypt's peaceful relations with Israel, enable Egypt to play an active role in the peace process and to provide some support for the negotiations to fulfill the legitimate demands called for under Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and the land-for-peace formula. So much for the problem of the Middle East and Palestine.

As for the Gulf region, which is part of the Middle East, we witness new tensions caused by Iran's occupation of Arab islands, the latest of which was Abu-Moussa. This is a development we can neither overlook nor ignore. We therefore call upon Iran to reconsider its position on this issue, to adhere to the principles of good- neighbourliness, to respect the norms of international law and the sovereignty of States over their territories and to restore the situation to the status quo ante. We hope that the course of relations between Iran and the Arab peoples will be one of friendship, brotherhood and cooperation. These peoples have much in common to make them more united than otherwise.

Amidst these omens for the region, we in Egypt are concerned about the fate of all segments of the the Iraqi people and all parts of its land. Therefore, while we call upon the Iraqi Government to abide by the rules and decisions of international legality, we call upon the international community to safeguard Iraq's territorial integrity and the unity of its people. In the same way, we support Kuwait's sovereignty and territorial integrity within its international borders.

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

As we discuss the major issues facing the world of today, I cannot but refer to the situation in Africa. The African continent, and particularly in the Horn of Africa, faces a range of political, economic and social problems. The situation cries out for increased attention to be paid to the continent on the part of the international community. In the meantime, the democratic changes in the continent and its States' awareness of the need for continental and regional cooperation gives us confidence that Africa has the capability to rise to the challenge. I therefore urge the international community to shoulder its responsibilities towards implementing the Second Industrial Development Decade for Africa in the 1990s in order to accelerate the transition to democracy and the economic and social development in the countries of the continent.

At the same time, progress in the process of eliminating apartheid is a positive aspect amidst such drawbacks. It should not be hampered by the attempts of racial extremists. The people of South Africa are on their way to exercising their legitimate rights. Incidents of violence or apostasy must not stop the positive evolution. Our responsibility is to support the process of dialogue and negotiations in order to restore the momentum needed for achieving a democratic non-racial society in South Africa.

Last but not least, the situation in Somalia requires more than the mere humanitarian assistance to which we all contribute. What we need is to intensify efforts to achieve national reconciliation. While we call on the international community to continue its efforts in the humanitarian field, we call upon the Somali parties to rise to the responsibility of forging sound relations between them and discarding the trival rivalries and power struggles which show a lack of national awareness.

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

By the same token, we stand firmly against aggression and in defence of respecting the sovereignty and independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina and are committed to stopping attempts at interference in its internal affairs, as well as the practices of "ethnic cleansing" committed against its people, which reflect an attitude of inherited racial bigotry, intellectual backwardness and cultural regression. The demise of Yugoslavia, though regrettable in view of its past contributions to international life, makes it incumbent upon us to work for the respect of equal rights for all its peoples and all the States that have emanated from it, as all of them, not only one, are its successors in the world order. A view that has already been adopted by the General Assembly.

These are the issues that are of concern to us in Europe, Africa and Asia.

We are at the threshold of a world which looks forward to stability, but is in a transitional period in the course of which the map of tomorrow may be redrawn. Chaos may erupt and States, ethnic groupings, and terrorists may resort to force to an attempt to halt the march of history, civilization and progress. But the collective will shall open the doors to the United Nations and, thereby, will allow us to opt for a better tomorrow of unhampered economic development and social interdependence wherein we shall protect the environment, guided by the principles and obligations of the Rio de Janeiro summit meeting; a better tomorrow of respect for human rights; a better tomorrow that all of us will participate in bringing about for the sake of the world we aspire after in the twenty-first century.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.