



President: INSANALLY
(Guyana)

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

EARTHQUAKE IN INDIA

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of all the members of the Assembly, may I extend our deepest sympathy to the Government and the people of India for the tragic loss of life and extensive material damage which have resulted from the earthquake that struck India recently. May I also express the hope that the international community will show its solidarity and respond promptly and generously to any request for help.

Mr. ANSARI (India): On behalf of the people and the Government of India, and especially of those affected by the terrible earthquake that hit south-western India on the night of 30 September, I should like to express our profound gratitude and appreciation for the very kind words of sympathy and condolence that you, Sir, expressed on behalf of this body.

The earthquake that hit the region of Sholapur, some 240 miles south-east of Bombay, has brought death and destruction to the lives of thousands of families. The estimated death-toll at the moment is over 6,000, with multitudes of others injured and rendered homeless by the devastation.

Natural disasters know no boundaries. Their wrath and fury do not make a distinction between developed and developing or between the rich and the poor. Such disasters cannot be totally avoided. However, closer cooperation

between all members of the international community on the exchange of information would mitigate the consequences of natural disasters. India, for its part, is fully committed to this task.

Your message of condolence, Sir, will bring healing, succor and hope to the grieving multitudes that have been so profoundly affected by the earthquake. It will strengthen their resolve to rebuild their lives.

ADDRESS BY MR. KIRO GLIGOROV, PRESIDENT OF THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

Mr. Kiro Gligorov, President of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, 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 Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, His Excellency Mr. Kiro Gligorov, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President GLIGOROV: At the outset, it is my pleasure to extend to you, Sir, my sincere felicitations on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session. In discharging your important duties, you can count on the support and cooperation of my delegation. Your wide experience and diplomatic skills are a valuable asset for the success of this important session of the General Assembly.

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to their homeland and for finding a satisfactory solution to their status remains within the competence of the international community. If we really wish to put an end once for all to the chapters of pain and anguish in the Middle East, then the cause of the Palestinians should be addressed in such a manner that may ensure for them a decent life commensurate with their legitimate aspirations and the aspirations of all our countries after human rights.

Fourthly, in order to achieve peace, Lebanon is willing to cooperate fully with the two co-sponsors of the peace conference, particularly the United States of America, to reach a comprehensive and just solution that would safeguard the right of all parties to permanent peace, and put an end once and for all to conflicts in the region. Towards that end, Lebanon stands ready to assume its due share of the responsibility.

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

Mr. Rafic Hariri, Prime Minister of the Republic of Lebanon, was escorted from the rostrum.

Mr. ANDREATTA (Italy): I would like to express our warmest congratulations to Guyana and to you personally, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session.

I am also pleased that in the past year the United Nations family has grown to include the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Andorra, Monaco and Eritrea. We wish to extend a special welcome to the last two in view of our long-standing historic and human ties.

Italy, deeply committed to European political and economic unity, shares the views expressed by the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs, who is the current Chairman of the European Council.

We are not simply voicing conventional wisdom if we stress the depth of the transformations that define the times in which we live. Every day brings forth new proof that the end of the cold war has brought us to a watershed. We must carefully decipher the lessons and courageously shoulder the new tasks with which this moment has presented us.

As the Secretary-General said in Milan, international law is the main instrument at our disposal; it is not merely

a regulatory instrument but the very language of the relations between States. But the social pressures we are now facing are profoundly new, generating changes that international law must begin to reflect as it translates new needs into new institutions.

If today we believe we can govern this transformation, and if we refuse to yield to the disorderly growth of a new international order, we have first and foremost the renewed vitality and prominence of the United Nations to thank.

The United Nations has evolved on the foundation of practices that are solidly inscribed in the Charter, while discovering new ways to pursue its aims. Take peace-keeping, a practice from the United Nations earliest days that has recently acquired a special role. Today peace is more likely to be threatened by the explosion of internal conflicts (though at times with transnational components) than by acts of open aggression across international borders. Peace-keeping, peace-enforcement, and humanitarian relief missions all take place in the midst of conflicts with complex political causes, and tangled ethnic and national roots. In such an environment, the traditional juxtaposition of diplomacy and military action no longer corresponds to the reality of the present, and a broad initial mandate is not sufficient concretely to define operations in the field.

The unity of military command is an unquestionable principle, without which no operation can succeed. However, the political management of an operation cannot be confined strictly to military options, especially when the real issue is not the legitimacy of the use of force (which may be clearly authorized by the Security Council's mandate), but its advisability and timing in view of the political objectives. I would add that in situations involving crowds of civilians, we must consider making it our policy always to give pride of place to the use of non-lethal anti-riot equipment. This is not only an Italian concern. Spokesmen for other countries have also stressed that countries contributing troops to United Nations peace-keeping missions need mechanisms that would exempt their troops from passively abiding by orders that may be illegal, inconsistent, or in contradiction with the aims of the operation.

The United Nations peace-keeping practices reveal an awareness of the need for adequate prior consultation of troop-contributing countries. To this end, while Article 29 of the Charter provides a general guideline for the establishment of bodies subsidiary to the Security Council, Article 44 could provide a more fitting solution to the problem. It provides for the Security Council to establish

consultative procedures with non-members of the Security Council that have been requested to contribute troops to peace-keeping and security operations. Today, even in the absence of formal agreements such as those provided for by Article 43, I believe we should extend Article 44, by analogy, to operations conducted under Chapter VII of the Charter.

In his "An Agenda for Peace", the Secretary-General defined peace-building as laying the necessary political and socio-economic foundations for a lasting peace after the phase of open conflict has ended. The reconstruction - or the establishment - of legal and economic institutions in critical areas and countries represents the main prerequisite of an enduring peace.

These premises form the basis of what Italy means to propose in order to move beyond the current situation in Somalia - a situation characterized somewhat by giving pride of place to the military aspect of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) and by the standstill in the political process. We believe that it is essential that the United Nations step up its political efforts at peacemaking by appointing a personality of great international prestige to renew the political and diplomatic initiative with all the Somali factions. At the same time, the mechanisms of the Addis Ababa Conference should be reactivated in such a way as to increase the involvement of the African nations and their institutions in the normalization of Somalia. But the predominantly political nature of our operation to restore hope in Somalia must also be translated into the progressive reconstruction of Somalia's basic economic and social structures and the reorganization of a government and its administrative structures. This requires broad development programmes, to which Italy's commitment has remained unswerving even in the most difficult moments.

Mrs. Fritsche (Liechtenstein), Vice-President, took the Chair.

Italy welcomes the renewed central role of the United Nations, and at the same time supports a reform of its institutional mechanisms.

Let us first consider the possibility of a change in the membership of the Security Council. As Italy emphasized to the Secretary-General last June, since the Security Council is moving towards a future of greater burdens and responsibilities, its representativeness and effectiveness must develop in parallel. What we suggest is that, in addition to the permanent members with veto power and the non-permanent members, a third category be established. It

would be made up of countries able to make a special contribution to achieving the objectives of the United Nations. What matters is not drawing up controversial lists, but identifying objective criteria for selection, based on economic factors, human resources, culture, and mass communications. These countries would rotate two at a time, thereby becoming semi-permanent members of the Council.

We must all recognize the renewed central role of the United Nations in international relations, but avoid interpreting this role in exclusive terms.

The regional dimension of multilateralism, which is described in Chapter VIII of the Charter, has today a great role. Take the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), which has been explicitly defined as a regional institution on the basis of the United Nations Charter. Italy is about to assume the chairmanship of the CSCE. We believe that it is being called on to play an increasing role, mainly in preventive diplomacy but also in peace-keeping and in fostering negotiated settlements. In this regional framework, we would welcome more stringent regulations on arms transfers that build on the present United Nations provisions.

If it is true that without peace there can be neither development nor satisfaction of social needs, it is also true that conflict is fed everywhere not only by the urge to subjugate the adversary violently but also by the existence of social injustice, imbalance and poverty.

The first and basic injustice is the violation of human rights. When the international community defends human rights, it is pursuing absolute and autonomous values that must be protected. At the same time, it is eradicating many of the causes of violence between groups and nations.

We hope that an agreement between the groups will finally make it possible to end the fighting in Bosnia. However, as the international community prepares to support the implementation of an agreement, we must not forget the war crimes and the crimes against humanity committed during this tragic conflict. Thus, we applaud the establishment of the International Tribunal and hope that - impartial and free from political influences - it will begin its work at the earliest possible date. Where appropriate, the Tribunal should hand down tough sentences, although I take exception to the death sentence, which Italy firmly opposes on the basis of its time-honoured juridical traditions.