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*President:* Mr. Rüdiger von WECHMAR  
(Federal Republic of Germany)

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. NZE (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): The peoples of the world are profoundly aware of the need to struggle for peace, justice and progress. On all continents they have made laudable sacrifices so as to usher in finally the era of a human society less fraught with conflict and less destructive in which anguish and fear might give way to reciprocal trust, understanding and friendship among all.

2. That awareness has been strengthened more than ever today by the increased risks of conflagration to which mankind is subjected by the unchecked arms race, which has attained a terrifying destructive force. This more and more explosive climate has, alas, been aggravated by the world economic crisis, the consequences of which are most catastrophic for the economies of the countries of the third world.

3. The North-South dialogue, a good effort to alleviate the tension between wealthy and poor countries, has so far resulted only in failure and has thus brought the world to the brink of uncertainty and despair.

4. In fact, the conditions are present for the worst to happen; but there are other rather more favourable conditions for the victory of mankind, as, for example, his determination to work for a world of peace, justice and progress.

5. You, Sir, are one of those men on whom the United Nations can count as it forges ahead. That is why the Congolese delegation welcomes your unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. Indeed, we are convinced that you will use your exceptional qualities of man of action, your intelligence and your long experience in international life in the sacred cause of peace, understanding and co-operation among the different parts of our world.

6. The People's Republic of the Congo welcomes your election, especially as it enjoys with your country, the Federal Republic of Germany, excellent relations of co-operation which were, moreover, recently strengthened and consolidated by the latest visit to the Congo of your Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs.

7. To our brother and friend, Salim Ahmed Salim, we should like to convey our profound gratitude for the quite brilliant way in which he presided over the thirty-fourth regular session and all the special sessions held this year, to the satisfaction of everyone.

8. We are loath to conclude these words of tribute without expressing our esteem and admiration for the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whose tireless efforts exerted to secure the triumph in the world of the ideals of our Charter deserve all our encouragement.

9. As the highlight of the twentieth anniversary of the adoption, in 1960, of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the independence attained in the meantime by the people of Zimbabwe, now a Member of our Organization, gives particular meaning to the role assumed by the United Nations in the course of the past few years.

10. We repeat here to the valiant people of Zimbabwe the congratulations which the Congo expressed on the occasion of its independence and we fervently hail the wisdom of its leader, Comrade Robert Daniel Mugabe. His political courage and his human abilities redound to the honor of Africa, his genius fascinates the whole world and we are convinced that he will be able not only to put those qualities at the service of peace, unity and progress within his country but also to make a contribution, along with other nations, to the building of a better world.

11. We should also like to salute the entry into the family of the United Nations of the State of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, whose people has managed to rid itself of trusteeship and colonial oppression and to recover its dignity as a free people, independent and sovereign.

12. The People's Republic of the Congo, which has experienced a long colonial period characterized by poverty, domination and repression, expresses its whole-hearted devotion to the right of all peoples, small and large, to self-determination and independence, and the need for them to live as fully sovereign people, free to make their own choices and responsible for their own future. For that reason my country is in solidarity with liberation movements and is struggling to make its own independence complete. Independence and sovereignty in fact represent the greatest good to which all peoples profoundly aspire.

13. Lack of respect for or violation of those principles is a source of instability and international tension. It is not enough to recognize that some principles are just; it is necessary also to struggle for compliance with them. And as Comrade Denis Sassou-Nguesso said: "The international solidarity of all those who are oppressed throughout the world is the guarantee of final victory".
14. My country practises an outgoing policy *vis-à-vis* all countries and co-operates with all those that so desire on a basis of equality, mutual respect and reciprocal advantage.
15. My country enjoys relations of good neighbourliness, kinship and active co-operation with quite a number of African countries. Within the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and the non-aligned movement it has helped to establish a climate of peace in the world on the basis of the principle of peaceful settlement of disputes.
16. Our purpose is to build in the Congo a more just society, free from all exploitation of man by man. As a socialist society, united with the socialist community and in concert with other peace-loving and justice-loving peoples, the Congo wishes to contribute to the achievement of a new world free from war and tension.
17. Unfortunately, we must perforce note that the situation prevailing in Africa is not one of peace, concord and harmony. The African continent has, of course, struggled for years, and indeed heroically, for its liberation, and the results obtained by that struggle are plain to see. The international community recognizes with satisfaction the dynamism shown by that continent and its organization, the OAU, in their positive contribution to the process of peace and détente.
18. But so many major steps remain to be taken, so much more remains to be done, so many sacrifices must be made before our continent is completely free!
19. We note with bitterness and stupefaction that, while the African continent is gradually achieving freedom, there is an attempt once more to divide it into zones of influence and to protect those zones of influence by the establishment of impressively equipped military bases of a most threatening kind. These bases threaten the peace of the entire continent, particularly the neighbouring countries which allow them to be established on their soil.
20. **We do not want any military bases in Africa. We urge the African countries facing problems among themselves to seek peaceful solutions through negotiations instead of military force and the establishment of foreign bases on our continent. Africa must really be a zone of peace, where the essential resources should be devoted to economic development and to the progress of the working masses.**
21. In order to do so we have to make sure that on our continent principles as dear to us as non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, territorial integrity and the inviolability of the borders of each State should be respected. Above all, force should not be used as a means of settling conflicts.
22. Since Zimbabwe acceded to independence, the racist Government of South Africa has stepped up its acts of violence and has intensified its savage oppression within the colonized territory of Namibia. It has hurled itself with uncontrollable fury against the neighbouring independent States.
23. Its actions cannot cause the people of Namibia, which has long been aware of its destiny and has organized itself under the direction of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] and its leader, Comrade Sam Nujoma, to lose courage; nor can they discourage peace-loving and freedom-loving peoples that support this just struggle. South Africa's obduracy with regard to the exhortations of the international community, and its attempts to intimidate, rather give rise to a stronger commitment and more decisive action by all.
24. South Africa is resorting to delaying tactics to bring about the failure of the efforts of the international community directed towards a negotiated solution of this serious problem.
25. The investments of the multinational corporations in the mining activities in Namibia have increased markedly during this decade. The facilities provided to those corporations to repatriate their high profits strengthen the Western economic presence in Namibia, constitute a serious obstacle to the independence of that country and give encouragement to South Africa.
26. As far as we are concerned, acceptance of the idea of creating a demilitarized zone along the Namibian border with Angola and Zambia should be followed by the effective implementation of the settlement plan of the United Nations, as a process whereby Namibia could achieve independence. We firmly believe in such a development. It can no longer be delayed nor can it be sidestepped. The United Nations plan is best because it is negotiated and controlled by the international community.
27. Everybody should be convinced of the rightness of this plan and of its imminence. For South Africa there is no alternative but to respect the will of the Namibian people to become independent. The people of the Congo express solidarity with the heroic people of Namibia in the sacrifices made in the struggle it has waged under the wise guidance of SWAPO, its sole authentic representative, to recover its independence and sovereignty.
28. **With regard to the racist régime of Pretoria, the international community is in duty bound, today more than ever, to ensure that the sanctions envisaged by the relevant United Nations resolutions are implemented against that régime, including those advocated under Chapter VII of the Charter.**
29. We should not be duped by the soothing words of those who wish us to believe that a few homilies on tolerance are enough to do away with the regrettable practice of *apartheid*. What is involved is quite different. It is not merely a matter of stopping that régime from continuing its killings and its process of dehumanizing a people on racial grounds. That régime must also be prevented from becoming a per-

manent disruptive element in the region and throughout the world.

30. At this time, we should like to reiterate our support for the People's Republic of Angola and the other front-line States in view of their courage in the face of the uninterrupted acts of aggression to which they have been subjected by the shameful and iniquitous régime of South Africa.

31. Pretoria could not persist in these barbaric acts without the more or less passive complicity of those industrialized countries that support it economically and politically. Their refusal to implement the sanctions prescribed by the Organization speaks volumes. The process of decolonization of the African continent must be completed.

32. With regard to Western Sahara, there is a problem of decolonization. The denial of the right to existence of an entire people seems to us to be anachronistic and an outrageous challenge to the principles of the Charter.

33. In taking up arms to fight the Moroccan colonizer and proclaiming the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic, this people has demonstrated its desire to be free and independent. The People's Republic of the Congo pays a tribute to the courage of the Sahraoui people, supports it in its just struggle and is committed to continue that support until final and complete victory is won.

34. We should like to congratulate the Mauritanian Government, which withdrew from the conflict, on its courageous and lucid attitude with regard to the problem of Western Sahara.

35. The recognition of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic by a growing number of States—26 out of 50 in Africa—is additional proof, if needed, of the reality and justice of the struggle of the Sahraoui people. In our opinion, this is a sufficient factor to determine the attitude of the international community with regard to this problem, in conformity with the conclusions of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the OAU at the seventeenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held at Freetown from 1 to 4 July 1980, which reiterated the need to implement the process of self-determination [A/35/463 and Corr.1, annex II, AHG/DEC.118 (XVII)].

36. With regard to Chad, a tremendous tragedy is taking place in that vast and beautiful African land. A civil war is being waged there, and it is our impression that the tragedy has reached its climax, since it now seems to be out of control.

37. However, the Lagos agreement regarding the national reconciliation of Chad, concluded on 21 August 1979 under the aegis of the OAU, among 11 trends assembled for the first time and in the presence of 10 African groups, gave birth to a real and legitimate hope that finally peace and harmony would reign among the people of that country.

38. That agreement envisaged *inter alia*: a cease-fire, the establishment of a transitional government of national unity, the demilitarization of N'Djaména and the main cities, the liberation of political detainees and prisoners of war, the establishment of an integrated army, the creation of

a neutral inter-African force responsible for maintaining peace and a return to democratic life.

39. Implementation of that agreement began with the formation of a government and the establishment of only part of the contingent, made up solely of Congolese. Unfortunately, the resumption of hostilities dashed the hopes placed in the Lagos agreements, and the contingent was obliged to withdraw so as not to be involved in the conflicting trends. Bearing that situation in mind, recourse to financial or other means, as suggested within the OAU or elsewhere, cannot in and of itself constitute the solution to that tragedy. First of all, the people and leaders of Chad must demonstrate the necessary courage and political will to establish genuine peace and tranquillity in their country; then the OAU and the African countries must show a real desire, without ulterior motives, to assist the people of Chad in emerging from this nightmare. Finally, the international community should express its will to contribute to the peaceful settlement of the problem without seeking to interfere in Chad's affairs, in strict conformity with the sovereignty of the people of Chad.

40. In our opinion, the OAU and the African countries still have sufficient political, diplomatic and material resources to achieve the objectives set by the Lagos agreement. We must make sure that, before having recourse to the United Nations, all African initiatives taken so far have run their course. That is why the Congo abides by the Lagos agreements the validity of which was reaffirmed at the seventeenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of States and Government of the OAU, held at Freetown in July last. For us, legitimacy in Chad resides in respect for these agreements. The Government resulting from the implementation of these agreements is the sole authority in Chad, and any other attitude can only lead to more confusion.

41. We consider the situation in Afghanistan to be an internal matter concerning, first and foremost, the people of Afghanistan themselves: a people may decide to change its country's internal situation and to carry out a revolution. In this respect, the Afghan people cannot be blamed at all. The people of Congo reiterates its solidarity with the Afghan people and expresses support for its revolution. It was a sovereign act, and we are opposed to any attempt to invalidate that fact so as to feed international tension. Indeed, the General Assembly's right to discuss questions falling within the purview of international relations should not include any intervention in a field which falls essentially within national competence. For our part, we support the struggle of the Afghan people for its independence, for justice and progress and we are against sacrificing a people's interests to a thirst for domination. The debate on Afghanistan would be distorted if it failed to take account of the real facts of the internal situation.

42. Our wish is that the countries of that subregion may surmount their differences so as to act in concert and thus create a climate of understanding indispensable to all. That is also our attitude regarding the situation in South-East Asia: we indeed applaud the efforts being made by the Governments of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Viet Nam and Laos to establish relations of good neighbourliness and thus promote peace throughout the region. The peoples of Kampuchea, Viet Nam and all other countries of the region, after so many years of wars and destruction, need

international solidarity and an environment of peace to devote themselves to the task of national reconstruction. It is regrettable to note that, at a time when the internal situation in Kampuchea is improving and economic and social life is starting to be organized after a painful period of devastation and genocide, that country is not represented in this hall by those who really hold effective power there.

43. We cannot fail to express our solidarity with the people of South Korea and to say how encouraged we are by the popular struggle going on there. It is the struggle of a people against dictatorship and oppression, and for a happier, more harmonious life to which it is only just to aspire. We support the proposals for a peaceful reunification of the two Koreas.

44. There are situations in which recent history should convince us that solutions should be found that are satisfactory to all. Such is the case in the Middle East. The failure of the Camp David agreements reasonably confirms the correctness of our position: those agreements, which deliberately becloud the essential issue—the existence of the Palestinian people—cannot be viable, effective or lasting. Once more, there can be no guaranteed peace in the region without the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] in any process dealing with the fate of the Palestinian people. The idea of the resumption of negotiations should be dominated by that decisive factor. Otherwise, no possible solution to that problem can be positive or effective.

45. The United Nations has just held its eleventh special session devoted to the new International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade and to international co-operation. In other words, once again we have discussed the establishment of the new international economic order. We must face disappointment, unfortunately, because the Third United Nations Development Decade will be very much like the previous ones, the failure of which is well known to all Members of our Organization. The rich countries would still have us believe that the origin of the entire present crisis resides in the insurmountable energy crisis. We should not be misled by that. The current economic crisis cannot be overcome without the necessary structural changes, in which the most realistic approach is that advocated by the Group of 77 in the global negotiations.<sup>1</sup>

46. Hence the current deadlock in the North-South dialogue will not be broken unless due account is taken of the discernible need for change in the balance of trade relations, the monetary and financial disorder and the disarray in the raw materials market. The United Nations must absolutely be granted the competence and necessary political authority to achieve success in the negotiations. Regional organizations also can provide necessary support for the formulation of specific data concerning the various parts of the world. Regarding the African continent, the Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa<sup>2</sup> represents for Africans the basis of their plans for endogenous and self-sustaining

development. For Africa, outside of the conventional circuits, it is a question of a new approach in its dealings with the surrounding world. By that, Africans mean taking their destiny into their own hands and thus contributing to the establishment of a new international economic order acceptable to all.

47. Finally, the disastrous economic situation has been complicated by the increased tension in the field of international security, which is evermore rife. The cold war is worse now than ever; the arms race more frenetic than ever, blithely swallowing up, according to official estimates, the astronomical sum of \$1 million a minute. This is even more disquieting, given the outbreak of new and serious scattered conflicts, with the constant threat of fearsome foreign intervention. It is time we followed up the recommendations of the tenth special session, devoted to disarmament [see resolution S-10/2], and that the great Powers resolutely committed themselves to proceed to general and complete disarmament under international control, beginning with nuclear disarmament. We wish to reiterate here our support for the principle of declaring the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, free of all threats, in order to guarantee the security of that nerve-centre of the world.

48. This survey of the state of the world may well induce pessimism. Colonialism, imperialism, *apartheid* and all other forms of domination and exploitation of peoples considerably delay the advent of a world based on justice, freedom, peace and progress.

49. Poverty, misery and underdevelopment should not be natural phenomena to which the majority of mankind must become accustomed for an indefinite period.

50. General and complete disarmament would make it possible to free the necessary resources and energies for social and economic development. It is imperative and urgent to halt the arms race and to put an end to the tension resulting from it in order to accelerate the establishment of a new world economic order.

51. By trusting the goodwill of peoples and cultivating solidarity in the face of present difficulties, mankind can triumph. Thus, once more, my country reaffirms its faith in the United Nations and its Charter, which remains the perfect instrument through which we can overcome existing contradictions and bring about a world free from violence and conflicts, which are useless to mankind.

52. Mr. SHAMIR (Israel): Mr. President, at the outset I should like to express to you our congratulations on your election to the high office of President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. Your vast experience and the outstanding qualities that you have exhibited in the realm of multilateral diplomacy ensure your ability to keep a firm grasp on the helm of the Assembly during this stormy period.

53. At the opening of this session a new State joined the ranks of the United Nations: Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. On behalf of the Government and people of Israel, I should like to welcome it to the Organization and wish it all prosperity and success as an independent and sovereign State.

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Eleventh Special Session, Annexes*, agenda item 7, document A/S-11/25, para. 16.

<sup>2</sup> See document A/S-11/14, annex I.

54. To my very great regret, it is not possible to express satisfaction at the condition of the United Nations today, either in general or from the specific perspective of my country. Indeed, it is questionable whether there remains much similarity or correlation between the noble ideals, principles and purposes which guided the founding fathers of the United Nations and the reality prevailing in the Organization today. The founders of this Organization saw in their vision a forum and a framework for the achievement and maintenance of peace between nations after the horrific experience of the Second World War, a horror which they had experienced at first hand.

55. Perhaps the most cynical expression of the gap between the original vision and the reality prevailing in the United Nations today has been the refusal of this Organization, ostensibly dedicated to the peaceful settlement of disputes, to adopt and encourage the Camp David accords<sup>3</sup> and the subsequent Peace Treaty,<sup>4</sup> which brought to an end decades of hostilities between Israel and Egypt and raised the possibility of expanding the peace process to embrace all of Israel's neighbours. This Organization, whose principal purpose is the promotion of peace among nations, has thus betrayed its own *raison d'être* by rejecting an historic step towards peace and by playing into the hands of the enemies of peace, the rejectionists and the warmongers.

56. This unhappy phenomenon is not confined to the General Assembly. Out of the 18 debates which have been conducted thus far during 1980 in the Security Council, nine were devoted to subjects involving my country. Is there anyone who seriously believes that half of the world's international problems today are connected with Israel? We need only glance at a map of our region, the Middle East—which is just one region of the world—to see that it is riddled from length to breadth with countless conflicts between States, between ethnic minorities and between different religious groups. Virtually all those conflicts have a history and a dynamic of their own, totally divorced from the Arab-Israeli conflict.

57. By way of illustration, I need only mention the situation in Afghanistan and, of course, the full-scale war between Iran and Iraq—a worrying outbreak of hostilities which has wide-ranging implications. That war between two States ruled by extremist, irresponsible and trigger-happy régimes threatens both regional and international security by putting at risk much of the world's regular supply of oil. That war, a struggle between two Moslem States, demolishes, in our opinion, the naive and groundless belief that the world's oil supply is dependent on a pro-Arab solution to the dispute between Israel and its neighbours. It has become all too clear that the solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict will not provide any miracle cure for the region as a whole or eliminate the many other grave conflicts raging in it. The ability of the United Nations to work for an end to the bloodshed in Iraq and Iran will be a yardstick of the Organization's ability to continue to fulfil its role for the encouragement and maintenance of peace.

<sup>3</sup> A Framework for Peace in the Middle East, Agreed at Camp David, and Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, signed at Washington on 17 September 1978.

<sup>4</sup> Treaty of Peace between the Arab Republic of Egypt and the State of Israel, signed at Washington on 26 March 1979.

58. Important tasks have been allotted to the United Nations. Besides its role in the preservation of international peace and security, it also has a vital role to play in other spheres which require our earnest attention, in particular through the specialized agencies established for various purposes. But even the specialized agencies have been gravely compromised by the plague of politicization. Business-like debates and deliberations in them have become increasingly difficult—if not all but impossible to conduct—to the grave detriment not only of the agencies themselves but also of those whom they were set up to serve.

59. While I am bound to express deep regret at the condition of the United Nations today, I must also express the hope that all Members of the Organization which share our concern and feelings of responsibility for its future will intensify their efforts both to bring the United Nations back to the ideals of its founders and to channel the specialized agencies back to their specific areas of concern.

60. Among the subjects which have rightly been given a prominent place in the agenda of the United Nations are the state of the world's economy and the relations between the industrialized and the developing nations. The convening of the recent eleventh special session of the General Assembly attests to this fact. Israel took part in that special session with the intention of making a constructive contribution to its work. We therefore share the disappointment over the results of that event, which were not adequate. We sincerely hope that in the near future the efforts to have a constructive dialogue rather than confrontation will be resumed, so that those whose needs are greatest will not suffer the most.

61. Despite our small size and limited resources, we have for decades devoted far greater efforts than might have been expected to assisting nations of the third world in the development of their economies and societies. Israel has shared freely the know-how which it has developed, as well as its experience as a small State in an arid and subtropical region, which has enabled us to make great strides over a period of a few short years.

62. The problems encountered by Israel in the course of its social and economic development are similar to the problems facing much of the developing world today. Many of the solutions worked out in Israel can be applied directly by others. Despite the disappointments which my country has experienced, Israel continues to have deep sympathy for the struggle of the developing countries to ameliorate and advance the condition of their peoples and economies. Israel stands ready to continue to give of its know-how and to take a vigorous and constructive part in the efforts of the international community in the spheres of health, social services, agriculture, development of new and renewable sources of energy, and in every other sphere to which we can contribute.

63. From this rostrum I should like to give expression to the anguish of our Jewish brothers in various parts of the globe. There is, it would seem, no end to the pain of the Jew in history. The suffering and persecution continue even today. And we, the people of Israel, feel responsible for the lot of every Jew who suffers anywhere.

64. In the last year additional harsh limitations have been imposed on Jews who seek to leave the Soviet Union and emigrate to the State of Israel. Those restrictions conflict with the most basic human and national rights of peoples, and we are in duty bound to echo the cries of the Jews in the Soviet Union and appeal to the Government of that country to remove the restrictions and facilitate the immigration of Jews to Israel.

65. We must also express anxiety over the condition of the tortured Jewish community in Syria, whose human rights are severely curtailed, and many of whom have been imprisoned and have had their property impounded. I would thus also appeal to the Government of Syria to respect the basic human rights of its Jewish community, which it holds as hostages and which it prevents from leaving.

66. The Jews of Iran have suffered painfully in recent months, and their situation is deteriorating from day to day. Many Jews have been thrown in gaol; others have been given the death sentence, in most cases on "charges" of contact with Israel. We know of the difficulties in dealing with the present régime in Iran, to which fundamental concepts of human rights and the norms of international relations seem foreign. But we hope that sight will not be lost of the situation of the Jews there who are perhaps among the most vulnerable of the minorities in that troubled land.

67. Two years ago a development took place in the Middle East—a breakthrough which can appropriately be called historic. After serious negotiations between the parties, with the active and important participation of the United States, the Camp David framework and the subsequent Israeli-Egyptian Peace Treaty were signed by the leaders of the two countries and witnessed by the President of the United States. Israel made major concessions and took considerable risks by signing those agreements. Let me cite only our wish for the evacuation of the oilfields in Sinai, for there is no need for me to waste words on the significance and implications of that step in this day and age. Similarly I need only point to the strategic depth in Sinai which Israel has relinquished, as well as to the advanced air bases located in Sinai, the evacuation of which will be implemented in due course in accordance with the terms of the Peace Treaty.

68. Israel believed that its concessions and sacrifices would be met with appreciation and understanding by the world community and that a long-awaited breakthrough would be achieved on the international scene. Not only has that not come about, but many countries in the world have spared no effort to destroy that hard-won peace, and Israel continues to be the object of unending accusations and attacks.

69. Nevertheless, the decision and determination of Israel remain firm to continue on the road to peace. Thus, in accordance with the Camp David framework, negotiations have taken place for the attainment of full autonomy for the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza District.

70. Substantial progress has been achieved in these talks in certain fields, but the talks have, it is true, had their ups and downs and have even been suspended a number of times by Egypt. There is nothing exceptional or extraordinary about

the difficulties encountered thus far in the progress of the talks. They reflect the complexities inherent in the subjects under discussion. The difficulties are familiar to any country which, at one time or another, has been engaged in complex negotiations involving multifaceted and long-standing problems.

71. One area in which progress has been achieved in the negotiations is the modalities of the free elections to be held in the territories concerned. These procedures would make the proposed autonomy into one of the few—all too few—examples of free democratic process in the Middle East. Progress has also been achieved in the area of powers and responsibilities of the autonomy covering many aspects of the everyday life of the inhabitants of the territories in question.

72. We certainly believe that autonomy can and must be established. All the parties to the Camp David framework are convinced that the process set out in that framework is the only one which is within the realm of the possible. All alternative suggestions for the solution of the problem at hand—ideas such as the holding of an international conference or the like—are devoid of real prospect or purpose. No one can really believe that the various elements in the Middle East which are so much at odds with each other would attend a peace conference and achieve a positive outcome that would lead to a solution acceptable to all. Thus too the ideas entertained by the European Community, which do not take Israel's position into account, are only likely to encourage those who are opposed to peace.

73. Those who genuinely seek peace should encourage the progress which has been achieved through the Camp David process. Let them also bear in mind and give due regard to the fact that, by proposing the idea of autonomy in Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza District, Israel has taken on itself great risks for the sake of peace.

74. We hope that the autonomy talks will be resumed in the near future. We also hope that the process of normalization of relations between Israel and Egypt will be intensified and will serve as the best possible proof and a living symbol of the fact that peace can and must take the place of war. The full significance of these peaceful relations should be grasped for what they are—and for what they may lead to—as the very corner-stone for peace in the region.

75. The leaders of Israel and Egypt have reiterated time and again their mutual commitment to the proposition that there will be no more war. Let us hope that the change which has come about in the Middle East with the signing of peace will be the opening for a positive and long-lasting transformation in the history of our conflict-ridden area. The strict adherence to the agreements by Israel, in accordance with their letter and spirit alike, is a guarantee of the continuation of the peace process. However, by itself it is not enough. We hope that all the others involved will act in the same way.

76. Much has been alleged against Israel in the name of the principle of self-determination for nations. We favour

that concept, and we have proved that in the support that we extended to many States which have achieved their independence in our generation, in Africa, Asia and elsewhere. The Governments of those States and their peoples know that full well. But there is no connection between that principle and the perverted attempt to turn self-determination into the basis for the destruction of the State of Israel, as certain States are endeavouring to do. Anyone who is familiar with the ideology and the terminology of the murder organization that calls itself the PLO, as well as with the declarations of the various Arab rejectionist States, can see beyond all doubt that the term "self-determination", as they use it, is nothing more than a euphemism for the destruction of Israel.

77. It should not be forgotten that the Palestinian Arabs have achieved their self-determination in Jordan, a State which is the Arab State in Palestine, by virtue of its history, territory, population, culture and all aspects of its national life. The establishment of a second Palestinian Arab State by distorting the principle of self-determination means the creation of an extremist and hostile base opposed to the very existence of Israel. Hence we will not agree to a distorted form of self-determination, which in reality implies self-destruction for our ancient nation deeply rooted in its own land.

78. The programme of autonomy which we have proposed for the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza District, as accepted in principle in the Camp David frameworks, is the first practical proposal to be advanced to provide a dignified solution for the needs of the Arab population of those areas. It comes in place of all the empty declarations with which the Palestinian Arabs concerned have deluded themselves and have been deluded by other States and organizations over the years.

79. One of the most vivid expressions of the rejection of all peace proposals by the Arab rejectionist States is to be seen in their unprecedented military build-up and in the armaments which they have received in recent years from the Soviet bloc or purchased from the United States and Western Europe. In the course of the last three years, orders for arms purchases by the larger Arab States have reached astronomic sums. The quantities of arms that were actually supplied have been equally staggering. There is no precedent for the amassing of arms on this scale in our region. Those arms are designated first and foremost for use against Israel. **But the implications of that vast array of armaments are not confined to my country alone. It also serves to inject war into the area at large.**

80. We call upon the United Nations to take due note of the military build-up by the Arab rejectionist States and to urge them to decrease their armament. For our part, we are prepared to lend a hand in any joint effort to bring about the limitation of arms in our region, which is poised on top of a volcano.

81. I should like to address myself to another crucial aspect of disarmament. Israel has consistently supported resolutions of the General Assembly aimed at preventing the spread of nuclear weapons. This global problem, we believe, can best be solved by means of negotiated regional

arrangements. Hence, since 1975, Israel has consistently advocated the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East on the Tlatelolco model.<sup>5</sup> Israel believes that an international conference of all the States in the region and adjacent to our region should be held, leading to the conclusion of a formal, contractual, multilateral convention among all States of the region.

82. We hope that in the course of this General Assembly, we shall find a suitable opportunity to give concrete expression to our views on this matter. In the meantime, I should like to reiterate my Government's position, which is that Israel will not be the first to introduce nuclear weapons into the Arab-Israeli dispute.

83. In the last months, Jerusalem has been the object of attacks on Israel in various international forums. There has been much hypocrisy and cynicism in those attacks. For, truth to tell, never has the situation of the various religions represented in Jerusalem been better than that prevailing since the unification of the city by Israel in 1967. For 19 years, between 1948 and 1967, the eastern part of the city was under Jordanian occupation and barbed wire divided it in two. Places holy to the Jews were maliciously desecrated. Ancient synagogues and cemeteries were destroyed in a barbaric manner, and Jews were denied access to the Holy Places which are the spiritual life-blood of the Jewish people. It is not out of place to remark that the Moslem Arab citizens of Israel were also denied access to their Holy Places during that ignoble period. And where, I am bound to ask, was the voice of this Organization during that period? Not once was it raised in condemnation of those illegal acts.

84. On the other hand, since 1967, all—irrespective of religion and nationality—have been accorded free access to the city of Jerusalem and the possibility of worshipping at the Holy Places and shrines revered by them. Israel has assured the free and unfettered observance of the religious rites of all members of all faiths, who also administer their religious lives and their Holy Places without any outside interference. That is the truth well known to everyone who lives in Jerusalem and to everyone who has visited the city. There is no substance or basis to any claim to the contrary.

85. There is no need for me to dwell at length on the bond between the Jewish people and Jerusalem. The Jewish people is the only people which has made Jerusalem its capital since it appeared as a nation on the stage of human history. **Throughout the many years of exile inflicted on it, the Jewish people prayed three times a day, every day, for its restoration to Jerusalem.**

86. For the last 150 years there has been a Jewish majority in Jerusalem. Whoever seeks to sever Jerusalem from Israel seeks to decapitate the Jewish people. We hope that nations that seek peace and know the reality which prevails in Jerusalem today will respect the city as the sovereign capital of Israel, a city which will not be divided again, in the same way as Israel respects the Holy Places of all religions and their freedoms in the city.

<sup>5</sup> Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco), United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, No. 9068, p. 326.

87. I wish to conclude with a call in the spirit of the Prophets of Israel, who were a light and an inspiration for much of mankind. My call is for peace—peace which is at the very basis of the existence of the United Nations.

88. We in Israel yearn for peace. We have done so since the first day of the restoration of our national sovereignty—in our Declaration of Independence, which was issued on the very day that the State of Israel was founded in 1948. In that Declaration, “we extend the hand of peace and good neighbourliness to all the States around us and all their peoples”. We have taken far-reaching steps and have made huge sacrifices for the sake of peace. But peace with Israel does not mean peace without Israel, or peace at its expense. Nor does it mean peace with a weak Israel deprived of its capital and with its wings clipped from the security and geostrategic viewpoints. With such an Israel peace will not be attained, because a weak Israel will be an object of unceasing attacks and destructive designs.

89. I wish to call upon the Arab States which are our neighbours, and also upon the Palestinian Arabs living in Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza District, to follow the dictates of reason and to join the peace process. I wish to call upon the other nations of the world to support this course and to prevail upon the Arab States to adopt it. The world at large, and not merely our region alone, will benefit from this.

90. Mr. HUQ (Bangladesh): The members of the Bangladesh delegation value the opportunity to participate in the deliberations of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly and extend the warm greetings of the Government and people of Bangladesh.

91. Bangladesh welcomes the admission of Zimbabwe and of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines as new Members of the United Nations family. We have no doubt that their membership will be a source of added strength for the United Nations. In this connection, we recall with pleasure the active association of Bangladesh with the initiative of the Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries at the Lusaka meeting, held in August 1979,<sup>6</sup> which eventually led to the peaceful transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people of Zimbabwe.

92. The Bangladesh delegation congratulates you most warmly, Sir, on your election to the presidency of this august body and wishes you all success in the discharge of the duties attached to your high office. We would also like to record our sincere appreciation for the dedication and efficiency with which your predecessor, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, performed his responsibilities as President.

93. We wish also to compliment Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General, for his relentless efforts in carrying forward the objectives of the United Nations and for the courage, patience and skill that he demonstrated in dealing with some of the most serious threats to international peace and security during the past year.

94. Bangladesh deeply mourns the passing of President Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia. By his death, not only Yugoslavia but the world as a whole has lost an outstanding leader and statesman dedicated to the cause of peace, freedom and justice. The non-aligned movement has indeed suffered an irreparable loss. As one of its founding members, he had nurtured and steered the movement to its emergence as a great political force. During the many critical periods in the growth of the movement, he proved to be a tower of strength and inspiration.

95. We view with great concern the progressive deterioration in the political and economic situation of the world. The Middle East crisis has been aggravated by Israel's continuing defiance of the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations, and more so by its latest illegal action in declaring Jerusalem its “eternal and undivided” capital. This is an affront to the sentiments of 2 billion Muslims and Christians, and a gross violation of international law and the Geneva Convention. The Middle East, one of the most sensitive areas of the world, has become more explosive than ever before. An imperative condition for defusing the highly volatile situation and establishing enduring peace in this region is the immediate withdrawal of Israel from all illegally occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and the restoration to the Palestinians of their inalienable national rights, including their right to a State of their own in their homeland. We are also deeply concerned over the new threat to peace and security in the region as a result of the escalation of the armed conflict between Iran and Iraq. We sincerely hope that the leaders of the two countries will heed the appeals addressed to them, including one from President Ziaur Rahman of Bangladesh, to end this fratricidal conflict and agree to an immediate cessation of hostilities pending a just and honorable settlement of the dispute through peaceful negotiations, as urged upon them by the Security Council last night.

96. It is extremely disquieting that the crises in Afghanistan and Kampuchea remain unresolved. Committed as it is to the Charter of the United Nations and to the principles of non-alignment, Bangladesh stands for scrupulous respect for the sovereign equality and the territorial integrity of all nations and for non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations. Bangladesh, therefore, is firmly of the view that the solution of these problems lies in the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops and in the creation of conditions to enable the people of these countries to have a Government of their own choice without any external intervention, military or otherwise.

97. Bangladesh is opposed to all forms of colonialism, racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid* and is fully committed to supporting all efforts for their total elimination. Bangladesh, as in the past, also expresses its complete solidarity with the people of Namibia in its heroic struggle for freedom and recognizes SWAPO as the legitimate representative of the people of Namibia.

98. Bangladesh views peace and stability within a region as of paramount importance. It has been the constant endeavour of Bangladesh to develop friendly relations and to promote co-operation with all its neighbours. It is against this

<sup>6</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1979, document S/13518.

*Ibid.*, Thirty-fifth Year, 2248th meeting.



backdrop of the foreign policy of Bangladesh that the proposal of the President of Bangladesh for the creation of a South Asian forum for periodical consultations on matters of mutual interest and possible co-operation in economic, cultural and other fields was mooted. The response to this proposal has been extremely encouraging and we believe that such a forum would significantly contribute to peace, stability and harmonious co-operation within our region.

99. The unresolved political crises and the widening areas of tension and conflict which pose a threat to peace and security are not isolated or unrelated phenomena. It is tragic that they are located in the regions of the third world where the majority of countries gained their independence only recently. They indicate a renewed trend in power rivalry and expansionism. This is, indeed, a disturbing development, marking a shift from respect for the rule of law to the use of force in international relations, with an inevitable escalation of the arms race no longer confined to the great Powers.

100. The world economic scene is equally disquieting. Both the developing and the developed countries are engaged in a grim battle. The developing countries are battling against the problems of poverty, hunger, disease and illiteracy and the industrialized countries against those of inflation, recession and unemployment. However, the least developed countries have been hardest hit by the present economic crisis and are involved in a desperate struggle for their very survival.

101. The deteriorating economic and political situation is also accompanied by a decline in human and moral values. The deaths of millions due to starvation and malnutrition do not seem to shock their fellow human beings. Four fifths of the world's income is commanded by a fifth of its population. Tragically enough, much of it is used either in supporting a life-style based on wasteful consumption or on such unproductive purposes as the manufacture of new and more deadly weapons of destruction. I would not like to sound like a prophet of doom, but if the world is allowed to drift and the political and economic crises become increasingly aggravated, the consequences cannot but be most dreadful.

102. The political, economic and moral crises facing the world of today are all interlinked and essentially form part of a larger crisis, embracing the totality of attitudes, habits, values and institutions inherited by us. The causes of these crises are embedded in the very structure of a world order utterly unsuited to the needs of a changed world society. **We live in a new world and a new era, but still remain shackled to the habits, attitudes and institutions of a bygone age. We are members of an interdependent international community transformed by advances in science and technology and the resurgence of the nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Our problem is essentially one of adjusting ourselves at the individual and national levels to the new realities, new goals, new values and new concepts of a social, political and economic order.**

103. The emergence of the new independent sovereign States constituting the overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations is one of the new realities. The military might and economic strength of the industrial nations are also a reality. But the old notion that a nation can ensure its political and economic security by increasing

its military might is an illusion and an anachronism. It is inconsistent with the commitment of these nations to the principles of the United Nations Charter to abjure the use of force and to respect the sovereignty of other nations. The race for military supremacy is clearly based on the preposterous concept that the greater is your power to destroy, the more secure you are. But the escalation of the arms race has, ironically enough, created a situation in which none of these great Powers can destroy the other without destroying itself. It is abundantly clear that the growing arsenal of deadly weapons does not ensure security but endangers it, while the mounting expenditure on arms which has already crossed the \$500 billion mark poses an increasing threat to the economic security of the world through escalating inflation, recession and unemployment.

104. The contemporary world has clearly reached a new watershed and is moving gradually but inexorably towards a new balance in the power configuration by replacing bipolarity with multipolarity and towards a new concept of peace which replaces isolation with interdependence and confrontation with co-operation. The problems facing mankind on the economic, political and moral fronts highlight the futility of national policies based on a parochial and isolationist approach. Mankind has the resources and technology to deal effectively with these problems. As a matter of fact, the technical and financial resources of the world today are far greater than ever before. An enormous productivity potential remains undeveloped. What is needed, therefore, is a renewed commitment to the philosophy of an indivisible and interdependent world and a global strategy for the application and management of world resources in harnessing and developing the productivity potential of the world on a global basis.

105. It is more evident than ever before that the problems plaguing both the developing and the industrialized countries are intertwined, that these problems cannot be resolved in isolation or through confrontation. But they can be resolved through co-operation, a better perception of mutual needs, a more rational application of world resources to generate more productivity, more income, and a wider market with more goods and services to go round, curbing inflation and creating more employment. A reality that must be recognized is that the world cannot permanently be divided into segments of rich and poor, just as political and economic security cannot be divided on a regional basis. It should also be recognized that **all benefit from peace and stability and a more rational use and distribution of the world's finite resources.**

106. The problems are clearly global in character and call for a global approach and strategy. Given such a global approach based on mutuality of interests and complementarity of efforts, mankind can be rid of the problems of hunger, disease and illiteracy that plague two thirds of the world population and those of inflation, recession and unemployment that bedevil the industrial nations.

107. In sum, in order to ensure the political and economic security of mankind on a global basis, the following measures are imperative.

108. First, all Member States of the United Nations, including the industrial nations, should honour their com-

mitment to the principles and objectives of the United Nations Charter.

109. Secondly, they should renounce the use of force in the settlement of disputes and co-operate in establishing and enforcing the rule of law in international relations.

110. Thirdly, they should implement their commitment to the goal of disarmament.

111. Fourthly, the great Powers themselves should set an example in checking nuclear proliferation by refraining from production of new nuclear weapons and by gradual reduction of their existing stock of such weapons.

112. Fifthly, they should follow the policy of creating zones of peace—for example, in the Indian Ocean, South Asia, South-East Asia, Africa and Latin America.

113. Sixthly, they should adopt and implement an international development strategy through a more rational use and distribution of world resources and technology for full exploitation of the productivity potential in all parts of the world.

114. Seventhly, they should build up a food security system to ensure the supply of food from food-surplus regions to food-deficit ones, in order to prevent starvation and malnutrition, and also ensure the flow of adequate inputs to countries with potential for rapid agricultural development.

115. Eighthly, they should transfer resources to the least developed countries in the form of outright grants and investments in joint ventures, implement the Immediate Action Programme for the least developed countries\* and adopt appropriate measures for the success of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries to be held in 1981.

116. Ninthly, within the framework of economic co-operation among the developing countries, the surplus funds available to the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC], after meeting their own developmental needs, should be invested in other developing countries, with priority assigned to the special needs of the least developed among them; in like manner, the more developed among the developing countries also assist in accelerating the pace of development of the least developed countries; and in order to ease the hardship of the developing countries caused by the rise in the oil prices oil should be provided to the developing countries at concessional rates and to the least developed among them at half price.

117. Tenthly, in view of the energy crisis, an international consortium should be formed with assistance from both the industrial and the OPEC countries for exploration and development of energy in the developing countries.

118. Eleventhly, during the Third United Nations Development Decade, top priority should be assigned to meeting

basic human needs, such as food, shelter, clothing, health, education and employment, as an integral component of human rights.

119. Twelfthly, in accordance with the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter, special attention should be paid to the needs of women, children, youth and disabled persons.

120. Thirteenthly, efforts should be intensified to eradicate the remnants of colonialism and racism.

121. Fourteenthly, in view of the importance of the seabed resources to the developing countries, the efforts now under way for development and codification of international law and a new universal convention governing the ocean régime should ensure a just and equitable sharing of these resources, including the sharing of the water of international rivers.

122. Fifteenthly, the democratic principle of equal and full participation of all countries, including the developing ones, in the formulation and implementation of decisions in all fields of international relations, should be accepted.

123. The founding fathers of this Organization had a vision of a new future for the family of mankind and charted a path of progress for all, based on peace, freedom, justice, equality and human dignity. The challenge before us today is: can we follow the path charted by them towards the goal of a new and just world political and economic order as envisaged by them? Should Member States resolve to meet this challenge, we can have the peace, security and development that we seek.

124. I should like to conclude by reiterating the appeal of the President of Bangladesh at the eleventh special session of the General Assembly.<sup>9</sup>

125. Let us approach the forthcoming global round of negotiations in a spirit of partnership and co-operation and with a full sense of our global obligations. Our future depends on the fruitful outcome of these negotiations.

126. Mr. BARRE (Somalia): I am happy to extend to you, Sir, on behalf of my delegation and in my own name, our congratulations and those of the Somali Government on your election to the presidency of this thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. Your election is a fitting tribute to your country, the Federal Republic of Germany, and to your personal attributes of wisdom, scholarship and expertise. My delegation assures you of its support and co-operation as you guide the deliberations of this session to fruition.

127. We also wish to express our appreciation of the hard work and outstanding accomplishments of your predecessor, Ambassador Salim, during his presidency of the thirty-fourth session and of the three special sessions over which he presided during 1980.

128. I cannot fail to mention here the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, in strengthening

\* See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fifth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.II.D.14), part one, sect. A, resolution 122 (V).

<sup>9</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Eleventh Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 3rd meeting.

the role of the United Nations and promoting world peace and progress. His personal dedication to the principles of the Charter and to the task of carrying out the mandates of the General Assembly and the Security Council continue to earn him the respect and gratitude of the international community.

129. It is always a pleasant duty to congratulate a valiant people on securing its independence and to welcome the accession of more States to membership of the United Nations. In the case of Zimbabwe we fully associate ourselves with the sentiments of other Member States which have preceded us in welcoming the assumption by Zimbabwe of its rightful place among the international community of nations.

130. My delegation also extends its most cordial good wishes to the Government and people of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines on their accession to independent nationhood and membership of the United Nations. Together with Zimbabwe they have brought the world Organization a further step closer to the goal of universality.

131. As Member States assess the progress made over the past year towards the peaceful solution of international problems and the realization of the objectives of the Charter, it can hardly be denied that the overall state of international affairs gives little cause for optimism. Once again we find ourselves seized of issues that have preoccupied the international community before and continue to do so, with little hope of progress towards their resolution by way of the promotion of the aims and objectives of the Charter. Some of those problems have even been aggravated, which has resulted in situations adding further to our concern and preoccupation. Meanwhile, totally new crises have been created by the actions of certain Member States, in violation of the basic and fundamental principles enshrined in the Charter, thus bringing about heightened international tension and serious threats to world peace and stability.

132. At present a grave and truly disturbing situation obtains in the Horn of Africa. Although that region has known little peace and stability over the past century, developments during the last six years have greatly exacerbated the prevailing crisis.

133. In Somalia we continue to face the problem of dealing with the largest refugee population in the world. The number of refugees currently being cared for in and outside camps has passed the one and a half million mark and continues to increase steadily, with a daily influx of well over 1,000 refugees arriving at camps. Since we were already experiencing the difficulties of underdevelopment, world inflation and natural disasters, it can be readily understood that this refugee problem has placed a quite intolerable burden on our country.

134. We are profoundly grateful for the assistance received directly and through the intermediary of the United Nations. However, unless the international response to the worsening refugee crisis is more forthcoming, thousands of women and children, who make up the bulk of the refugees in Somalia, may well die of starvation and disease in the near future. We have therefore to appeal for continued and more generous

humanitarian assistance so that the serious plight of the refugees can be alleviated. Even so, it must be stressed that the refugees are themselves a symptom of deeper problems.

135. It is particularly important that the international community should understand and insist upon just solutions of the underlying political problems which are the basic cause of the refugee situation in the Horn of Africa. In the case of Western Somalia the refugees are fleeing from their homes because of the oppression and persecution to which they are subjected and because of the ravages of the unjust war which has been waged against the people by the ruling cliques in Addis Ababa ever since their attempts at colonization at the end of the last and during the present century.

136. By a combination of mass extermination, forcible expulsion and the total destruction of all means of livelihood, the present Ethiopian régime seeks to depopulate Western Somalia completely. The aim behind that Fascist scheme is to bring about a total transformation of the ethnic and demographic composition of the territory in question and to achieve a final solution by transplanting other nationalities to take their place, all under the guise of resettling so-called displaced persons. The international community has already condemned the barbarous and inhuman policies of those in power in the Ethiopian empire, who have fully earned the abysmal human rights record for which they are notorious. Such diabolical plans must be opposed not only by virtue of our humanity and sense of morality but also in view of the dire consequences which similar attempts have evoked in the past.

137. The refugee tragedy throughout the entire north-east of Africa is an outward manifestation of the aggressive and truculent stand on the part of the Addis Ababa régime in its vain efforts to confront its internal and external problems with naked force. Unable to suppress the intensifying liberation struggles, they have in desperation facilitated direct military intervention by the Soviet Union, a Power which has, particularly recently, achieved notoriety for its exploitation of such situations. By arming its client State on a massive scale and by using surrogate forces, the Soviet Union has succeeded in gaining strong bases of operation for the advancement of its over-all political, economic and strategic ambitions in a sensitive area, which commands the commercial lanes of the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Gulf.

138. That unwarranted intervention has been at the expense of those still struggling to assert their rights to self-determination and independence; it has encouraged intransigence and persistent colonialism on the part of the cruel régime in Addis Ababa and has totally frustrated every avenue which might otherwise have led to a just resolution of the problems of the Horn of Africa through negotiation. Indeed, the peace, stability and security of States and peoples throughout the region are in jeopardy. No State is capable of facing such a challenge alone. Governments must play the role expected of them by their people and by the international community. By virtue of their commitment under the Charter to safeguard international peace and security, they are obliged to take all the necessary precautions.

139. It is surely most surprising that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union should be the one to accuse any nation of endangering peace in this context, as he did in his statement on 23 September. For the record, I can assure this Assembly that no agreements, recent or otherwise, made by my Government have ever permitted foreign military bases to come into being in our country. Moreover, it ill behoves the Soviet Government to sit in moral judgement on Somalia where the question of bases is concerned.

140. It is a well-known fact that the Soviet Government is for ever striving to establish a network of military bases in the Horn of Africa, the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean and elsewhere. No less than three Soviet naval bases have been established, in agreement with the colonialists in Addis Ababa, at the Eritrean ports of Massawa and Assab and on the Dahlak Islands in the Red Sea. All this is in addition to the unfettered use of military and civil airports in Ethiopia for the furtherance of Soviet hegemonism.

141. Soviet-led intervention apart, I must re-emphasize that the problems of the Horn of Africa have one root cause and one alone. I refer of course to persistent colonialism on the part of Abyssinia. Despite its so-called socialist revolution, the régime in Addis Ababa has never abandoned its attempts to enslave the peoples of Western Somalia, Eritrea, Tigré, Oromia and Abbo. Abyssinian colonial activity in these territories is historically unquestionable, just as it is illegal and immoral. In this age of emancipation, when the wind of freedom has swept across almost the length and breadth of the African continent, the rise to arms by subject peoples is historically inevitable and demands the understanding, encouragement and support of all who cherish freedom and liberty in this world.

142. The dangerous combination of militarism, foreign intervention, confrontation and instability is but a consequence of the forcible denial of the inalienable rights of these peoples to self-determination and to shape their own destiny. While such a situation continues, international peace and security remain in grave danger. My Government, of course, continues to be ready and willing to discuss the problems of the Horn of Africa with the parties directly concerned and fully supports the principle of the right of all peoples to self-determination and emancipation.

143. Most unfortunately, as the Chairman of the OAU pointed out in his statement to the Assembly on 24 September, the ministerial meeting of the Good Offices Committee on the Ethiopia-Somalia dispute has not "been successful and, if anything, tension appears to have increased of late" [8th meeting, para. 62]. The reasons for this failure are only too clear. In its deliberations, the Committee failed to take into account the legitimate rights of the people of Western Somalia themselves, which, after all, constitute the crux of the matter. Surprisingly, they also failed to reiterate the well-known OAU position that foreign forces should refrain from intervention in Africa's internal problems.

144. The alarming truth is that the colonial clique in Addis Ababa has no interest in taking such constructive steps as would reduce tension but has embarked instead on a path of increasing escalation which is currently involving not only the oppressed peoples of Western Somalia but the Somali

Democratic Republic itself. No longer content with poisoning wells, bombing and burning settlements and strafing herds, since the beginning of this year Ethiopian ground and air forces and their alliances have repeatedly launched attacks against towns, villages and refugee camps well inside Somalia. A most blatant and recent example was on 27 August, when a fully motorized force supported by tanks, artillery and fighter planes invaded my country. The encroaching columns penetrated into our territory at points along the *de facto* border in the north-eastern part of the country, causing in the process much wanton destruction of life and property. However, the Somali armed forces compelled them to retreat. It is quite clear, however, that the Ethiopian warmongering leadership has failed to learn from this experience. A further act of aggression by their land forces took place even more recently near the town of Dolo, and the town of Iet has been bombed and strafed from the air.

*Mr. Rithauddeen (Malaysia), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

145. Similar acts of military barbarity are committed daily against other colonized peoples currently struggling under the Abyssinian yoke. To cite one pertinent example, the people of Eritrea, whose national status has been recognized by the United Nations and whose right to self-determination was the very basis of the federation with Ethiopia recommended by this Assembly and established in 1952 [resolutions 390(V) and 617(VII)], only to be contemptuously cast aside by that same colonialist régime, have been compelled, like the Western Somalis, to take up arms in defence of their rights. The world cannot afford to ignore such liberation struggles, not only because they are just and legitimate but also because the conflicts in the Horn of Africa, like those in South-East Asia and the Middle East, provide an opportunity for the spreading of new imperialism and hegemony.

146. Indeed, liberation struggles are the natural response of the peoples of Africa wherever vestiges of the colonial past linger on. This is as true in southern Africa as it is in the north-east. It is the duty of us all to support and encourage emancipation in Africa and elsewhere until it is achieved totally, and the few surviving colonial and oppressive régimes, irrespective of their colour or creed, are dumped into the dustbin of history. I have referred to the joyous celebration by the Government and people of Somalia of the resounding victory of the people of Zimbabwe. In the meantime we reflect not only on the problems of the Western Somalis and the Eritreans but on the circumstances which keep the people of Namibia under illegal, racist and persistent colonial domination and which also subject the majority of the people of South Africa to the indignity and the inhumanity of *apartheid*.

147. Over the past five years the numerous ultimatums directed to South Africa by the Security Council on the question of Namibia have so far been flouted with impunity by the minority régime. South Africa has been able to buy time for its machinations. My Government shares the frustration of the vast majority of Member States as negotiations on the Western proposals are held up on one pretext or another, while at the same time the Botha régime persists in its plans to establish its puppets in Namibia and to launch

large-scale military aggression against SWAPO, the legitimate representative of the Namibian people, and against the Republic of Angola. We call again on the Security Council to fulfil its responsibilities to the Namibian people.

148. Within South Africa itself the so-called guardians of Western civilization steadily descend to new and more barbarous depths. The recent clubbing, tear-gassing, imprisonment and even massacre of school children protesting at sub-standard education surpass in horror the callous murder of hundreds of men and women at Sharpeville. My Government is convinced that the last bastions of racism and persistent colonialism in southern Africa will be eliminated. Somalia strongly supports the international consensus that mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter are eminently justified and constitute an essential weapon in the struggle against colonialism and racism in southern Africa.

149. I shall now address myself to a problem of particular concern to us all in terms of its relevance to the enduring validity of basic rights and freedoms enshrined in the Charter and its even graver implications for international peace and security—namely, the Palestinian question. It is quite clear that on the core issues of Palestinian nationhood and self-determination, Israel continues in arrogant defiance to thwart all international effort. Its contempt for the norms of international law and morality is illustrated by the acceleration of its expansionist and annexationist policies in the occupied territories and its frequent acts of aggression against Lebanon.

150. The extent to which Israel is prepared to go in its quest for the realization of its expansionist dreams is evidenced by its recent attempt at formalizing the illegal annexation of the Holy City of Jerusalem and declaring it to be the capital of Israel. We are convinced that strict adherence to the letter and spirit of cardinal principles guaranteeing basic and fundamental rights enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, as well as to the relevant decisions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council, is the only basis for a just, equitable and durable peace. In practical terms, this calls for appropriate action by the international community to compel Israel to withdraw from all occupied Arab lands and to ensure Palestinian self-determination and statehood.

151. My delegation takes this opportunity to reaffirm its support for the implementation of the declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)]. As a member of the *Ad Hoc* Committee which is currently seized of this important matter, we are in favour of the holding of the projected conference on the Indian Ocean, to be held in Sri Lanka in 1981. It must be pointed out, however, that the laudable objectives of the conference can be achieved only when the forces of the great Powers—and, I would stress, those of all their surrogates—return to their own countries and cease obstructing the legitimate desires and, in some instances, struggles, of the inhabitants of the region to live in peace and freedom and to determine their own destiny.

152. Indeed, in several areas of the world, disputes of long-standing duration remain unsettled and new ones become entrenched also, in part because of the presence of

foreign forces. This is the case in Democratic Cambodia and Afghanistan, where outside intervention prevents the people of those countries from deciding upon their own future and destiny. In our view, the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan and Cambodia is an essential prerequisite for the creation of a climate of peace and international security in Indo-China and West Asia.

153. There can only be alarm and despondency over the failure of the nuclear Powers to make any real progress towards disarmament. Untold wealth and vast and valuable—but nevertheless finite—resources are being squandered annually in the name of defence, but actually on the refinement of the concepts of "over-kill", the further development of sophisticated armaments and nuclear weapons and ever larger stockpiles. The arms race is undoubtedly one of the links in the chain of cause and effect which involves confusion in the international monetary system, spiralling inflation, protectionism on the part of the major industrial Powers, the decline of world trade and adverse terms and sharp increases in trade deficits for the developing countries—not to mention a steady reduction in development aid.

154. It remains a fact, however, that the only real defence against utter chaos must be the bridging—not the widening—of the dangerous abyss now yawning between developed and developing nations—between North and South. Alarming predictions already current on levels of world hunger in the year 2,000 are a grim reminder, if one were needed. My Government therefore urges wealthy and industrialized countries to pledge resources and energies that have to date been devoted to the destructive arms race to the promotion of development, in the conviction that thus only can a new chain of events be set in motion which will be beneficial to all nations and which will ensure world peace and progress.

155. For these and other reasons, progress on the world economic scene has been very modest indeed over the past decade. Meanwhile, the population of our planet continues to increase. Beset as we in the developing world are by the adverse economic trends I have described, and by the effects of the ever increasing price of oil, we recognize most clearly the urgent need for the adoption of new and wider measures. This has been suggested by the Secretary-General on 15 September<sup>10</sup> at the conclusion of the eleventh special session of the Assembly which discussed our critical economic situation and agreed in consensus on a text for an International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade. We also consider it very significant that the special session agreed on the adoption of resolutions on assistance to the least developed countries [resolutions S-11/3 and S-11/4].

156. Moreover, particularly in view of the fact that the goals and objectives of the Second United Nations Development Decade remain largely unfulfilled, it is imperative that we lose no time in commencing the restructuring of the international economic order. We cannot conceal our extreme disappointment over the failure of the fifth session of UNCTAD and the launching of global negotiations relating to international co-operation for development. It must be admitted that the group of countries that has the advan-

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 21st meeting.

tage in the current system is still dangerously declining to recognize the interdependence that exists in our world today. This attitude is in need of fundamental change. The fifth session of UNCTAD has drawn up a sound and urgent programme of action and has outlined the steps needed to help developing countries over the next few years. Its basic programme of action for the 1980s can provide the less favoured among the international community with at least a minimum in the fields of nutrition, health, housing, communications, education and employment.

157. Such issues are particularly urgent for countries which, like my own, from time to time suffer from natural disasters and longer term problems such as desertification, yet must also face all the problems of inflation and rising prices. It is still not too late for the steps recommended to be put into effect, in order that the Strategy for the new International Development Decade be implemented to the ultimate benefit—and indeed the very survival—of all mankind.

158. **Mt. MUZENDA (Zimbabwe):** On behalf of the President of the Republic of Zimbabwe, His Excellency Comrade Canaan Banana, the Prime Minister, the Honourable Comrade Robert Mugabe and the people of Zimbabwe, I salute all here and wish to convey to all the greetings and good wishes of the people of Zimbabwe. I am grateful for this opportunity to address this great Assembly of the world. I am overwhelmed by the occasion and the realization that I take my place today in this thirty-fifth regular session of the General Assembly for the first time as leader of a delegation from the duly constituted sovereign Government of Zimbabwe.

159. On behalf of my country and delegation and on my own behalf, I wish to congratulate Ambassador von Wechmar and his country upon his election to the very distinguished office of President of this body. I have no doubt in my mind that he will discharge his duties diligently and with the efficiency that has characterized his official performances and has led this entire body and his sponsors to acclaim him their choice as President of the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session.

160. My country and I share his strong beliefs as indicated in his opening speech [*1st meeting*] regarding his positive bias for equality of mankind and peaceful coexistence among and between nations and his faith in the United Nations ability and potential to find solutions to problems that are brought before it. I wish him personally and the **Federal Republic of Germany a successful term of office in the presidency of this thirty-fifth session.**

161. I take this opportunity, too, to express my country's and my own appreciation and gratitude to my brother, colleague and personal friend, the Honourable Ndugu Salim Ahmed Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, for the very high standard he has set for the office of President of the General Assembly during his term of office. The fair but firm manner, relentless initiative and zeal to achieve global equality, peace and tranquillity which characterized his term of office have made for his country and for the United Nations numerous friends and given hope to oppressed peoples, the starving nations and those in ill health that one day solutions to their problems will be found. Ndugu Salim Ahmed Salim, my country is proud of your leadership. The

front-line States of southern Africa are proud of your leadership. The OAU is proud of your leadership. The non-aligned nations were impressed by your leadership, as was the United Nations. This has already been expressed by many a representative.

162. My delegation and I extend our sincere compliments, respect and appreciation to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for his distinguished service to mankind and for his total impartiality in the discharge of his duties. I should like to thank the Secretary-General for sparing his highly demanded time to attend the Zimbabwe independence celebrations in my country in April of this year, during which time he was familiarized with our reconstruction and resettlement priorities.

163. I should like to welcome and congratulate our brother State, the Islands of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, through its Prime Minister, the Honourable Mr. Cato, upon its momentous admission to the United Nations on 16 September. We congratulate it further on the attainment of its independence and wish it well in the pursuance of its State and international obligations. In welcoming our brothers from Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, I should like to reiterate, on behalf of my country which also is a new member of this body, that we have tremendous respect for the Members of the United Nations. We adhere to the principles and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations, and we shall try to the best of our ability to work for the realization of those objectives.

164. As everyone is aware, our struggle for liberation was a long and costly one. During the long years of armed confrontation, thousands of lives were lost. Our people in the rural areas suffered untold hardships. Many were uprooted from their homes, and their normal life was disrupted. About a quarter of a million Zimbabweans left the country and created refugee situations in neighbouring countries, notably Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia. Over half a million people were herded by enemy forces into so-called "protected villages" similar to the "hamlets" of the Vietnamese war. These protected villages became riddled with starvation and disease. Many more people took refuge in our cities and towns, where they created shanty conditions. The economy of the country, which was placed on a war footing by the illegal régime which spent 1.3 million Zimbabwe dollars per day on the war, was disrupted. In addition, our economy was geared to serving the needs of **the white minority and foreign interests, to the virtual exclusion of the African majority. This poses enormous problems of reconstruction, rehabilitation, resettlement, economic restructuring and equitable redistribution of our national wealth.**

165. In the process of reconstruction, resettlement and economic restructuring, we are determined to correct this colonial and war legacy. We have advanced our intention to build a non-racial society and we intend to offer economic opportunities to all Zimbabweans on the basis of equality. My Prime Minister has stated on several occasions that we are resolved to build an egalitarian and socialist society in Zimbabwe, taking into consideration the objective economic conditions of a capitalist economy that has existed for 90 years during the colonial era.

166. With the support of the nations represented in this Assembly, we are determined to succeed in our reconstruction and resettlement efforts. We seek assistance from those who have helped us in the past. We seek assistance from those who might have doubted our true intentions and who by now must surely be in no doubt that the ZANU<sup>11</sup> Government wants to build a non-racial society based on democratic principles, the rule of law and the will of the majority. I am sure many Member States have already read the report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations,<sup>12</sup> pursuant to Security Council resolution 460 (1979), which highlights some of my country's reconstruction and resettlement priorities. I should like to thank Mr. Kurt Waldheim, on behalf of my Government and the people of Zimbabwe, for so ably outlining our reconstruction problems in search of financial and material assistance.

167. I feel honoured in addressing this Assembly because it has been with the moral, political, diplomatic and material support of the members of this great body that we have attained our independence. They have supported a noble and mighty cause, a cause of greatness, and that support has enabled us to end 15 years of unilateral declaration of independence and 90 years of foreign domination, racism and economic exploitation. It is only fitting, therefore, that I pay a tribute to at least some of the nations or regions which have participated in our noble cause.

168. First of all, there is our special relationship with the United Kingdom. As the former colonial Power, Britain has a relationship with us which was originally imposed on us but which, happily, has become one of mutual benefit. The United Kingdom has now become the single largest donor to our country, although, as my Prime Minister has pointed out several times, the magnitude of that aid falls far short of what we had expected. We have not forgotten that it was through the good offices of the present British Government that the Lancaster House agreement was reached, culminating in our electoral victory and independence.

169. Britain has sponsored our country's association with the European Economic Community [EEC], and that gesture is greatly appreciated. While Zimbabwe values the bilateral relations which exist and which will be developed, it is very much aware of the benefits to be gained from association with the EEC. It is hoped that relations between the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group and the EEC will progress to the stage where we can participate as equal partners, not only as a source of raw materials and recipients of aid.

170. Zimbabwe, perhaps by accident rather than by design, has become a substantial manufacturer of primary and intermediate goods, and even of some finished products. Because of the diversity of its agricultural and mineral products, Zimbabwe aspires to become—and has a good chance of becoming—also a manufacturer of some significance of finished articles. We have no desire to remain a mere exporter of primary products but are anxious to cooperate with Europe and share some of our abundant resources in return for capital goods and technology.

because that would enable us to process our goods into finished products. We have an industrial infrastructure sufficient to warrant international trade and international markets if our economy is to improve and keep pace with population and society pressures. We believe the EEC is aware of this desire on the part of Zimbabwe and of other developing nations.

171. The present United States Administration has played no mean part in contributing to the birth of Zimbabwe through its diplomatic endeavours, and I wish to thank it most sincerely, as well as the black and progressive white solidarity groups. While we sincerely thank the United States Government for its financial contributions to the development and reconstruction of our country since independence, we realize that the amount of aid which has been committed is much less than we had been led to expect once a solution to our liberation struggle had been found. We are aware that there is an economic recession in the United States of America, but we are also aware that some of the reluctance to help us emanates from some misinformed and pessimistic forces which are influential in the legislative process of this country. It is our intention to throw more light on our Government's policies for the benefit of such forces.

172. I am aware of Canada's sound reputation in Africa, where it is admired for its "no strings attached" aid to the continent, and my Government looks forward to a closer and even more fruitful relationship with Canada.

173. We wish to thank the working class in particular and the people in general of the Federal Republic of Germany and other Western European nations for their overall material, political, moral and diplomatic support through their humanitarian and solidarity groups and certain ideologically compatible organizations. We further wish to thank all relevant non-governmental organizations and religious bodies in the Federal Republic of Germany and other Western European nations for helping us convince their respective Governments of the correctness of the cause of our liberation struggle in Zimbabwe. We are pleased to note that after our independence the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany became one of the first countries to offer financial assistance through soft loans totalling \$17 million. Since the Federal Republic of Germany is known to be a country that follows up its promises with concrete action, we look forward to a warm and lasting relationship. We are aware of Germany's reputation for technical achievement and hope that we can benefit from a transfer of technology from it.

174. We wish to extend our deepest thanks and gratitude to the Governments and peoples of socialist countries for their unwavering support of the just cause of the people of Zimbabwe during the liberation struggle. That support was translated into all forms, but particularly into material and technological forms. We shall maintain and strengthen our links with these our friends in need and in deed. Among the socialist countries some deserve special mention, in particular the People's Republic of China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Yugoslavia and Romania. Our ideological compatibility with those nations is a legacy of socialism which binds us together in a one-class brotherhood and must be jealously protected, enhanced and maintained.

<sup>11</sup> Zimbabwe African National Union.

<sup>12</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1980, document S/14121.

175. Our long association with the Scandinavian countries is well known, and so is the degree of their invaluable support to our cause during the struggle. We wish to thank the Scandinavian Governments and peoples of Sweden, Denmark and Norway for their genuine and sincere support. We hope to continue these ties to the mutual benefit of ourselves and the countries involved.

176. With regard to American States, my people are truly aware of the moral support of those progressive groups in Central and South America which have contributed unflinchingly to the liberation struggle of Zimbabwe. Their brotherly endeavours on our behalf are even more appreciated when we realize that they have fought in the past and even today are themselves fighting a number of insidious and oppressive régimes in their own region. My Government has friendly contacts with a number of legitimate Governments in the area: namely, Guyana, Nicaragua, Brazil, Jamaica, Cuba and Grenada among others. Let it be noted that we will not tolerate contact with reactionary and oppressive régimes in the continent. With poverty, racial prejudice and social and economic injustice endemic in those areas, my country will continue to identify with the oppressed through international bodies and diplomatic channels until they are truly liberated.

177. It is not easy to express the gratitude, appreciation and thanks of my Government and our people to the OAU, the Co-ordinating Committee for Liberation Movements in Africa of the OAU and the front-line States. Their consistency and the enormity of the sacrifices which they and their people made in so many domains on our behalf defy words. There is no doubt that the victory of the people of Zimbabwe against colonialism, oppression, racism and exploitation of man by man is also the victory of Africa against the same forces. We salute the friendship and support that we received from the front-line States of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia as well as from the Governments of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and socialist Ethiopia. Those States gave us the most valuable assistance during our liberation struggle and continue to afford us assistance as we embark on a new era as an independent and sovereign State. As the Assembly will be aware, Zimbabwe was admitted as the newest Member of the OAU, and I am glad to note that the closest consultation and co-operation exist between the United Nations and the OAU. That happy state of affairs will undoubtedly be of the greatest benefit to Africa and the world. Few aspects of political life or of economic and technological development can be confined to one part of the world; therefore, it is to be hoped that the United Nations and the specialized agencies will continue to work together in all fields where there is a common interest.

178. The OAU is the corner-stone of Zimbabwe's activities on the continent of Africa. Within the framework of the OAU we are determined to develop the best of relations with those of our neighbours who encounter the same conditions and problems as we do and who share a similar outlook on developments affecting our region.

179. It is my Government's desire to bring about the closest co-operation with fellow front-line States and with others in the region, like Lesotho, Swaziland and Malawi, in

order to achieve rapid national and regional development. I state that belief in the importance of regional co-operation with all due deference, because it has been reached over the relatively short period since we gained our independence and it has been confirmed by other leaders of countries close to us who are more experienced than we are. Until quite recently, most countries in the southern part of Africa have been developing independently of each other. In consequence, communications and trade have been developing along separate lines; the fight against poverty, famine and disease has also been developing along separate lines, without much regard for the interests of other countries that might be similarly affected. There has, of course, been little alternative. Zimbabwe was politically and economically isolated until we became independent, and there are still countries which are physically separated from each other because they are embedded in *apartheid* South Africa. Nevertheless, it is imperative that we should pool our resources and start to think about working through common institutions. In this direction, my country is encouraged by the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference, which held a summit conference at Lusaka last April and a ministerial meeting in Zimbabwe at the beginning of September. In that respect, some very concrete results are expected in the way of regional development.

180. I do not have to remind the Assembly that, through initiatives such as that, Zimbabwe's dependence on ports in and supply routes through South Africa can in the long run be reduced. At the moment, however, although my Government has severed diplomatic relations with South Africa, Zimbabwe's dependence on those routes is absolute, in spite of new routes that are becoming available to the Indian Ocean ports in Mozambique. The attitude of Zimbabwe is that we align ourselves whole-heartedly with those who wish to see an end to the oppressive system of *apartheid* that has been erected in South Africa. We shall support those forces which have been formed for the purpose of combining the efforts of those who are working to promote change in South Africa. We believe it is our revolutionary duty to render unflinching support to our oppressed class brothers and sisters in South Africa.

181. We shall therefore fight vigorously within the framework of the OAU to end *apartheid*; we pledge our assistance to the legitimate liberation movements of South Africa, the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, in their just struggle to end *apartheid* and create a non-racial society in that troubled country. *Apartheid* in South Africa is a threat to Zimbabwe's independence; it is a threat to the stability of the southern Africa region, as well as to the stability of all Africa. It is, indeed, a threat to world peace. There can never be compromise between *apartheid* and the aspirations of the oppressed peoples of South Africa and independent Africa, just as there can not be true and satisfying independence for Zimbabwe until there is real independence for the oppressed peoples of South Africa. Confrontation of unimaginable magnitude is in store for the minority racist whites in South Africa who want to preserve the evil social system in that country. We believe the fight against *apartheid* is just, and that victory over *apartheid* is certain, just as it was in Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe, and therefore the struggle must continue until all Africa is liberated.



182. On the Namibian question, Zimbabwe firmly supports the stand of the United Nations on Namibia and commends the wise and determined efforts of the Secretary-General to bring that country to independence. Once again, we deplore the delaying tactics of the South African régime on that issue. We salute the efforts of SWAPO, the authentic representative of the Namibian people, to liberate Namibia and we pledge our militant solidarity with the people of Namibia. In the same spirit of co-operation with the United Nations, Zimbabwe is ready and willing to do everything possible to facilitate the application of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) to settle the Namibian conflict.

183. Although the struggles for independence are more evident in South Africa and Namibia, there are other areas on the continent where the people are oppressed and are denied the most fundamental of human rights. My Government supports the principle of self-determination and applies that support in every case where it is apparent that a people has been placed under alien domination. For that reason, we recognize the justice of the struggle by the people of the Democratic Sahraoui Arab Republic under their authentic and revolutionary leadership, the POLISARIO<sup>13</sup> Front; similarly, we support the PLO in its efforts to gain recognition for the right of the Palestinians to an independent existence. We believe that, in the same way that Israel has fought for its existence as a nation, Israel should itself recognize the rights of others. We condemn unreservedly the transfer of the capital of Israel to the ancient city of Jerusalem.

184. We wish to express our solidarity with the people of East Timor and their liberation forces of the FRETILIN<sup>14</sup> independence movement which are waging a just struggle for self-determination. Similarly, we wish the people of Latin America well, in their efforts at securing truly popular governments, social and economic independence and advancement. As they have not failed to support us in our hour of need, they should know that our support is always there. I am proud to inform the Assembly that a number of liberation movements from Central and South America were represented at our independence celebrations and that the ties of solidarity continue to develop.

185. We need not over-emphasize the fact that the existence of oppressive systems is a constant threat to international peace and security. We are therefore resolved that freedom and social and economic progress should come to all peoples and countries. The denial of this freedom, and the prevalence of racial discrimination and apartheid are the seeds from which grow the tension, conflicts and instability that are threatening our international community today.

*Mr. von Wechmar (Federal Republic of Germany) resumed the Chair.*

186. Regarding super-Power rivalry, so far as Zimbabwe is concerned, we, in common with a large number of other countries, strongly oppose any foreign interference by any country in the affairs of another as a violation of our Charter. We are convinced that it is not by military alliances,

pacts and the stockpiling of armaments that world peace and security can be attained. We are in no camp and in no military alliance and we will strive to uphold our honourable principles of goodwill, co-operation, mutual respect and the betterment of all people. We are greatly concerned by the growing number of refugees in the world, particularly when they leave their own countries because of foreign domination and oppression.

187. Naturally, we welcome the breakthrough on the law of the sea recently reported by the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea and we hope that the Convention will permit harmonious relationships among and between nations that exploit the deep sea-bed. Naturally, we also support the concept of disarmament by the two super-Powers and their associates. We urge those nations that are spending billions of dollars on developing and merchandising weapons of mass destruction to review their policies and change them.

188. It is our strong belief that the billions of dollars spent on offensive weapons should be diverted to economic development projects—which have a direct bearing on the improvement of the quality of human life—rather than devoted to preparing for the destruction of human life.

189. The Government of Zimbabwe is totally opposed to those who want to spread the danger of confrontation in a nuclear war to the Indian Ocean by establishing bases and introducing vessels carrying nuclear weapons into the area. We believe the Indian Ocean should be left as a nuclear-free zone and a zone of peace.

190. I cannot conclude my speech without congratulating this great Assembly for its insight and commitment to the establishment of a New International Economic Order that led to the holding of the eleventh special session, devoted to economic issues, which has just ended. It would definitely be a misapprehension for any country to think that it can survive in isolation, no matter how privileged it is economically. As a country returning from economic isolation, we cannot over-emphasize this point.

191. The grim truth of today's economy is that if one part of the world goes down economically, it drags others with it. Thus, it is not a question of the prosperous helping those who are less or not prosperous, merely out of the generosity of their hearts. It is evidence of enlightened self-interest to realize that if some parts of the world suffer economically, those areas will have an adverse effect on the whole international economy, dragging even the prosperous nations with them.

192. In conclusion, permit me to repeat that we are committed to the noble principles and purposes of this body and that we will be guided by those principles and purposes in all our deliberations. We look forward to enthusiastic participation in the activities of the United Nations and its agencies.

193. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Ethiopia wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply. May I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of

<sup>13</sup> Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

<sup>14</sup> Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.

reply should be limited to 10 minutes and should be made by the representatives from their seats. I call on the representative of Ethiopia.

194. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia): The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Somalia has, in a characteristic manner, attempted to divert the attention of this Assembly from the issues at hand by once again reverting to the worn-out clichés of his Government designed solely to promote its irredentist policy of territorial aggrandizement and expansion at the expense of its neighbours.

195. He has attempted to deny the obvious, to suppress facts which do not accord with the irrational fixations of his Government and has continued the incredible series of historical falsifications in a futile attempt shamelessly to present my country as a colonizer.

196. It is an established fact that, throughout history, Ethiopia has had to struggle against colonialists and imperialists. The wars it fought against the various colonial Powers to maintain its independence and territorial integrity are all vividly recorded in history. Ethiopia's vigorous anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist policy is also a matter of record that requires no further elaboration.

197. Consequently, such a manifestly absurd allegation does not even deserve any refutation.

198. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Somalia has also referred to the principle of self-determination. For his information, that principle was never intended or stipulated to be an instrument of subversion, aggression, expansion or territorial aggrandizement.

199. Somalia has resorted to a self-serving, distorted and adulterated interpretation of the principle of self-determination to advance its well-known expansionist ambitions. These ambitions, which are the declared and ultimate goal of all its endeavours, are encrusted in all its national symbols. It is in pursuit of this hallucination of conquest and grandeur that Somalia has waged and continues to wage expansionist wars of aggression against all its neighbours.

200. It is a matter of extraordinary irony that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Somalia should accuse Ethiopia of aggression. It is indeed an expression of the highest form of political cynicism. Notwithstanding what happened in the recent past, the 44th Commando Battalion of the regular army of Somalia, which had violated Ethiopian territory, was totally decimated in our country as recently as 15 March 1980.

201. I should like to point out another matter. According to an Italian newspaper, *La Repubblica*, "Somalia spends \$2 million a day on the aggressive war unleashed against Ethiopia".

202. If I may at this point return to the question of self-determination: if the Mogadishu régime were to practise what it hypocritically and so profusely preaches, it should grant self-determination to the Issaque land, formerly British Somaliland, and should also return the Juba land, including the port of Kismayu, to Kenya. The Fascist Merihan clan, which is now ruling Somalia, and which consti-

tutes only 2 per cent of the entire population of Somalia, should grant self-determination to the Mijertein, to the Hawiya, to the Gadabursi and to the Haberawel, who have taken up arms to liberate themselves from the oppression and exploitation of that tribal clique, which represents no one but itself.

203. The apparent concern of the Minister for Foreign Affairs for the rights of the Ethiopians living in the eastern and south-eastern part of my country is also so hypocritical that one should see it as nothing but the shedding of crocodile tears. A régime like the one in Mogadishu, which indiscriminately kills Moslems and Christians alike and which destroys clinics, farms, schools and water supply systems that were built for the benefit of the people it pretends to liberate, is the least qualified to lecture others on the subject. Indeed, there are only two States in Africa today whose policies are based on exclusivist and discriminatory racial and ethnic theories of nation-building. These are the minority *apartheid* régime in Pretoria and the régime in Mogadishu, which is composed of members of the Merihan clan who have made a virtue out of ethnicity and a religion out of a colonially conceived myth called "Greater Somalia".

204. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Somalia also claims to be harbouring millions of so-called Ethiopian refugees. My delegation categorically rejects once again this ridiculous fairy tale. Somalia's motive for such fabrications is to justify its discredited policy of irredentism and shamelessly squeeze financial subsidies from the international community by parading innocent schoolchildren and helpless women for a sinister political purpose.

205. It is no secret that since the early 1970s Somalia has suffered from serious drought. In this connection, the *International Herald Tribune* of 18 September 1980 reported:

"... the settlement at Kurtuwarey in Somalia, thrown up in 1975 was an aid outpost during a drought then. It is still there, five years beyond one drought and into another. Its 16,000 residents live on aid. None are refugees. None work."

206. It is such drought victims that Somalia has kept in relief camps and calls "Ethiopian refugees". Moreover, it may be recalled that the United Nations Mission which visited Somalia in December 1979 reported its concern about serious food shortages in Somalia and the fact that the country was suffering from serious drought which, according to the Mission, could easily result in a massive human tragedy if food assistance did not quickly arrive in Somalia.

207. It was further reported by the Mission that, of the people displayed as refugees, 61 per cent were children, 30 per cent were women and 9 per cent elderly, ill or handicapped men. Since 91 per cent of those paraded as refugees were innocent schoolchildren and women, the obvious question to ask is: where are the men? Obviously, a substantial number of those paraded are the orphans and widows of Somalia's regular troops who lost their lives during Mogadishu's wanton aggression and military adventure against Ethiopia.

208. It is also a fact that Somalia has acute financial and economic problems which have worsened because of its

military adventures and economic mismanagement. This, coupled with the serious drought that has hit the region, has put Somalia in a precarious situation. As a result, the régime has been forced to put Somalia's needy citizens in relief camps and, with characteristic cynicism, to call them Ethiopian refugees.

209. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Somalia has asked to raise a point of order. I call on him.

210. Mr. ADAN (Somalia): I thought, Mr. President, that when you called on the representative of Ethiopia, you pointed out to him the position of this General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session, to the effect that rights of reply should not exceed 10 minutes. This is not a right of reply. It is a carefully anticipated and prepared statement that has taken more than 10 minutes. I therefore ask you, Mr. President, to bring this to his attention, if he is indeed exercising the right of reply.

211. The PRESIDENT: The Chair has a clock up here, an electric clock that records the time that is used for the exercise of the right of reply. The representative of Ethiopia had two more minutes to go when I had to interrupt him to permit the representative from Somalia to raise a point of order. So the representative of Ethiopia has two more minutes until his time is up.

212. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia): Thank you, Mr. President, for reminding the representative of Somalia that he is not the timekeeper of this Assembly.

213. It is also a fact that Somalia has, as I said earlier, acute financial problems. These problems emanate from the mismanagement of the régime. With all sympathy to those people who have fallen under the sway of the lunatic régime that is today in power in Mogadishu, my delegation categorically rejects the stage-managed farce and vehemently denounces the cynical manipulation of world public opinion for ends that will have unforeseen consequences.

214. Moreover, the fact that Somalia has not even ratified the OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, of 1969, and has already expressed serious reservations on the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, of 1951, and on the Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees, of 1967, throws some light on its real motives. Somalia continues to exploit the issue for political ends.

215. Somalia violated the spirit and the letter of these Conventions by organizing, instigating and conducting subversive and terrorist acts against Ethiopia. It seeks material assistance to finance these criminal activities against its neighbours. That is why it has not ratified the OAU Convention. After all, its declared policy clearly runs counter to the principles established by the Convention. But the international community should not subsidize war and aggression against a sovereign and law-abiding State. It should not subsidize a régime bent on war, expansion and conquest. It should not allow itself to be used as an instrument for the realization of the policies of a well-known expansionist State. Such sanction will only serve to encourage the warmongers of Mogadishu to undermine the stability of the region as well as international peace and security.

216. The PRESIDENT: The observer of the PLO has asked to be allowed to reply to the statement made by one of the speakers in the general debate. I intend to call on him to reply on the basis of General Assembly resolution 3237 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974 and, particularly, on the basis of the ruling made by the President of the thirty-first session and of the precedents established under similar circumstances during subsequent sessions of the Assembly.

217. Mr. RAHMAN (Palestine Liberation Organization): At the outset, allow me to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election to the presidency of this Assembly.

218. The Assembly has been treated this afternoon to an overdose of distortion and has been bombarded by a barrage of lies and demagoguery by none other than Mr. Shamir, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Menachem Begin. Both are members of Zionist gangs responsible for the abhorrent and savage massacres of Palestinian unarmed civilians in Deir Yassin, Jerusalem and other towns and villages of Palestine. Both, like many thousands of other Zionists, came to our Palestine to implant racism and hatred, translated into policies and practices directed at the uprooting and expulsion of our Palestinian people from their homeland and the homelands of their forefathers.

219. Yet the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Menachem Begin had the audacity to appear before this Assembly, while the blood of Count Bernadotte is still on his hands, to talk about peace. What kind of peace, may I ask? Is it the peace of Begin's sponsored gangs of Gush Emunim and others that roam Palestinian towns and villages in a vigilante manner reminiscent of the Nazi behaviour, destroying the crops of Palestinian farmers, terrorizing women and children? Is it the peace of Shin Beth, the Israeli intelligence service, which orchestrated the attempt to assassinate Mayor Bassam Shaka'a and Mayor Karim Khalaf, or the peace of the Fascist Government of Begin, which expelled the mayor of Hebron, Fahd Qawasma and the Mayor of Halhoul, Mohamed Milhem, and still refuses to carry out the decisions of the Security Council which call for their return? What peace is it? Is it the peace of the racist Government of Israel, which, on a daily basis, carries out missions of death against our people in South Lebanon, using United States-made and freely supplied Phantom jets, cluster bombs and other lethal weapons which are prohibited internationally? Or is it the peace based on the Camp David accords—a process rejected by the PLO and the Palestinian people, rejected by the international community and specifically by this Assembly? Those accords are designed to nullify our existence and our inalienable rights. Those accords are designed to dissect the Palestinian people and to perpetuate our dispersion. They are designed to deny us our very basic, inherent human and national right to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty and, most important, our right to return to our homes and property in Palestine, to live in peace, freedom and dignity.

220. The PLO once again declares in this hall, on behalf of the Palestinian people, that our struggle is for the achievement of peace—peace that will secure for us a dignified and free existence, peace that will guarantee for us our national inalienable rights in our Palestine, peace based on justice, not a peace that will tear us to pieces.

221. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Somalia, who has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

222. Mr. ADAN (Somalia): I, too, agree that I am not the timekeeper of this Assembly and I apologize to you, Mr. President, if I was misled by my watch when speaking on a point of order.

223. The representative of the Abyssinian régime has attempted once again in his reply to distort the historical as well as the present factual situation of Western Somalia and the Horn of Africa. He has misrepresented the position of my Government on the problems of the Horn and he has once again sought to mislead the international community with respect to the regressive and genocidal policies of his régime not only against the subject peoples of the Ethiopian empire—the peoples of Eritrea, Western Somalia, Tigré, Oromia and others—but also against the Ethiopian people themselves. He has even shamelessly denied the existence of more than 1.5 million refugees, who have been expelled from their homeland. He has even disregarded the report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [A/35/12] in this respect, a report which is available to all members of this General Assembly and which they can read, if they so desire.

224. These and other shameless distortions of the Ethiopian representative do not surprise us because we are accustomed to Ethiopia's travesty of the truth. The intervention of the representative of Ethiopia clearly was not the exercise of a right of reply but a well premeditated and anticipated statement, which had been very carefully prepared.

225. My delegation therefore reserves the right to reply to it in detail at an appropriate time.

226. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Ethiopia has asked to exercise his right of reply for a second time. May I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, only five minutes are allowed for a second intervention. I call on the representative of Ethiopia.

227. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia): Earlier the representative of Somalia tried to take over the job of the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Buffum. Now he has attempted, Mr. President, to take over your job as President by trying to rule whether my statement was a reply or something else. I maintain that my statement was a reply. It is very easy to anticipate what the Somali régime is going to say because it has been thinking in the same way for the past 17 years. It is therefore not very difficult to respond to its statements.

228. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Somalia made a statement earlier and the representative of Somalia has made a statement now. The Somali régime has perfected the art of duplicity and double talk. To illustrate this to the Assembly, I shall simply quote some famous statements made by some famous leaders in Mogadishu. This is in reference to some of the accusations made earlier by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Somalia. I cite the following:

"The Soviet people have extended disinterested assistance to newly independent countries to enable them to safeguard their sovereignty. This is in line with the immortal principles laid down by the great Lenin...."

"We have always found in the Soviet Union a close and sincere friend.... We in Somalia have been engaged in nation building on the basis of the tested and tried system of scientific socialism. We are convinced that socialism is the only system which can guarantee to our people human dignity...."

"I have said on very many occasions that our socialism cannot be called Somalian socialism. African socialism or Islamic socialism. It is the original scientific socialism."

229. On another occasion, he had the following to say:

"The West's attitude will encourage the Soviet Union and its allies to further augment their interventions and enable them to implement their criminal wars, and face the world with a *fait accompli*. This open communist plan represents a threat not only to Somalia, but to all those countries which have interests in the area...."

230. Today the Somali Government has invited the United States of America to establish a series of military bases in its territory, with a view to facilitating its expansionist ambitions in the region. Such an attitude should be contrasted with what the President of Somalia said on 18 June 1971:

"Imperialism and racism are not about to give up their malicious exploitation of our countries. Can the States which are members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) claim to be friends of the African people? The Americans are but mealy-mouthed imperialists."

That was said by President Siad Barre.

231. As a prominent African statesman recently observed at Islamabad, if Somalia was capable of speaking in the name of Islam and Marxism yesterday, one should not be surprised if it speaks in the name of zionism tomorrow.

*The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.*