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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. FARAH (Djibouti) (*interpretation from French*):
Mr. President, I should like to fulfil a very pleasant duty, that of extending to you the warm congratulations of my delegation on your unanimous election as President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. Your election to this important post is a tribute to your country, with which my country maintains very close co-operation. Your election is also proof of your outstanding qualities as a skilled and seasoned diplomat and demonstrates the deep trust your colleagues have in your ability to guide the deliberations of this Assembly and lead them to a successful conclusion. I assure you that my delegation will always be prepared to give you its full support and co-operation.

2. I should like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute, on behalf of my delegation, to your predecessor, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, the Permanent Representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, who presided over the last session of the Assembly in an outstanding and exemplary manner. Ambassador Salim, with his unremitting efforts, personal talent and exceptional skill, guided the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly to a very positive conclusion.

3. I should also like to voice my delegation's esteem for the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who has shown clear-sightedness and understanding in his constant and tireless search for a constructive and peaceful solution to world problems. We admire the efforts of the Secretary-General to promote peace and understanding among nations; we encourage him and his staff to intensify their activities to speed up the process leading to the establishment of more equitable relations among nations at political, diplomatic, economic, social and humanitarian levels.

4. I am delighted to see the Republic of Zimbabwe take its rightful place as a full Member of the United Nations. The well-deserved admission of Zimbabwe to the Organization has been a joyous occasion for us all. It has marked the triumph of nations in liberating that people from oppression and domination and has strengthened the faith of that whole people in the struggle for its legitimate rights. This long and heroic struggle of the people of Zimbabwe for its independence won the profound respect, solidarity and support of progressive and peace-loving forces in the international community and thus led to a decisive defeat of the dominating minority and to the ignominious collapse of the racist régime in Zimbabwe, as well as to the total emancipation of its people. My delegation is very pleased at the striking victory of Zimbabwe and in that connection I should like to convey to it our sincere and fraternal congratulations on its accession to freedom and independence.

5. Zimbabwe's triumphant victory has once again demonstrated that no one, however strong, can ever oppress a people and flout its sacred rights for ever, and that the last word always rests with the liberation fighters. Let no one have the slightest doubt that the day is not far when we are all going to celebrate a similar occasion for Azania, Namibia and Palestine.

6. I should also like to warmly welcome the admission of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines to this Assembly. Since we are ourselves a newly independent country, we feel great sympathy towards that newly independent State and I should like to assure it of our full and complete co-operation.

7. The problem of the Middle East remains just as serious and disturbing. The arrogance of the State of Israel enables us to see its real colonialist and expansionist face. The hasty and arbitrary decision taken by the Israeli Knesset to annex the Holy City of Jerusalem and to regard it as the perpetual and unified capital of the Zionist entity profoundly shocks and wounds the feelings of more than 2 billion believers.

8. Furthermore, the State of Israel once more refuses to implement Security Council resolution 478 (1980), according to which all Israeli legislative and administrative measures, as well as all actions which purport to alter the character and status of Al Quds Al Sharif, are null and void, and which calls for the immediate annulment of such measures.

9. All the Islamic countries that took part in the special session of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers—on the question of the Holy City of Jerusalem—held from 18 to 20 September last at Fez, in the Kingdom of Morocco, undertook to meet this challenge. In that connection, I should particularly like to welcome the efforts made by the

Chairman of the Al Quds Committee, His Majesty King Hassan II, to ensure the success of the proceedings at Fez.

10. At Fez the Islamic countries undertook to commit their entire political, financial, petroleum and indeed military potential in order to thwart that arbitrary and shameful decision. On this occasion we should like to thank those States that have moved their diplomatic representations out of Jerusalem.

11. The Republic of Djibouti reiterates its support for the heroic struggle being waged by their brothers, the people of Palestine, for the total liberation of their occupied territory, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, and for the recovery of their inalienable rights to self-determination and to the establishment of a Palestinian State on their territory.

12. We warn the international community that no peace can be achieved without the participation of the Palestinian people and its sole representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization.

13. Lebanon, that peaceful State that is constantly under attack by the Zionist entity, is suffering; the Lebanese people are constantly attacked and threatened by Israel. How long are we going to allow Israel to defy the most elementary laws? The international community must find solutions to make Israel stop attacking Lebanon which only wishes to live in peace. We should like the voice of wisdom, of moderation and of realism to replace that of arrogance, of challenge and of historical unawareness.

14. The situation in South Africa is critical. The racist régime of Pretoria defies all the norms of international law by ignoring and denying the great majority of the people of South Africa all their basic human and political rights. The forced displacement of these peoples to bantustans, which deprives them of their means of existence and right to citizenship, the inhuman acts of violence inflicted on peaceful demonstrators, the murder of detainees in jails, the killing of students who reject the inferior system of education, the torture of political prisoners and the persistent escalation of military activities and of subversion directed against the neighbouring independent African States are all acts which the international community can no longer tolerate.

15. We are convinced that *apartheid* is a vicious system of international racial discrimination directed against the African majority and should be condemned as a crime against mankind. The national liberation struggle of the people of South Africa requires all progressive and peace-loving forces to lend massive financial and material support so as to enable that people to secure its right to self-determination. We deplore the fact that all attempts to punish the racist régime of Pretoria for its crimes have failed, because certain Governments have chosen to give priority to their own selfish interests rather than to act in accordance with the Security Council resolutions on economic sanctions. We appeal to all Governments and States to refrain from any overt or covert collaboration or co-operation with the Pretoria régime.

16. The international community must take all possible steps to make South Africa abide by the decisions of the

United Nations so that its illegal occupation of Namibia may be brought to an end.

17. South Africa's policy on Namibia has been unanimously condemned by the international community. The General Assembly has expressed its full support for the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], its authentic representative. Any negotiated settlement of the Namibian question can be successful only with the participation of SWAPO and within the context of United Nations resolutions, so that total decolonization can be brought about which will lead to real independence for Namibia.

18. In connection with the Afghanistan crisis, my Government has frequently denounced the foreign armed intervention, the dangerous escalation of tension that has been imposed upon an Islamic nation, and the violation of the Charter of the United Nations. We demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan so that its people shall be able to choose its own political destiny and exercise its right to have the government of its choice.

19. Regarding the question of Western Sahara, my Government reaffirms its position. But we should like to express our disquiet at the persistent and growing tension that is endangering peace and security in the region of north-west Africa. In this connection we would urgently demand that all parties concerned avoid any action that would lead to a deterioration of the situation.

20. We should like to emphasize the urgent need for a negotiated and peaceful settlement in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations and of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] so that the Saharaoui people can exercise its right to self-determination, and we support the resolutions of the "committee of wise men" of the OAU aimed at resolving the conflict.

21. The thirty-fifth session has started at a time which is crucial for the international community. In the course of the last few weeks the United Nations has been intensely busy trying to find solutions to the present international economic disorder. The preparations for the conference on global negotiations for international economic co-operation for development cannot escape the attention of the present session. Such attention is more than justified because, as can be seen, the economic problems of more than 75 per cent of mankind have become intolerable. Human privation in all aspects of life has increased tremendously, like a hydra ravaging the resources of the third world and leaving it nothing but abject poverty, illiteracy, malnutrition, hunger and sickness, which have become the daily lot of more than 2 billion people. To these difficulties has been added the scourge of a considerable influx of refugees, which has affected many parts of Africa, Asia and Latin America. These are the economic and social problems—the unsolved questions of decolonization, human rights, racism, racial discrimination, *apartheid* and disarmament—for which many of those of us who come to the United Nations believe this Organization can and in fact should provide the best forum in which a new approach to international relations, in all sectors of human activity, will be sought in a climate of tolerance and mutual understanding and a desire to achieve

the aims and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations.

22. May I recall the second preambular paragraph of that Charter, which reads:

“to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small”.

All of the articles of the Charter agree on this point: the preservation of the dignity and worth of the human individual.

23. Speaking of human rights, if we heed the cries of the millions who are impoverished, sick, weak, undernourished, illiterate, underemployed and unemployed—the “have-nots” of the developing countries—however human society defines “human rights”, we cannot ignore a simple truth: that the prime human right is satisfaction of man’s fundamental needs, rights of more than 75 per cent of the human population now crushed under the burden of the most abject poverty and flagrant economic inequality.

24. Africa, which contains 20 of the 31 least developed countries of the world and a considerable number of newly independent countries, has suffered most from the present international economic disorder. No concrete development, worthy of mention in the strategies adopted during the course of the last two development decades, has taken place in Africa. Although they are rich in human and natural resources, most African States have been unable to launch any substantial development programme that would help to improve their economies, because they lack the necessary financial and technical means.

25. The problem of refugees in Africa is becoming an acute one, and it affects practically the entire continent. At present the African refugees number 5 million. The assistance required to meet the elementary needs of those refugees is tremendous, and the international community must find ways of solving this human problem.

26. That is why the African countries have seen fit to restructure the basis of their economy in order to bring about a state of collective autonomy that will hopefully lead to self-sufficiency and autonomous growth. My delegation is very pleased that the Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa was unanimously adopted at the second extraordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, which was held at Lagos in April 1980.¹

27. It is our hope that the “Monrovia Declaration of Commitment by the Heads of State and Government of the OAU on the guidelines and measures for national and collective self-reliance in social and economic development for the establishment of a new international economic order”² will be supported by the international community and will be considered as Africa’s contribution to the establishment of a new international economic order.

28. The young Republic of Djibouti is determined to expedite its economic development according to the principles of self-sufficiency. But, at the same time, the economic means available to it are extremely limited. The revenue of the Republic of Djibouti is at present essentially based on a service economy that is subject to fluctuations in the international market. The port, airport and railway services require considerable improvement. At present Djibouti is suffering from an acute lack of foodstuffs, in addition to excessively high food prices because all foodstuffs have to be imported.

29. My Government is deeply concerned by this situation, and in order to remedy it, it has created development projects the purpose of which is to revitalize the dynamic sectors of the economy—the port, the airport, the railways and telecommunications—and to modernize them. Nevertheless, aware of the tremendous difficulties implicit in our economy’s dependence upon such services, my Government has spared no effort to seek ways and means of establishing a framework for a diversified economy by promoting and developing the industrial and agricultural sectors, particularly by constructing small factories, by drawing up schemes for irrigation and developing water resources.

30. The economic situation of the young Republic of Djibouti has been further complicated by an influx of refugees, of whom there are now 45,000—that is, more than 12 per cent of the total population—and of whom 60 to 70 per cent are children, and the health, schooling, food and accommodation problems are considerable.

31. This situation has been further complicated by the disastrous effects of the drought that has for two years now prevailed in the Horn of Africa, aggravating the food shortage.

32. The problem of the lack of water is at present the most crucial one, both for human beings and for cattle. The lack of water has devastating effects on the sole resource of the population. In fact, between 20,000 and 25,000 persons have lost all their livestock and are at present grouped in nine camps, and the Government must help them to meet all their needs. Water and food assistance must be provided to more than 100,000 persons who have lost a considerable percentage of their livestock—approximately 80 per cent.

33. Since this drought is affecting all the countries of east Africa, it is necessary and highly desirable for the countries affected by the drought to organize themselves, with the aid of the United Nations, in order to cope with this calamity and to prevent the occurrence of others.

34. Since we desire and are determined to meet the challenge of our international responsibility and overcome our economic and other difficulties, it is also our intention to draw the attention of the international community to our situation so that it may help us to overcome our economic difficulties.

35. The Republic of Djibouti is very much aware of the moral and material support which has been given by friendly countries since its accession to independence. We should like to express our thanks and our deep gratitude for that assistance.

¹ See document A/S-11/14, annex I.

² See document A/34/552, annex II, AHG/ST.3 (XVI).

36. With regard to the field of foreign relations, the Republic of Djibouti, aware of its geographical position and its international responsibilities, is pursuing a policy of non-alignment based on the desire to preserve its national identity, safeguard its sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence and act in a spirit of co-operation with and understanding of all nations. We encourage friendly nations to adhere strictly to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and those of the non-aligned movement in all matters relating to human activities.

37. With regard to the principle of non-interference in the affairs of other States, we should like to appeal to all nations fully to respect the sovereign right of each nation freely to determine, without any outside influence, its own political, social and economic system and its relations with other States and international organizations.

38. We oppose and categorically condemn the colonization and oppression of any people, every act of racial discrimination, zionism and *apartheid*. We are particularly concerned about the persistent struggle and rivalry among the major Powers to obtain spheres of influence in various parts of the world, thus endangering the peace and security of the regions, particularly at a time when the international situation has become charged with dangerous tension. We condemn hegemonism in all its forms and urgently demand that all States refrain from practising that policy.

39. The Republic of Djibouti is particularly concerned about the conflict which is persisting in the Horn of Africa. In order to alleviate that human suffering and to restore peace, security, mutual trust and co-operation, the President of the Republic of Djibouti, Mr. Hassan Gouled Aptidon, made an appeal in August this year for a negotiated settlement of the conflict. He said:

“The Republic of Djibouti is seriously concerned by the persistence of the armed conflict in the Horn of Africa and the danger of its extension.

“Since we have very close relations with all the nations in the area and recognise the legitimate right of their peoples to a lasting peace, the Republic of Djibouti exhorts its Ethiopian and Somali neighbours to declare a truce to make it possible to seek a general and negotiated settlement of their differences.”

40. In his appeal, the President of the Republic of Djibouti made a number of proposals, as follows:

“Faithful to its policy of international neutrality, which is at the service of the development of the region, the Government of Djibouti declares that it is ready to assist in the negotiations to achieve such a settlement, which could be complemented by conventions on regional development.

“Such conventions could provide for and organize: first, the improvement of routes used by nomads and the provision of water supply points; secondly, freedom of circulation and transit of goods and people in the region; and thirdly, the establishment of common economic infrastructures.”

41. The President of the Republic of Djibouti then exhorted the international community to intensify its peace efforts in the region. He said:

“Anxious to meet the wishes of the peoples and win the support of international opinion, the Republic of Djibouti expresses its gratitude to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the current President and the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity and the President of the European Community for their continuing efforts to re-establish peace in this part of the world, which is still suffering from hunger and thirst. We urge the major Powers to support these efforts and to ensure that the Horn of Africa and the Indian Ocean will not become the theatre of their confrontation.”

42. With respect to the Indian Ocean, the Republic of Djibouti, as a littoral State, attaches paramount importance to the aims of the Declaration on the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace in General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI). Aware of the importance of that Declaration, particularly for the littoral and the hinterland States, my Government has on frequent occasions expressed its support for that Declaration as well as for the other resolutions of the United Nations designed to maintain the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

43. In this connection, we are particularly encouraged by the decision in General Assembly resolution 34/80 B to convene a Conference on the Indian Ocean during 1981 at Colombo.

44. We are convinced that the implementation of that Declaration will contribute to the establishment of peace and security in the region. We sincerely hope that that Conference will give absolute priority to the interests of the littoral and hinterland States in order to preserve peace and security in the area. We also hope that that Conference will pay some attention to the very sensitive and specific needs of each country with regard to measures to bring about peace and security in accordance with the geographical, political and socio-economic situation of each country, with a view to safeguarding and maintaining the peace, prosperity and independence of all the States in the region.

45. The United Nations system, with its far-sightedness and its sense of solidarity and co-operation, provides hope and courage and remains a source of power. The United Nations is the most appropriate forum for the consideration of global problems of a political, economic, social and humanitarian nature in a genuine and comprehensive manner and in an atmosphere of tolerance and awareness of the interests of all.

46. In this spirit, we whole-heartedly support the United Nations in its tireless efforts to discharge its responsibilities and to achieve its noble aims and objectives.

47. Mr. AL-ALAWI ABDULLA (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, I should like to join other speakers in congratulating you on your election to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. I am convinced that with your wisdom and experience you will successfully carry out the tasks which fall to you and lead the deliberations of this session to a favourable conclusion.

48. I also wish to express my admiration for the manner in which your predecessor, Mr. Salim, conducted the proceedings of the thirty-fourth session and of the special and emergency sessions which have taken place during the past year.

49. May I also welcome Saint Vincent and the Grenadines to membership in the United Nations.

50. I should like to extend the thanks of the Government of the Sultanate of Oman to the Secretary-General for the very effective and sincere efforts he has made in the past year in accordance with the mandate conferred upon him and to wish him every success in his work in the service of the United Nations.

51. This year the General Assembly is meeting in particularly tense and unstable international circumstances, and that makes this a very important session, a session which has an even greater obligation to solve the problems of the world and lessen the dangers facing it, as well as the obligation to help this Organization to discharge its function of seeking solutions conducive to the safeguarding of peace with justice and establishing the basis for economic and social development.

52. The question of the Middle East is one of the most important conflicts confronting us because it is a danger and threat to international peace and security. It is also a problem that urgently requires a just, global and lasting solution, as has been demonstrated by the concern shown by the international community, and its growing support for the Arab position.

53. The position of the Sultanate of Oman on any peaceful attempt to produce a global, just and lasting settlement to this question is based on the principles which have been recognized by the international community. They are Israel's withdrawal from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967, the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, and the return of Arab Jerusalem to Arab sovereignty.

54. The international community has recognized the fact that the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East will be possible only if those principles are respected and that, in turn, requires that Israel discharge its obligation to respect international legality and the Charter of the United Nations, and cease to display contempt for the resolutions of the Organization.

55. Recently the Knesset decided to annex Jerusalem and consider it as Israel's capital. That is just one more example of Israel's scorn and constitutes a flagrant provocation of the United Nations. It is also a challenge to Arab and Moslem feelings. This decision has in fact had the effect of increasing tension in the Middle East and has made it even more difficult to bring about peace. Israel is well aware of the fact that there can be no lasting peace without the restoration of the Holy City of Jerusalem to Arab sovereignty. I should like to remind the Assembly that my country supports the Islamic position on Jerusalem.

56. Recently we witnessed a dangerous phenomenon in the international arena: the intervention of a major Power in

the internal affairs of a small country, to the point of using armed force, invading small countries and overthrowing their lawful régimes. One of the most glaring examples of this can be seen in what happened in Afghanistan towards the end of last year.

Mr. Diallo (Niger), Vice-President, took the Chair.

57. Following Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan, Oman joined 51 other States in calling for an emergency meeting of the Security Council to deal with that intervention. As we all know, the veto used by the Soviet Union prevented the adoption of the draft resolution submitted by the non-aligned countries to the Security Council, and made it impossible for the Security Council to discharge its primary responsibility of safeguarding international peace and security; that, in turn, led to the sixth emergency special session in January this year. At that session a resolution was adopted [ES-6/2] by an overwhelming majority calling for the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of the foreign forces from Afghanistan in order to enable its people to determine their own form of government and choose their economic, political and social systems free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever. The resolution went on to urge the bringing about of conditions necessary for the voluntary return of the Afghan refugees to their homes. Unfortunately, that resolution has not been implemented any more than have other resolutions adopted in other forums on this subject, one of the most striking of which was the one adopted at the Eleventh Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, held at Islamabad from 17 to 22 May last [A/35/419-S/14129, resolution No. 19/11-P].

58. The continuation of the occupation of Afghanistan by Soviet troops is a threat to international and regional peace and security, and represents a danger to our region. That prompted us earlier in this session to join other States in requesting the inclusion in our agenda of an item dealing with the situation in Afghanistan [item 116].

59. The scope of the events in Afghanistan goes beyond the borders of that country and represents a threat to neighbouring countries. The international community must put an end to this dangerous phenomenon, so that other small States will not be victims of military intervention by a major Power aimed at overthrowing the régimes in authority and at controlling their destiny.

60. Here we should also like to mention the dangerous situation in Kampuchea and the continued presence there of Vietnamese forces. We must join those who have called for the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchean territory in order to allow the people there to determine their own future and government in complete freedom, without any foreign pressure or presence.

61. My country has already welcomed the independence of Zimbabwe and its admission to the United Nations at the eleventh special session of the General Assembly. But I should like to take this opportunity to express our conviction that Zimbabwe's accession to independence and sovereignty gives us cause for optimism at this session. We must also express our satisfaction at the efforts and political sagacity of the leaders of Zimbabwe which led to a peaceful

and just solution of the problem. We hope that a just and speedy settlement will be found for the other outstanding problems on the African continent, allowing the peoples of the continent to achieve freedom, dignity and equality while eliminating all forms of racial discrimination which run counter to our convictions.

62. Because of its geographical position and historical ties with African countries and peoples, Oman must express its concern at the foreign intervention in the Horn of Africa and urge that it be ended.

63. When the Final Document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly set forth the disarmament strategy [see resolution S-10/2], we expressed our hope that its adoption would lead to objective measures to slow down the arms race. Regrettably, however, directly after that session, there was further escalation in the arms race and the amounts being spent on the development, quantitatively and qualitatively, of arms, especially nuclear weapons, have attained astronomical levels. We agree with the Secretary-General when he says, in his report on the work of the Organization, that "present trends cast ominous shadows over disarmament efforts, both within and outside the framework of the United Nations" [see A/35/1, sect. V].

64. Here we can only repeat what we have already said on many occasions, namely, that we cannot deal with arms questions in a vacuum; there is a close connection between arms limitation on the one hand and the sense of security, calm and international legality on the other. We hope to come up, at the start of the second Disarmament Decade, with positive measures for submission to the second special session of the General Assembly on disarmament, to be held in 1982.

65. Oman has always supported attempts to strengthen the security and integrity of certain geographical areas, and of course our support and our interest are particularly great in connection with the Indian Ocean, of which we are a coastal State, and with the problem of creating a zone of peace there. My delegation takes part in the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean and in preparations for the forthcoming conference in order to ensure its success and to enable the countries in the area to enjoy peace and security and not to fall prey to any attempt to bring them within the spheres of influence of others. We want the area to be one of construction and well-being and not one where disturbances will occur and where, in certain spots, terrorists and saboteurs are active.

66. In the south-western part of our country, unfortunately, the Government of Democratic Yemen has made terrorism, sabotage and aggression against neighbours a technique which it wishes to use in its foreign relations. That has given rise to a number of complaints, which have been presented to this Organization. Democratic Yemen has concluded a political and military agreement with the Soviet Union which has made it a military base far exceeding the defence needs of an economically weak country with limited income.

67. We all know that the United Kingdom, which colonized that country, had a very large military and naval base

in Aden, and that it was the largest base east of the Suez. The base is bigger today, and has now become the most powerful base in the Indian Ocean and is being used by the Soviet Union. We note furthermore that the United States, for its part, has increased its naval forces in the Indian Ocean. However that may be, the Soviet Union today has a military strike force in the Indian Ocean and in adjacent areas through its bases in Afghanistan, in the Horn of Africa and in Aden. Moreover, it has its bases in areas bordering on ours. All this represents a grave direct threat to the independence and stability of the States of the region.

68. The important thing here is to reaffirm what the non-aligned States have always requested: the removal of all foreign bases from the Indian Ocean and that region, in order to make it immune from conflicts of interest and spheres of influence.

69. The major Powers must adopt peaceful policies consistent with their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations. Given those continuing threats, the Sultanate of Oman has no choice but to take whatever legal action it can to guarantee its territorial integrity in observance of the Charter and the principles of non-alignment, especially the principle of non-interference in internal affairs. Oman reaffirms its fundamental position, which is that we are opposed to all military alliances regardless of their form, and that we call for the elimination of all foreign military bases in the Indian Ocean.

70. Together with its interest in creating a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean, Oman continues to discharge its duty as a State on the Strait of Hormuz, a vital artery linking the Gulf to the Indian Ocean. Along it is shipped much of the oil sent to consumer countries by the producers. The Sultanate of Oman has presented certain proposals to IMCO on the regulation of maritime traffic in the territorial waters of the Strait. It wishes to safeguard passage through these territorial waters in order to preserve its own interests primarily, but also those of its sister States. It is opposed to any action likely to hamper shipping and to lead to foreign intervention in our area.

71. The problem of refugees is causing us concern at the international level, but particularly in Africa and Asia. Although we are participating in the humanitarian efforts of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to allay the suffering of millions, we hope that studies will be made to find the reasons for the existence of this grave humanitarian problem. Humanitarian aid is not enough; the problem must be tackled at its source.

72. Today we can only say that we welcome and are indeed very pleased with the proposal which has been made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany [8th meeting] to include an additional item on our agenda, entitled "International co-operation to avert flows of refugees". We trust that the discussion will lead to realistic political solutions to the problem. The first solution must be to put an end to persecution and to obstacles preventing the return of refugees to their homes. There can be no solution to the problem if political and humanitarian considerations are separated. The political considerations involved in the problem of refugees must be faced with courage and determination.

73. We all share feelings of frustration and disappointment because of the failure of the eleventh special session, which dealt with the international economic order. That failure was due to the fact that agreement could not be reached regarding the global negotiations, despite all our efforts. Nor were we able to reach a consensus consistent with General Assembly resolution 34/138 on establishing a new international economic order based on principles of equality and mutual benefit. In fact, we just succeeded in adopting limited measures which lead only to temporary solutions of the economic difficulties that we must overcome.

74. My delegation agrees with the position of the Group of 77 regarding negotiating procedure and the agenda. What we find encouraging is that the text for the new International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [see A/35/464] was supported by a large majority, and we are convinced that it will be a vital part of the efforts to establish a new international economic order. The new Development Strategy will be the framework for development in the decade to come. Its implementation depends, in the first place, on the new negotiation framework, which requires an atmosphere of complete confidence in place of the distrust that prevailed during the eleventh special session. We say this in all sincerity and without casting aspersions on any of our partners. We hope that at the present session agreement will be possible on the agenda for the negotiations and the measures likely to make them a success.

75. Our interest in the world-wide attempts to solve development problems goes hand in hand with our interest in developing Oman. We see economic development as a complex task which requires genuine and fruitful co-operation between developing and developed countries. Without such positive co-operation between the two groups it will be difficult to make tangible progress in this field. We believe that the efforts of the developing countries in the field of economic development will benefit not them alone but the international community as a whole. For our part, we are trying by every means to bring about our country's economic development in a balanced manner so that it shall be of benefit to all our citizens. We are convinced that the guiding purpose of any development effort is to raise the economic and social living standards of every citizen, within a framework of economic freedom, making it possible for all members of society to participate effectively in the building of the future. We affirm that we sincerely wish to participate, together with the international community, in the establishment of a world of freedom, prosperity and dignity.

76. Oman will soon be celebrating its tenth anniversary, which is the anniversary of the national reawakening that has been presided over by Sultan Qabus ibn Sa'id since he took up the reins of power. These 10 years are very important in the history of Oman because we have been able to achieve at the national level, under a wise and enlightened leadership, a balanced development covering education, health, social services in every corner of the country, the construction of ports, roads and communications facilities, and the strengthening of the means of ensuring security and national defence. His Majesty's Government is convinced that economic and social development must have a deliberate methodology in order that its fruits be in harmony with

Oman's environment and its Arab and Islamic base. The five-year plan that we began in 1975 is drawing to its close. We have made a success of it and we shall shortly be beginning a second one.

77. My delegation would like to welcome here the results obtained during the ninth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. Those results constitute a victory for the United Nations and demonstrate the effort that it is making to make positive achievements within the framework of constructive negotiations and in spite of all the obstacles encountered.

78. My country has accepted the compromises reached, after numerous difficulties, concerning the taking of decisions in the Conference—which is the executive organ of the international authority—which was accompanied by demonstrations of goodwill, not to speak of confidence and effective co-operation between all the members of the Conference, thus preventing a paralysis of its work.

79. Since we are discussing a convention that seeks to codify the rules of international law governing the rights and duties of States with regard to the law of the sea, I should like to say that we should give thought also to the rights and responsibilities of countries that border on straits, with a view to ensuring that their security and independence shall be protected and that their coasts shall not be polluted, deliberately or by accident, all this to be covered by clear wording on the subject when texts on navigation in straits are being drafted and adopted at the next and last session of the Conference.

80. My delegation hopes also that we shall reach agreement on other outstanding items such as, for example, the delimitation of maritime frontiers between States that border one another or that face one another across water, and that the median line will be adopted as the means of delimitation.

81. My delegation agrees with other coastal States on the subject of the regulation of the passage of warships through our territorial zone, including the right to be advised in advance of such movement and to authorize it. We sincerely hope that 1981 will see the signature of a convention that will establish the basis for accord and peace at sea, which will strengthen international peace and security.

82. In conclusion I would express the hope that détente and co-operation will govern tomorrow's world, notwithstanding differences of political and economic régimes, on the basis of respect for the sovereignty of States, non-interference in their internal affairs and fruitful co-operation among all States, thus ensuring the realization of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

83. Mr. GEDLE-GIORGIS (Ethiopia): I should like, on behalf of the Ethiopian delegation, to congratulate Ambassador Wechmar on his unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. We are confident that, with his wide experience, he will effectively guide the important deliberations of this session to a positive and fruitful conclusion.

84. My delegation would also like to take this opportunity to convey, through him, to his predecessor Ambassador Salim Ahmed Salim, our profound admiration for his efficient and able guidance of the thirty-fourth session and the special sessions held this year.

85. I wish also to pay a tribute to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who, in the discharge of his responsibilities, continues to display tireless efforts to further the aims and purposes of our Organization.

86. It is with joy and pride that I welcome, on behalf of the Ethiopian delegation, the newly independent States of Zimbabwe and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines into the family of nations. Nothing could be more gratifying than to see among us here the delegation of the African State of Zimbabwe, symbolizing the triumph of a heroic people which went through a gruelling experience in their bitter and determined struggle for freedom and independence. We hail their resounding victory as our own, just as we hailed their arduous struggle as a common African struggle for freedom, equality, justice and social progress.

87. The banner of hope for freedom in southern Africa is now flying higher than ever before. With each passing day the noose around the neck of *apartheid* is getting increasingly tight. Nevertheless, obstinate as it is, the racist régime in Pretoria is not disposed to heed reason and abandon its repugnant practices easily. Futile attempts continue to be made by the architects of *apartheid*, in collusion with their imperialist collaborators, to perpetuate this vile and pernicious system. We have no doubt that, had it not been for the overt and covert political, economic, technological and military—including nuclear—collaboration by well-known Western Governments and their transnational corporations, the criminal gang in Pretoria would have long ago been a thing of the past.

88. Despite such wide-ranging collaboration, the struggle of the people of South Africa and that of the Namibian people, under the leadership of their respective liberation movements, is gathering momentum. Ethiopia is convinced that Pretoria's obdurate resistance to the exercise by the Namibian people, under the leadership of their sole authentic and legitimate representative, SWAPO, of their rights to self-determination and independence, will only contribute to the further intensification of the determined armed struggle, which, in the case of Zimbabwe, is destined to be crowned with resounding victory.

89. This year, as we observe the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*], we strongly urge the Security Council to take action on enforcement measures against the South African régime, under Chapter VII of the Charter, with a view to ending the illegal occupation of Namibia.

90. With regard to Western Sahara, Ethiopia strongly believes that the OAU, which is already seized of the problem, should be given full support in its efforts to achieve a just solution within the framework of its relevant decisions and those of the United Nations.

91. The conspiracy to deny the people of Palestine the exercise of their inalienable rights and imperialist encouragement of the illegal occupation by Israel of Arab territories continue to pose a grave threat to international peace and security.

92. That the belligerence and intransigence of Israel have continuously increased is, indeed, amply demonstrated by the proliferation of new settlements in occupied Arab lands, culminating in the annexation of the eastern part of Jerusalem as part of the "eternal capital" of the State of Israel.

93. Ethiopia reiterates here its long-standing position that no just and durable peace can be achieved in the Middle East until Israel complies with the numerous relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, including the resolution adopted at the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly [*resolution ES-7/2*].

94. Ethiopia would like to reiterate that only the complete withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied since 1967 and the exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable right to self-determination and a homeland in Palestine will ensure durable peace in the region.

95. Similarly, Ethiopia supports the unity and territorial integrity of the non-aligned countries of Cyprus and Lebanon as well as the peaceful reunification of the Korean people.

96. We extend our solidarity to the peoples of Kampuchea, Laos and Viet Nam and fully support the joint formula advanced by them for the normalization of relations and the maintenance of peace and security in their region.

97. We reiterate our unreserved solidarity with the revolution of Afghanistan, aimed at demolishing an oppressive and archaic feudal system and replacing it by a new progressive order. We stand by the side of the Afghan people in their determined struggle to defend the gains of their revolution and preserve their sovereignty, territorial integrity and national independence.

98. The problem of economic growth and social development has both internal and external dimensions. We in Ethiopia are at this very moment striving to build a just and equitable system that will correspond to our actual needs and aspirations. Indeed, the fundamental structural changes we have been implementing ever since the onset of our revolution in 1974 have been aimed at effectively ensuring the basic human rights of the formerly downtrodden Ethiopian masses and raising their standard of living.

99. The Ethiopian people, having organized themselves effectively, are today exerting maximum efforts to bring about wide-ranging economic, social and cultural development. I am proud to say that we are encouraged by the concrete results attained so far in the sphere of economic and social development and in the all-out war we have declared against illiteracy. In the short span of less than two years, over 7 million Ethiopians have been enabled to read and write. It was, therefore, with modest satisfaction that Ethiopia accepted the UNESCO medal of merit for 1980 in the field of combating illiteracy. While our objective is

completely to eradicate illiteracy from the face of Ethiopia within the next seven years, judging by our achievements so far, we have every hope of accomplishing the task well ahead of the deadlines we have set for ourselves.

100. The holding of the First Congress of the Commission for Organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia and the official launching of its activities is a historic landmark in the progress of the Ethiopian Revolution. In addition to the All-Ethiopia Peasants' Association and the All-Ethiopia Trades Union, which have been established at the national level in the past few years, the establishment of youth and women's associations has provided a firm and unshakeable foundation for our popular revolution.

101. Our objective to speed up the social and economic transformation of our country has, however, been impeded by incessant acts of aggression perpetrated against our country, which have unavoidably forced us to divert scarce resources from development projects to national defence. Furthermore, recurrent drought and other natural calamities have also severely affected our people.

102. Despite our best efforts, we have come to the conclusion that the reconstruction of a war-devastated economy and the repatriation and resettlement of refugees and war-displaced people are beyond our means. In this regard Ethiopia's needs and requirements have been assessed by various United Nations missions, whose reports have become documents of the United Nations.

103. Over and above its efforts at the national level, Ethiopia is widely co-operating with practically all of its neighbours. In this connection, I am happy to note that we have established mutually beneficial joint development projects with Kenya, Djibouti and the Sudan. Nevertheless, it remains a hard fact of life that, unless corresponding changes are made in international economic relations at the global level, not much appreciable headway can be made in transforming the internal structure of the vast majority of the developing countries.

104. The international monetary disorder, the deepening global recession, rampant inflation, severe unemployment, adherence to restrictive international trade policies, persistent problems of imbalance in international payments and sluggish world economic growth are some of the symptoms of the state of economic affairs which characterize the external structure.

105. Moreover, a gloomy scenario in international economic relations was underlined by the failure of the eleventh special session of the General Assembly to reach agreement on a new global round of negotiations on which much hope had been pinned.

106. The economic and financial situation of the least developed countries has increasingly and dangerously been deteriorating, to the point where many of them face economic disruption and chaos. Most of them have, in fact, been kept out of the mainstream of international economic activities as a result of their structural handicaps and other serious limitations.

107. The grim situation of the least developed countries is further aggravated by the energy problem and by natural and man-made calamities. All these cast a dark shadow of peril and catastrophe over the future of a large portion of mankind. That is why we continue to insist on the restructuring of the existing unjust international economic order.

108. The year 1980 has been marked by a dangerous reversal of the process of détente, the escalation of tension, the revival of the cold war and an ever greater risk of nuclear confrontation. As the General Assembly is about to adopt a declaration on the second Disarmament Decade and launch preparations for the second special session devoted to disarmament, to be held in 1982, the disquieting reality of the world today is that the arms race, particularly in the nuclear field, has continued unabated.

109. Ethiopia strongly supports the proposal made by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and strongly urges that the international community redouble its efforts to reduce the present level of global tension and to avert a nuclear catastrophe by taking concrete and urgent measures.

110. Currently, imperialism is deploying all types of sophisticated weapons systems in many parts of the world. The Indian Ocean has never before been so congested with warships, aircraft carriers, their escorts and assault troops. The Persian Gulf area, the Middle East region and the Red Sea have also become the depots of the deadly weapons of imperialism. Alliances are being hastily formed, existing bases expanded and new ones acquired to serve as springboards for encirclement, destabilization and outright military aggression, in contravention of the decisions of the OAU, the United Nations and the non-aligned movement declaring the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

111. The imperialist circles not only have intensified the arms race but also have defiantly arrogated to themselves the right to declare any region of the world a zone of their vital interest. Consequently, extensive military preparations are under way, including the formation of a quick intervention force.

112. Thus, an ominous development is in the offing in the regions of the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. Having as its main target the States of the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean region, the quick intervention force poses a grave threat to the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of those States and to their right freely to engage in international economic activities.

113. In pursuit of its imperialist objectives, the United States of America has recently acquired new military bases in Berbera, Kismayu, Mogadishu and elsewhere within Somalia, just over 100 miles from Ethiopia's borders. This dangerous development not only aggravates the already explosive situation prevailing in the Horn of Africa but also poses a direct and imminent threat to the sovereignty and territorial integrity and to the popular revolution of Ethiopia. With contingents of its quick intervention forces concentrated at Berbera, Kismayu and Mogadishu, the United States has in effect taken a direct-assault position against Ethiopia and all those countries in the region which refuse to

submit to imperialist domination and pursue an independent path of social and economic development.

114. While no one could be surprised at Mogadishu's outright betrayal of African and Arab causes, we consider the United States' military collaboration agreement with a fanatic, expansionist régime as nothing less than open abetting and encouragement of expansionism and war in the Horn of Africa. Clearly, this is an insult and a challenge to the collective will of Africa, whose unequivocal opposition to foreign military bases was eloquently stated to the Assembly on 24 September by Mr. Siaka Stevens [8th meeting], President of the Republic of Sierra Leone and current Chairman of the OAU.

115. Despite the strongest protest which my Government had lodged with the United States Government against the newly established Washington-Mogadishu military axis, only yesterday it was reported that Washington had decided to proceed with the delivery of weapons to the expansionist aggressors in Mogadishu. The United States Government is pursuing this hostile policy against Ethiopia in full knowledge of the fact that, even as I am speaking now, Somalia's regular troops are engaged in wanton acts of killing and destruction. In the circumstances, I wish to underscore that socialist Ethiopia will hold the Government of the United States fully responsible for the consequences of its ill-advised decision. The United States will be held entirely responsible for the tension, conflict situations and actual wars that it is promoting in the Horn of Africa.

116. As a country that is still being victimized by aggression instigated and financed by imperialism—an aggression in which thousands of Ethiopians have been killed and maimed, billions of dollars' worth of property destroyed and over 2 million people displaced—Ethiopia has already alerted the international community to these grave developments. My head of State, Comrade Chairman Mengistu Haile Mariam, has expressed his serious concern over these ominous developments by dispatching high-level delegations to the current Chairmen of the OAU and the non-aligned movement and to several Governments around the world. We have also apprised the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the implications of these developments for international peace and security.

117. With the introduction of the United States intervention force into the Horn of Africa, the age-old struggle of the Ethiopian masses in defence of their independence has entered a new and critical phase. The territory of Somalia, which was used by Italian fascism as the staging ground for aggression and invasion against my country, is today being used as a spring-board for imperialist intervention against Ethiopia.

118. With the ending of colonialism in Africa and, more specifically, with the creation of Somalia as an independent State in 1960, Ethiopia hailed and welcomed the new African State in the earnest belief that the tragic episodes of expansionist wars perpetrated in our region by the colonial Powers for far too long had, at last, been permanently removed. Regrettably, however, Somalia, inheriting a legacy of expansionist dreams from its colonial mentors, devoted its entire human and material resources to the realization of that dream. It is a supreme irony that

members of the present ruling clique of Somalia, whose loyal and active services in Mussolini's invasion forces for the colonization of Ethiopia are well known, should make the ludicrous allegation that Ethiopia, whose impeccable anti-colonial struggle is a matter of record, has collaborated with colonial Powers. The truth is that Somalia's active and fanatical pursuit of the policy of expansion and territorial aggrandizement has been and remains the root cause of repeated tension and wars in our region. All the three immediate neighbours of Somalia, namely, Ethiopia, Kenya and Djibouti, have been and remain the targets of Somalia's expansionist policy.

119. During the 20 years of Somalia's existence as an independent State, a ceaseless campaign of slander, repeated wars of aggression and countless acts of terror, subversion and sabotage have been unleashed by Somalia against its neighbours, more particularly against Ethiopia. Each time, Ethiopia has exercised maximum restraint. Successive régimes in Mogadishu, however, continued the infiltration of their soldiers into Ethiopia for the purpose of wanton destruction of human life and property.

120. Africa's position on the grave situation obtaining in our region has been clear and unequivocal. As reported to this Assembly by the current Chairman of the OAU on 24 September, Africa has fully grasped the gravity of the situation and its implications for the maintenance of international peace and security. The specific conditions for peace and the normalization of relations between the two countries, as outlined by the OAU Committee and as subsequently reported to this Assembly, are the following: recognition of territorial integrity, non-interference in domestic affairs, peaceful settlement of disputes, prohibition of subversion, and inviolability of borders inherited on decolonization.

121. Expansionist Somalia, however, has once again arrogantly rejected the principled and wise counsel of Africa. It has, in fact, shown its defiance of the African family of nations by intensifying its acts of armed aggression. Its impudent and persistent violations of the cardinal principles of state sovereignty and territorial integrity enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, and its repudiation of the very resolution of the United Nations to which it owes its creation within its present borders, lead us to question the legal basis of the State of Somalia and its continued membership of this Organization.

122. Somalia's membership of the non-aligned movement, whose primary objective of peace it has trampled upon by offering military bases and facilities to a super-Power and in the service of a military bloc, should be seriously reconsidered. The fact that some Arab States have already questioned its membership of the League of Arab States is a clear manifestation of the unprincipled, irresponsible and mercenary nature of Somalia's ruling clique.

123. The short-term and the long-term interests of Somalia lie not in contemptuous disregard and impudent violation of the norms and principles governing international relations but rather in adherence to, and full compliance with, the cardinal principles of the Charter of the United Nations and that of the OAU, as well as the policy of non-alignment.

124. As a founding Member of the United Nations, the OAU and the non-aligned movement, Ethiopia has a record of scrupulous compliance with the principles of the Charter and the decisions of these organizations. We come to the United Nations to contribute to the collective efforts of Member States aimed at advancing the causes of peace and international co-operation and not to engage in polemics with the representatives of the irresponsible ruling clique in Mogadishu. Ethiopia has exercised maximum restraint in the face of constant provocation and aggression. War drums are again beating in the Horn of Africa, and Ethiopia's patience and restraint are not without limits. We urge those Powers bent on using the bellicose régime in Mogadishu as an agent of destabilization to weigh the consequences of their odious acts, which could have serious repercussions on international peace and security. Ethiopia cannot and should not be expected to endlessly divert its scarce human and material resources from development needs to fend off continuously an expansionist adventurer and its imperialist allies. Ethiopia will, indeed, be compelled to take such necessary measures as will ensure durable peace and security and preserve its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity.

125. With respect to the question of refugees, the régime in Mogadishu, which has lost all credibility, claims that it is harbouring 1.5 million so-called "Ethiopian refugees" in its territory. A régime that so dramatically demonstrated its ability to convert its entire regular army into what it conveniently calls a liberation movement is now engaged in parading its nomads, orphans, widows and drought victims in relief camps and labelling them "Ethiopian refugees". The assistance it receives by such devious means from well-intentioned members of the international community is then shamelessly diverted to feed its army of aggression. The international community is thus duped into indirectly supporting Somalia's wars of expansion. My Government categorically rejects this sinister machination and denounces it vigorously.

126. As the international community is well aware, Ethiopia has declared a general amnesty for all its nationals who happen to be in neighbouring countries. In this regard, thanks to the good offices of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the unfailing co-operation of the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan and that of the Republic of Djibouti, the process of voluntary repatriation of genuine Ethiopian refugees from the two neighbouring countries is being implemented. Whereas Ethiopia has asked for the prompt release and speedy repatriation of those Ethiopians who were forcibly abducted by the invading forces of Somalia, the question of repatriating those falsely labelled "Ethiopian refugees" by Somalia, however, does not arise, for the obvious and simple reason that they are nationals of Somalia herded into concentration camps for the sole purpose of extorting funds from the international community.

127. In conclusion, permit me to make a brief reference to a recent remark by my head of State, Comrade Chairman Mengistu Haile Mariam, who, in articulating Ethiopia's policy of peace and co-operation, said:

"As has been repeatedly emphasized at various United Nations forums and the conferences of the non-aligned

movement and the OAU, our struggle is always to foster friendship and co-operation based on justice, equality and peace among governments and peoples, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, respect for the independence and territorial integrity of all countries, and the peaceful resolution of conflicts among nations. . ."

128. This is the clear policy to which socialist Ethiopia is unswervingly committed. As I pointed out earlier in my statement, that policy of peace and co-operation is continuously being translated into practical action in Ethiopia's relations with her neighbours, namely Kenya, Djibouti and the Sudan.

129. It would be unrealistic on our part to hope that the present ruling clique in Mogadishu would see reason and join the co-operative network that is so happily developing among all the other States of the Horn of Africa. We are, however, gratified by the knowledge that the people of Somalia, whose genuine desire to live in peace and active co-operation with their brothers and sisters in the neighbouring countries has been momentarily distorted by the deranged Merihan clique, will continue to strive for the achievement of the noble aspirations of harmony and prosperity.

130. To those who might mistake our commitment to peace and co-operation for docile submission to persistent provocations, let me clearly and unambiguously sound a solemn warning. Ethiopia has so far consistently exercised patience and restraint. But its patience and restraint should not be presumed to be inexhaustible. Inasmuch as the preservation of its independence, sovereignty, national unity and territorial integrity, and of its revolution, is the *sine qua non* of its national survival, Ethiopia will not hesitate to take all and any measures necessary to ensure their protection.

131. Mr. PATTERSON (Jamaica): Let me begin, Sir, by expressing, on behalf of my delegation, our warmest congratulations to Mr. von Wechmar on his election to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. This honour is well deserved by both him and his great country. It is a tribute to his own stature as a diplomat and his qualities of leadership, and to the role being played by the Federal Republic of Germany in the international arena.

132. We also wish to pay a warm tribute to his predecessor, Ambassador Salim Ahmed Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, a close and esteemed friend of Jamaica, who so ably guided the affairs of the General Assembly during the last regular session, as well as during two emergency special sessions and the recently concluded special session. We are proud of and greatly indebted to him, particularly for his contribution to improving the working procedures of the General Assembly. His patience, skill and forbearance were noteworthy and were appreciated by all of us.

133. To the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, my Government expresses its gratitude for yet another year of devoted and able service to the cause of international peace in these difficult times.

134. Jamaica takes great pleasure in welcoming another newly independent sister Caribbean country, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, to membership in this Organization. The continued evolution of the decolonization process in the Caribbean region is a matter of profound pleasure and satisfaction to us.

135. We are forced by events, since we last met in this forum, to reflect even more profoundly on the current world situation. It gives no satisfaction to observe that the first year of the new decade has differed from the last of the old decade only in so far as the international system has slipped even deeper into crisis, as vision and creative action have been even more clearly shown to be absent.

136. But even that assessment, accurate as it is, does not fully convey the gravity of the current situation, for it fails to reveal that not only a quantitative but indeed a qualitative retrogression is occurring in the international system. That is the measure of our condition today.

137. Year after year, during the past decade, a recurring theme in this very hall has been the need to complement political independence with economic independence, and to complement political decolonization with economic liberation.

138. But what do we find? Meeting as we are in the shadow of the eleventh special session—and I say “shadow” deliberately—we can only say with profound dismay and regret that little has changed. The establishment of new and equitable economic relations among States appears destined to remain for a long time a task deferred by an international community insensitive to its own enlightened self-interest. At the same time, other profoundly disturbing developments are occurring in the international system, developments which indicate that basic and fundamental political gains made by the developing countries in the post-colonial era are now also under assault.

139. Jamaica firmly believes that it is neither an accident nor sheer coincidence that the international political climate is undergoing its most significant deterioration at precisely the time when international economic conditions are at their worst and when the need to restructure the international economic system is most compelling.

140. The effects of this grave situation are now being felt with increasing force and are having deleterious consequences throughout the entire international system.

141. The countries of the Caribbean greatly prize their political independence. This is so not only because we recognize political independence as a fundamental and basic right, but because of our harsh experience. The yoke of colonialism rested heavily and for a long time on the shoulders of our peoples. The vestiges still remain.

142. Today our region stands at a critical juncture in its political and economic history. Our primary task is the economic reconstruction of post-colonial society. But, as our people seek to channel their energies and their skills in that direction, we find that that difficult task must be attempted in the context of outmoded international eco-

nomie relations and institutions and increasingly under the heavy shadow of political and military developments which threaten our sovereignty and our freedom of action and choice, and seek to promote political dependency in new forms.

143. It must be recognized by those who would seek to assert definitive influence on and to be the final arbiters of events in our region that this can ultimately only be the responsibility of the Caribbean peoples themselves. The Caribbean must become a zone of peace and tranquillity. That is why Jamaica once again calls upon all countries, particularly the super-Powers, to respect and accept the ideological plurality of the Caribbean region. That is not now the case. Consequently the task of the Governments and peoples of the region to build more just societies and to carry out social and economic reforms in the interest of the majority is made immeasurably more difficult.

144. My Government is profoundly encouraged by the efforts to promote economic co-operation among the countries of Latin America. In June of this year the Government of Trinidad and Tobago established a facility for the countries of the Caribbean Community [*CARICOM*] on the basis of their purchases from that country of petroleum and petroleum products, fertilizer and asphalt. More recently the major oil exporters of our region, Venezuela and Mexico, have also established a programme to assist some oil-importing countries in Central America and the Caribbean. My Government warmly appreciates those actions by the Governments of Trinidad and Tobago, Venezuela and Mexico, and commends them as steps to be considered by other regions and institutions.

145. The call for the establishment of the New International Economic Order was given full and formal expression at the historic Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers from 5 to 9 September 1973 and at the sixth special session of the General Assembly, held in May 1974. At that time most of the developed countries adopted an attitude of either indifference or hostility to our proposals for change. They ignored the prognostications from our side about the dangers we would all face if the developed countries failed to take seriously the imperative need for change in the world economic order.

146. A remarkable feature of the present time is the growing convergence of perceptions expressed by both the developed and the developing world when we discuss the global economic situation. We all agree that the prospects for our collective future are bleak indeed. But although we both tend to use the same vocabulary, the actions of the developed countries contradict their language and bear testimony to their continued resistance to changing the structure of the world economic system.

147. Today all of us must accept the simple reality that survival has truly become a collective need. It is the concern of us all. The economic circumstances and problems of the North cannot be isolated from those of the South. However, some developed countries appear to believe that the developing world can be flattered by their willingness to engage us in a dialogue on co-operation for global survival while

international economic affairs continue to be fashioned and managed as though they were the preserve of the rich world. If we had any doubts about that, the recently concluded eleventh special session of the Assembly has brought us face to face with the painful reality.

148. At the current session of the General Assembly it is not sufficient merely to review the state of the North-South dialogue. What we need to do is to commit ourselves to action to take us out of the present impasse. Above all we must take steps to manage the process of change which is necessary if we are to achieve peace, equity and stability in the international order. We of the developing world here and now invite the industrialized countries to step forward with us.

149. Jamaica remains convinced that the approach and the principles upon which the Group of 77 insisted at the special session are fundamental to the requirements of the global community and must not be compromised. The interrelationships between money and finance, commodity trade, energy, raw materials and food determine the global economic condition.

150. We ought therefore, as sovereign Governments acting within the framework of a universal body, to ensure that, in the context of global negotiations, we fulfil our responsibility to deal with those problems, problems in respect of which specialized agencies and institutions have neither the universal status nor the global focus to formulate a coherent programme of policies and measures required at this time. Such a process, however much it may respect the functions and competence of various international institutions and forums, must overcome the separation and insulation of issues such as money and finance.

151. Those issues, along with energy, represent the centre-piece of international concern today. They are in fact the life-blood of national and international economic activity and they must be placed at the centre of global negotiations.

152. We are painfully aware of the sensitivities which surround the issues of money and finance. What is most striking is the degree to which the interests and institutions involved in this sphere are subjected to powerful and protective forces and the extent to which these have been insulated from the broad global dialogue and the emerging understanding of development and international economic relations.

153. My Government does not believe that the international community can treat as sacrosanct an international monetary system and its institutions which adhere to diagnoses and prescriptions relevant to the time and circumstances of their establishment over three decades ago. The truth is that we need to demystify these matters.

154. The international monetary system must be urgently brought into line with the complex realities of today's international economic concerns and with the clearly evident needs and conditions of the developing countries. The call for such changes becomes more urgent every day, and developing countries are by no means alone in making it. That was most recently demonstrated at the South-North Confer-

ence on the International Monetary System and the New International Order, held at Arusha from 30 June to 3 July 1980.

155. When we speak of questions such as the adjustment process and conditionality attached to drawings from IMF, we are not merely dealing with broad international and national factors. The practices and policies in those areas have an immediate and direct impact on the lives and prospects of individual human beings. We are urged by a number of international institutions and by many others, especially from industrialized countries, that we should attend to the interest of the less privileged in our countries. Yet, the policies and practices related to the adjustment process and to conditionality extract great sacrifices from the very same sectors of our populations.

156. Jamaica believes that reforms would be in the interest of all countries, and would address one of the main problems now affecting the international economic system.

157. Energy is perhaps the most important physical input for the productive and service sectors of the world economy. Two basic facts are evident in this context.

158. First, hydrocarbons provide the main source of usable energy in today's world, and secondly, supplies of this non-renewable source will be exhausted in the foreseeable future. While the relative emphasis attached to either of these may vary from country to country, we are all greatly affected by both in the long run.

159. The world community therefore has an obligation to deploy adequate financial and technological resources to tap potential sources of new and renewable energy. We must ensure that the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, scheduled for 1981, takes concrete action in this regard.

160. The other major concern in energy relates to the availability of supplies to the oil-importing developing countries. Inflation in the global economy sustains the pressure on the price of oil and the capacities of those countries to achieve economic growth and development. It has been shown, for example, that a 4.5 per cent growth in the gross domestic product of a country in the industrialized world requires a corresponding proportionate increase in the demand for energy. However, in the case of the developing countries, the increase implied in the demand for energy, given the same percentage growth in gross domestic product, is nearer 6 per cent.

161. It is clear, therefore, that on all counts the oil-importing developing countries require special assistance to enable them to meet the energy requirements consistent with their growth and development objectives.

162. My delegation notes with special pleasure the efforts within the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries to transform the Special Fund into a bank to assist the developing countries. We note also the initiatives in the World Bank to strengthen its facilities for assisting developing countries with the exploration and development of their indigenous energy resources.

163. But we must face squarely the question whether these efforts by themselves, commendable as they are, really address the fundamental issues of energy and development. The answer is clear and the prospects are not reassuring. Surely it must be the classic contradiction of our time that over \$500 billion of the world's resources are annually devoted to the manufacture of arms, while the central banks in the oil-importing developing countries struggle to survive the economic dislocations caused by their accumulated balance-of-payments deficit, now running at \$50 billion. And, while this situation persists, our countries are forced to reduce imports of food, fertilizer, drugs and vital raw materials to well below minimum required levels.

164. The eleventh special session was intended to launch the global round of negotiations next year and to approve the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade. We reached consensus on the Strategy, but the text that emerged bears the harsh marks of resistance on the part of many industrialized countries to a really effective global effort. We failed to persuade the industrialized countries to join in what could have been a consensus on a text on the mechanisms for the global round of negotiations—a text which some developing countries, including Jamaica, found inadequate in expression of the vital role of the central conference. At the current session, the General Assembly must find a way to overcome these obstacles and begin to tackle with real purpose the social and economic problems which confront us all.

165. Earlier this year, the international community took a step towards addressing the problem of price fluctuations and development issues in world commodity trade. My Government welcomes the Agreement establishing the Common Fund for Commodities,³ inadequate though it is. But, as we have stated before, this achievement merely provides a foundation upon which we should seek to build enduring structures to deal with the outstanding issues in world commodity trade.

166. The predictions of serious economic difficulties, which some developed countries found convenient to ignore a few years ago, have become the reality of today.

167. This General Assembly must now take full cognizance of the fact that the economic and financial crises facing the world and affecting in particular the developing countries can only be corrected by immediate and drastic action. Some are confronted with the problems now. The forecasts tell us that others will face them in turn tomorrow.

168. The Independent Commission on International Development Issues—the Brandt Commission—presented the world with an analysis and a set of recommendations and proposals⁴ for the alleviation of poverty and the promotion of international peace and equity and stability. These do not represent the full measure of the call for the New International Economic Order. Nevertheless, they confirm the basic thesis of the developing countries that change is imperative: time is not on our side.

³ Document TD/IPC/CF/CONF/24.

⁴ *North-South: A program for survival*: report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues under the chairmanship of Willy Brandt (Cambridge, Massachusetts, the MIT Press, 1980).

169. The general lack of progress on international economic issues is paralleled by a serious worsening of the political climate.

170. We note with profound concern that a particularly unwelcome development in the past year or so has been that, as tension in the international system has increased, the focus of concern among the major Powers has shifted decisively towards preoccupation with issues of ideological competition and great-Power rivalry. This has occurred at the expense of issues vital to the economic survival and development of the majority of nations.

171. The super-Powers and major blocs must end now their dangerous journey into the past before they become mired so deeply that history will repeat itself as tragedy.

172. The arms race continues unabated. The stalemate which marked last month the review of the non-proliferation Treaty,⁵ the renewed calls for more sophisticated weapons and weapon systems, reflect the collapse of sanity and moderation and the bellicose spirit of our day.

173. Jamaica believes that détente, which appears to be increasingly in jeopardy, must now be placed firmly and securely back on track if the best interests of the international community are to be served. In this respect, we welcome the imminent resumption of discussions between the Soviet Union and the United States on the deployment of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe and the reconvening of the Vienna Talks on Mutual Reduction of Forces, Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe. Above all, the early ratification of SALT II⁶ is essential.

174. The defusing of the current international hostility is a matter of immediate concern to all the countries of the third world. Our respective regions continue to be the theatres in which great-Power rivalry and ideological competition take on their most concrete and destructive form as incendiary elements in regional conflicts and disputes.

175. In this context, Jamaica notes with great concern the resurgence of the view that entire regions and areas of the globe—in Africa, in Asia and in Latin America—are considered fair game for the application of outmoded spheres of influence policies by great Powers as part of their arbitrary attempts to fit such areas into the confines of their perceived interests.

176. It will be recalled that in an earlier era precisely such assumptions and policies so seriously threatened the independence, sovereignty and freedom of action of small and less powerful States that the non-aligned movement was founded as a countervailing force in the international system. Now, two decades later, despite the growth and dynamism of that great movement and despite its historic role as a vanguard in the democratization of international rela-

⁵ Second Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, held at Geneva from 11 August to 7 September 1980.

⁶ Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed at Vienna on 18 June 1979.

tions, policies and practices hostile to the principles and spirit of non-alignment appear to be on the ascendancy once again.

177. We remain convinced that the policy of non-alignment offers the best hope for the preservation of the independence of developing countries and for peace in the international community. Jamaica stands firm in its commitment to the non-aligned movement and its policies.

178. We have expressed in this and other forums our views on recent events in South-West Asia. It remains our concern that there should be an early return to normality, in the interest of stability in the region and the wider interest of international peace.

179. In South-East Asia, the collective effort of States in that region is required in order to reduce tension and conflict and to establish a zone of peace.

180. Differences between Iran and Iraq, two non-aligned States, have regrettably erupted into open conflict. The outbreak of fighting between those two neighbouring Islamic countries is a cause of great human suffering and has world-wide repercussions. Jamaica takes this opportunity to appeal to these two States to bring an end to hostilities and to resolve their dispute peacefully, in keeping with the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of the non-aligned movement.

181. In the Middle East the crisis has deepened. The past year has seen developments which place further obstacles in the path of peace. We have seen Israel's continued promotion of illegal settlements, its measures intended to annex the eastern part of Jerusalem, and the continuation of its attacks on Lebanon, all in contravention of relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

182. At the same time, the denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people remains a painful reality. It is well established that at the core of the conflict is the tragedy of the Palestinian people. No peace can be effective or permanent which does not enable the Palestinian people to exercise its right to self-determination, independence and sovereignty, and which does not ensure the security of all States in the region.

183. At this session we celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The positive achievements of the United Nations in decolonization in those 20 years need no elaboration.

184. The right of the people of Belize to self-determination and independence with territorial integrity has been reaffirmed by the United Nations on many occasions. The administering Power acknowledges that right. The people of Belize are ready and anxious to exercise it. Jamaica supports the proposal to be put forward at this session of the General Assembly so that we can act to ensure that the exercise of the right to independence by the people of Belize is no longer delayed, and that they may with confidence and the support of the world community enjoy that right. Guatemala should no longer be allowed to exercise a *de facto* veto and thus prolong the colonial status of a neighbouring State.

185. It is a source of great joy to us that Zimbabwe has at long last been liberated and has already joined this Organization. The long years of suffering and sacrifice for justice and freedom were not in vain. The triumph of their cause appears to augur well for the struggle of the people of Namibia against the illegal and oppressive occupation of their country by racist South Africa. However, the chances of success by negotiated settlement are receding. Continued prevarication and refusal to co-operate on the part of South Africa must be firmly dealt with by the application of sanctions, as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter.

186. The continued refusal of influential members of the international community to support the application of sanctions against the racist minority régime in Pretoria reveals even more clearly the hypocrisy which informs their position on this question. Gross violations of international norms and conduct are punishable by sanctions. Some members of the international community appear to recognize this only when their immediate interests are directly threatened.

187. No country has more consistently defied the decisions of the United Nations and the International Court of Justice than South Africa. We note with bitterness the behaviour of those States which are only too willing to avoid the application of sanctions here, despite the most flagrant and continued abuse.

188. The widespread resistance of the oppressed people of South Africa to the abhorrent system of *apartheid* has assumed new dimensions. The brutality and savagery of police repression of protesters earlier this year are signs of the increasing desperation of the authorities. It is an affront to people of conscience that the *apartheid* régime continues to be sustained and strengthened by contacts with the outside world. Even worse is the fear aroused by the events of late last year that South Africa had become a nuclear Power. Those who have constantly disregarded the many warnings issued and the calls for terminating nuclear collaboration must face severe indictment for placing the nuclear weapon in the hands of a criminal régime.

189. Despite the prevailing gloom there have been a few encouraging developments. Jamaica welcomes the reopening of dialogue between the two communities in Cyprus. We encourage the parties to approach the negotiations in a constructive spirit, to lay aside the grievances and antagonisms of the past, and to work together towards building a united and harmonious existence for all Cypriots.

190. At the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women, held at Copenhagen from 4 to 30 July 1980, we reviewed and evaluated at the midpoint of the United Nations Decade for Women the progress made in implementing the recommendations of the World Conference of the International Women's Year, which was held at Mexico City from 19 June to 2 July 1975. In that sphere, much has been achieved during the first half of the decade. On the international front, there is the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women [resolution 34/180, annex], of which Jamaica is a signatory. The Voluntary Fund for the United Nations Decade for Women has been functioning since 1977 to the benefit of women and children in a number of countries.

191. At the national level, we in Jamaica have implemented or are in the process of implementing most of the mandates which were adopted at the Conference through the World Plan of Action.⁷ This we have done through legislative provisions and educational and social programmes, as well as the establishment of national machinery to deal with matters of specific concern to women and children.

192. The Programme of Action adopted at Copenhagen,⁸ with its emphasis on equality, development and peace and on such issues as employment, health and education, is important in the continuing quest for the full recognition of the rights of women.

193. A development of major significance is the progress achieved by the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea at its resumed ninth session at Geneva. From that meeting there has emerged a package on all the outstanding matters relating to the exploration and exploitation of the common heritage area. That package represents a compromise by all sides. It holds out the possibility that the adoption of a universal convention on the law of the sea is close at hand and that the tenth session of the Conference will be its last. We hope that nothing will occur to disturb that momentum.

194. Jamaica reiterates its readiness to host the international sea-bed authority.

195. In all our endeavours we should not fail to give attention to the interpersonal aspect of human affairs, which in the final analysis is the most fundamental. The way in which communities and nations regard each other is often quite different from the way in which individuals react to each other when they meet.

196. Few areas of human activity are more charged with possibilities than travel and tourism, which is a rapidly growing international industry. No development is more spectacular than the growth of the technology, and its applications, in the field of communications.

197. As we seek here and elsewhere to find ways of establishing peace and equity in relations between States and regions, we must equally search for ways of encouraging greater contact among peoples. That must be achieved on the basis of appreciation for different cultures and in a manner that facilitates the eradication of those notions of superiority, suspicion and hatred which still unduly influence so much of the relations among countries.

198. My delegation calls on the United Nations system to give greater attention to tourism as a means of providing an impetus to global economic activity and to recognize it as a means for promoting better human understanding.

199. It is a long-standing truism among historians that chronological devices such as decades are in many ways but

artificial contrivances to which history and events often pay little heed. That has been amply demonstrated during the past year. The problems of the past have remained stubbornly with us, in many cases compounded and seeming even less to admit of early solutions.

200. As we have met in forum after forum to address the major political and economic problems of our time, the cascade of words has brought forth but a trickle of deeds. A verbal avalanche has yielded a veritable mound of inaction. Success continues to elude our grasp.

201. But we must persevere. We must remain undaunted. We must stand firm for peace. We must stand firm against the exploitation of nation by nation, of man by man. From our achievements, though few, we must recognize the measure of the possible.

202. Our obligation to history and to succeeding generations must be to redouble our efforts now to effect meaningful political and economic change now, even as the obstacles increase.

203. The United Nations is the corner-stone of all our hope. It is here we must lay foundations for the future.

204. Mr. NOGUES (Paraguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the delegation of Paraguay, I am pleased to welcome the new Member States of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Zimbabwe to our community of nations.

205. The long list of items on the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly contains a few of undoubted interest to my country, such as the United Nations Special Fund for Land-locked Developing Countries; the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea; the draft international convention against the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries; the banning of nuclear weapons in Latin America and other continents, as well as related questions; development and international economic co-operation with all their implications; the draft articles on most-favoured-nation clauses and so on. The delegation of Paraguay will be setting forth its views on those and other questions. This should, of course, not be taken to imply a lack of interest—for of course we are interested to some degree—in all the other agenda items.

206. Having offered this brief clarification, in the interest of the brevity that should mark what is termed the general debate, I am pleased to make mention of the positive contribution of my country throughout the long period that has passed since Paraguay, with 49 other countries, signed the Charter in San Francisco. Since then, we have watched this Organization grow and our words have never strayed from the ideals which attended its birth.

207. We are a peace-loving people. In two world wars, we have defended our honour, our land and our rights with bravery.

208. Our country is no improvisation. Our international identity has deep roots in the history of America, and the name of my country is synonymous with firmness, decisiveness and crystal clarity in its dealings with other nations. We

⁷ Report of the World Conference of the International Women's Year (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.IV.1), chap. II, sect. A.

⁸ Report of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.80.IV.3 and corrigendum), chap. I, sect. A.

have a keen sense of friendship and co-operation, as well as an inflexible and inveterate instinct for independence and uprightness.

209. Thanks to those qualities of the Paraguayan people, the Government of President Stroessner has been able to give our country an unprecedented and unparalleled rate of growth in progress and prosperity, in a climate of peace, with guarantees for the essential rights of the human person. Paraguay, which is governed by a modern Constitution democratically adopted in 1967, enjoys the free interplay of political parties and, at the present time, boasts an annual growth rate of 10.5 per cent, the highest on the continent, and perhaps in the entire world; our foreign public debt situation is sound, our rate of exchange with the dollar having remained unchanged since 1960; we keep within our public budget in a satisfactory manner, and our unemployment rate is practically nil. Eighty per cent of the population can read and write, and education and public health receive priority attention from the Government; indeed, sizeable portions of our budgets are allocated to those areas. The large projects in Itaipú and Yacyretá, the expenses for which we share with Brazil and Argentina respectively, will make Paraguay a leading producer of electric energy.

210. I take the liberty of providing the Assembly with this brief outline of the general situation in Paraguay today because it is essential that we all get to know one another at first hand and in a straightforward manner, especially those of us who do not utilize the secrets of mercenary propaganda and who do not have the economic or political power to stop that kind of propaganda. This is a universal forum where there must be not only a legitimate desire for peace but also an honest desire to speak the truth. We are a responsible, respectable country which has rightly earned its place in the civilized world.

211. Barely two weeks ago, the city of Asunción, the capital of my country, was the scene of a barbarous act of terrorism in which General Anastasio Somoza Debayle, ex-President of the Republic of Nicaragua, was brutally assassinated.

212. That heinous murder, so alien to the peaceful life that the institutions of Paraguay have enjoyed for more than a quarter of a century, elicited vigorous repudiation, quite apart from the question of who were morally or materially responsible, and quite apart from their motives.

213. That infamous act of aggression had one novel feature typical of terrorism: the civilian population was placed on the brink of disaster of incalculable dimensions, for the savage and dastardly act was perpetrated in the full light of day, right in the middle of the city.

214. In 1947, international communism, in league with opponents of our régime who had become docile instruments, attempted to set up a Marxist régime in my country. This resulted in an armed clash that lasted nearly half a year, but was put down thanks to the indomitable will of the Republican National Association and the Colorado Party, which closed ranks with the loyal and uncontaminated army. In 1959 and 1960 armed gunmen, who had been clandestinely infiltrated from abroad, once again tried by

force of arms to impose Marxist dogma on Paraguay. No holds were barred in the bloody fighting which ensued, which was marked by the ferocity of the attackers. But it was all to no avail, because not only was there no response from the rural population of my country, but, more importantly, the perpetrators were identified and severely punished by the very peasants whose lives and property had been so heedlessly assaulted. Thus this is not the first time that my country has been the victim of aggression.

215. On this last occasion the entire citizenry in a variety of ways condemned the crime perpetrated in Asunción, and both Houses of the National Congress, in a genuine expression of the popular will, unanimously adopted pertinent legislative resolutions. The Chamber of Deputies expressed its "firmest determination not to compromise or falter in the struggle to preserve the immutable principles of Western Christian civilization". The Senate, for its part, after referring to the refugee status of the principal victim, declared that:

"... from the material evidence and the data thus far collected, there is ample reason to conclude that the assassination was conceived and decided upon abroad; that it was executed by foreigners, with weapons brought in clandestinely for this purpose, and that their motives, which are foreign to our country, were at variance with its customs, its respect for human rights, and the democratic nature of its political struggles. Therefore, irrespective of the cause motivating the crime, this criminal act constitutes a barbaric act of aggression by international terrorism against Paraguay. It disrupted the public tranquillity in our country with unprecedented bloodshed and has sullied our image, although it is obvious that it was nothing other than an act of political spite and vengeance on the part of other countries".

216. By way of additional information, I should like to bring to the attention of this Assembly the fact that the Government of Paraguay has decided to suspend diplomatic relations with the Nicaraguan Government of National Reconstruction.

217. This decision was based on a number of clues pointing to the participation of the Sandinista Movement of Nicaragua in the crime perpetrated on Paraguayan territory against the ex-President of Nicaragua.

218. There was also presumption and obvious bad faith in the remarks made by a member of that governing Junta, Rafael Córdova Rivas, who, in a statement on 17 September 1980, made grave threats against the chief magistrate of the Republic of Paraguay, which was a provocation of the Paraguayan people that had elected him, in free elections and by an overwhelming majority, as their chief of State.

219. Article 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights [*resolution 217 A (III)*] says that "Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person", and article 14 says that "Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution", while, under articles 10 and 11, only judicial action can impede that right; and article 30 says that no State, group or person has the right "to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein".

220. Consequently, with justified indignation, I wish, on behalf of my country and in the name of human rights, to express in this Assembly our most vigorous protest and repudiation of that terrorist act.

221. We must ask ourselves whether mankind, represented in this Assembly, has suicidal tendencies. A well-known military leader of the United States, Douglas MacArthur, once said that, in the final analysis, the reason for all failures is that one "arrived too late".

222. May time not work in favour of barbaric acts and may God kindle a ray of common sense and hope in our consciences. That is Paraguay's hope, so that the current session of the General Assembly, guided by the well-known diplomatic experience and personal qualities of its President, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar, will become a landmark in the difficult task of maintaining international peace and security.

223. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call on those representatives who have asked to speak in exercise of their right of reply. May I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, the first intervention in the exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes and the second intervention to five minutes, and that they should be made by delegations from their seats.

224. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): There is a sad proverb current among Somalis which says that "When lies have an early start, it is difficult for the truth to catch up". The misrepresentations of realities to which the Assembly has been exposed today may fall within that wisdom. I am compelled, however, once again to refute falsehood and set the record straight.

225. In the interest of accuracy, therefore, I should like to state once again that no agreement, recent or otherwise, made by my Government has ever permitted foreign military bases to come into being in our country.

226. But the military bases that actually do exist in north-east Africa are, incidentally, those under the direct control of the Soviet Union, and I note that there are even more across the Red Sea in South Yemen. It is an indisputable fact that the Ethiopian military Government has granted bases at the Eritrean ports of Massawa and Assab and on the Dahlak Islands off the same coast. Moreover, the controlling super-Power is afforded the unfettered use of every one of Ethiopia's many airports—not only military but also civilian airports.

227. Somalia also totally rejects repeated Ethiopian allegations of Somalia's military involvement in the liberation struggle being waged by the Western Somali Liberation Front. The aim of Addis Ababa is to mislead international public opinion by making the liberation struggle appear as armed conflict between Somalia and Ethiopia. One wonders which other Power or State that régime blames for the liberation struggles which continue to be waged by Ovomo, Eritrean, Tigrean and other oppressed nationalities.

228. During the past 10 months colonialist Ethiopia has continually violated the territorial integrity of the Somali

Democratic Republic and carried out aerial attacks on Somali towns and villages, not sparing even refugee camps, with consequent considerable loss of life and limb as well as destruction of property.

229. Not deterred by the overwhelming recognition by the international community and the United Nations that the most serious refugee problem in the world obtains in Somalia and results from the policies of repression and genocide of the Ethiopian régime, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of that country has heretofore resorted to the shameless denial by his Government of the existence of the refugees. The policy of his Government to depopulate the Ogaden and resettle their drought-stricken people from other areas is too well known for me to dwell upon.

230. The aim behind that Fascist scheme is to bring about the total transformation of the ethnic and demographic composition of the territory and achieve a "final solution" by transplanting other nationalities in their place—all under the guise of resettling so-called displaced persons.

231. The Ethiopian Minister for Foreign Affairs now admits the existence of the enormous refugee problem in north-eastern Africa—albeit in an evasive way. He speaks of Ethiopian nationals "who happen to be in neighbouring countries" and offers them "general amnesty". Why? What have they done? Is it a crime to flee red terror or seek self-determination? The Minister admits—and the world well knows—that in that empire State it is. The Minister speaks of over 2 million displaced persons, while less than a month ago, his diplomats were cynically claiming their number to be 5 million when they thought there was a chance of international aid. Before that, the figure was 200,000. We do not know exactly what the true figures are.

232. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia has taken the amazing and quite unprincipled step of trying to use the uncompleted preliminary and confidential proceedings of a Good Offices Committee, set up by the OAU to work patiently towards promoting a just and lasting settlement of one of the persistent problems of the Horn of Africa, to further Ethiopia's own mischievous propaganda and obscure continued oppression and the denial of the rights of the colonized people to self-determination and freedom. Perhaps it is that act of political chicanery which drove the Chairman of the OAU to state to this Assembly that the Committee's efforts had not seemed "to have been successful" and that "if anything, tension appears to have increased of late" [*8th meeting*].

233. It remains to be seen what view the leaders of the OAU will take of such a blatant attempt to use the inner workings of our continental organization as an extension of Ethiopia's policy of suppression and the denial of human rights. Let the reason for the failure of the deliberations be stated: it is first and foremost that they have not yet—at least at the point when Ethiopia exposed them to the disruptive light of its propaganda—taken into account the legitimate rights of the people of western Somalia themselves. It is those rights, after all, as my Minister pointed out on 29 September 1980 [*15th meeting*] that lie at the crux of the dispute.

234. It is open to the Minister for Foreign Affairs to speak of the relations between his régime and some of Ethiopia's neighbours—the involuntary hosts to hundreds of thousands of disaffected citizens—but he goes much further. He takes it upon himself to comment on who should or should not be in the non-aligned movement, and even the League of Arab States and the United Nations itself, and discourses on the relations between my country and its other neighbours.

235. Let it be clearly stated that my Government is not aware of any problems in the cordial relations we have with our brothers and sisters in either Djibouti or Kenya. Our role in the decolonization of Djibouti is too well known to be repeated here. Suffice it to say that the Somali Democratic Republic was the first to recognize the independence of the Republic of Djibouti. Nor shall we allow Ethiopia to create mistrust between us at this stage.

236. But what of Ethiopia's own relations with its neighbours, particularly Eritrea? Members of the Assembly will not have missed the several scarcely veiled threats of impending Ethiopian escalation of the aggressive activity it mounts daily against my country. One need look no further than Eritrea to see that the danger which we are in is indeed very real.

237. One thing is very certain. The aggression against my country, openly bragged of here today, will be resisted fiercely. We consider the threat of aggression against my country, which was openly stated at the end of the statement by the Minister, as an extremely serious development which we hope that this Assembly will take note of. I assure you that this threat, when it materializes, will be resisted fiercely, and Ethiopia and its allies will find us at their front, they will find us at their rear, they will find us on their right and on their left.

238. Another certainty remains: that sooner rather than later, the freedom which we Somalis enjoy will be celebrated also by the suppressed nationalities within the prison-State of Ethiopia. Aggression and persistent colonialism meet their just rewards. That is an inescapable fact of history.

239. Mr. CASTILLO ARRIOLA (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the delegation of Guatemala and very much to my regret, I am in duty bound to exercise the right of reply in order to reject the erroneous assertions of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Jamaica in connection with the question of Belize. This is very much to my regret since Jamaica, being a member of the British Commonwealth, should be better informed of the evolution of an issue which my country and the United Kingdom decided by common agreement to submit to the procedure for the peaceful settlement of disputes in accordance with the Charter of this Organization.

240. It is true that here in the United Nations we are commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in resolution 1514 (1960), my country being among those which contributed positively to its formulation. But it is equally true that that resolution contains provisions preserving the territorial integrity of the founding States and of the States Members of this Organization.

241. The right to independence and self-determination of Belize, as we have repeatedly stated, is not an ordinary case. The current problems of decolonization are almost over. On the question of Belize, it is true that the administering Power has recognized that that right belongs to that people. But it has also recognized that, as regards that territory, there is a legitimate claim on Guatemala's part in a territorial dispute which both sides have decided to submit to peaceful procedures for negotiation and settlement before independence.

242. If it is affirmed that Belize is ready for independence, Guatemala, a Member State of this Organization, is also ready to defend its territorial integrity and its national unity which are being affected by a still unresolved dispute.

243. In this connection, may I inform the Assembly that this year three meetings for negotiation were held with the participation of representatives of Belize, the United Kingdom and Guatemala, and we hope there will shortly be a further meeting at the highest level to seek a solution to this problem, which is not simple but very complicated.

244. That is why I formally reject—while expressing my astonishment at it—the assertion of the representative of Jamaica who, instead of understanding that we are in a convulsed world, a world on the brink of war and threatened by so many dangers, attacks two countries which are endeavouring to find through peaceful means of negotiation a solution to a complex and dangerous problem.

245. It is in this sense that, on behalf of my country and my Government, I reject the erroneous assertion of the Minister of Jamaica to the effect that Guatemala is exercising a *de facto* veto, whereas the only thing it has been doing is to exercise its right to defend its national unity and territorial integrity.

246. We believe that he has been the only speaker in this general debate to speak in such terms about Belize, and we regret that fact. We believe that attitudes of that kind, far from contributing to a solution which will lead to an equitable settlement of the question and allow even for the safeguarding of the highest interests of the peoples of Belize and Guatemala, will hinder the negotiations to which my country and my Government have come with their best intentions in the hope of achieving a satisfactory solution.

247. Mr. AL-HAMZAH (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My delegation asked to be allowed to exercise its right of reply with regard to the false allegations made in the statement of the representative of Oman this afternoon—allegations with which he sought to conceal reality and the latest measures taken by the Omani régime in the signing of agreements with the United States whereby that Power has been accorded the right to establish military bases on its territory. It is not strange that these allegations should have been made by the representative of that régime, which faces great opposition from the people of Oman, under the leadership of the Omani Liberation Front, opposition aimed at eliminating the military bases of the United States and achieving true independence and national sovereignty and control of its resources for the people of Oman.

248. Democratic Yemen resolutely repudiates these allegations, which have no basis in fact, since it is dedicated to

seeing to it that security and stability prevail in that region. And this means that full co-operation and mutual understanding among the peoples of that region should be strengthened, together with mutual respect and non-interference in the internal affairs of each and every State.

249. We reaffirm also that Oman's present problem is an internal matter which is of interest and concern to Oman alone, no matter what efforts might be made by Oman with regard to the settlement of this problem. These allegations are in accordance with the plan now being carried out by world imperialists in order to continue their pillaging of the resources of the region and impose their domination over the peoples of the region so as to be able to give effect to the Camp David agreements of 1978 and protect the racist régime in occupied Palestine.

250. The grave threat now posed to our region following the establishment of a number of United States military bases, especially in Oman and Somalia, requires that the international community, all our peoples and all peace-loving forces make continuous and tireless efforts to ensure that our region enjoys permanent peace and independence.

251. Mr. DINKA (Ethiopia): At the beginning of his statement the representative of Somalia quoted a proverb of his country and said that when lies have an early start it is difficult for truth to catch up with them. This is very true, and who among us knows better than the Somalis how to manufacture a new lie to serve their equally illusory goals?

252. The Ethiopian delegation has asked to speak, not to engage in sterile polemics or to dignify with a reply the perfidious remarks of the representative of Somalia. To do so would be to pay undue respect to Somalia's well-known fairy tales. My Foreign Minister has fully apprised this Assembly of Ethiopia's position with regard to the dangerous developments in our region and their implications for international peace and security. We sympathize with the representative of Somalia, whose task of defending that which is indefensible has led him to the most pathetic form

of cheap exhibitionism and an abysmally low standard of human behaviour. Hence, not to prolong the agony of the representative of Somalia, the Ethiopian delegation, while categorically rejecting all the allegations advanced by the representative of Somalia, wishes to dismiss those oft-repeated and stale utterances with the contempt they so richly deserve.

253. Before I conclude my brief intervention, I should like to refer to the allegation of the representative of Somalia concerning the existence of foreign military bases in my country. I solemnly assure this Assembly that there are no foreign military bases of any kind on Ethiopian soil. However, the amazing thing is that the representative of Somalia at the same time added that there was no agreement between his country and a foreign Power that would allow any foreign Power to have military bases on the soil of Somalia. This must be very disquieting indeed to the Government of the United States, with which Somalia has just signed an agreement and whose Senate Appropriations Committee yesterday voted \$40 million as rent for military bases in Somalia. We are familiar with the perfidy and treachery of Somalia, but I think this is a clear warning to the United States, which is getting on to unknown ground and should be on its guard.

254. Mr. JIBRAN (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The information contained in the statement made by my delegation is accurate and well known to all. The representative of Democratic Yemen was unable to refute it in his statement. His words were simply an attempt to hide the truth and were intended for local consumption and for propaganda purposes. The contradiction is clear between his claim concerning non-interference in the internal affairs of a State and the remarks at the beginning of his statement about the exercise of the right of reply. My delegation does not wish to sink to that level and waste the time of this Assembly.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.