



Friday, 8 October 1982,
at 3.30 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda and organization of work
(*continued*):*

(a) Report of the General Committee

1. The PRESIDENT: In paragraph 1 (a) and (b) of its second report, in document A/37/250/Add.1, the General Committee recommends the inclusion in the agenda of an additional item entitled "Immediate cessation and prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests" and its allocation to the First Committee. May I take it that the General Assembly approves that recommendation?

It was so decided (decision 37/402).

2. The PRESIDENT: In paragraph 2 (a) and (b) of the report the General Committee recommends the inclusion of an additional item entitled "Intensification of efforts to remove the threat of nuclear war and ensure the safe development of nuclear energy" and its allocation to the First Committee. May I take it that the General Assembly approves that recommendation also?

It was so decided (decision 37/402).

3. The PRESIDENT: The Chairman of the First Committee will be informed of the decisions just taken by the General Assembly.

4. We now turn to paragraph 3 of the General Committee's report. On the basis of the recommendations of the Committee on Conferences, the General Committee recommends that the General Assembly should authorize the following subsidiary organs to hold meetings during the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly:

(a) Committee of Governmental Experts to Evaluate the Present Structure of the Secretariat in the Administrative, Finance and Personnel Areas;

(b) Committee on Relations with the Host Country;

(c) Working Group on the Financing of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East.

5. May I consider that the General Assembly approves that recommendation of the General Committee?

It was so decided (decision 37/403).

6. Mr. PAZ BARNICA (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the people and Government of Honduras I should like most sincerely to congratulate you, Sir, on your fitting election as President of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. I would likewise express our gratitude to your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Kittani, who in the discharge of his duties, in a particularly difficult year, demonstrated great ability, firmness and diplomatic tact. As a Latin American I am also very happy to greet Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, the Secretary-General, who, with the valuable co-operation of a Secretariat dedicated to the lofty ideals of the Organization, has given dynamic direction and impetus to the many activities that have been entrusted to him.

7. The creation of the United Nations inspired great hope among the peoples of the world. The Organization established the instruments of peace and co-operation that were needed to help a world that had been afflicted by war. Although the ideological rivalry of the super-Powers soon paralysed valuable initiatives and on many occasions brought us to the brink of war, it is nevertheless true that the United Nations, as a forum for open discussion, made it possible for mankind to survive. There have been many important achievements over the years, but we are now once again living in an era that requires Member States to make a conscious effort to strengthen the role of the United Nations and its main bodies in the quest for international peace and security.

8. Today's world weighs heavily on our conscience. Endless conflicts persist without a proper solution, including recent conflicts, as well as internal and international tensions in various parts of the world, which make it difficult to view the future as sounder and more secure. Along with this disquieting situation, we have witnessed a tremendous growth of the power of destruction of conventional and other weapons in a frenzied arms race.

Mr. Mondgo (Congo), Vice-President, took the Chair.

9. The world situation appears even bleaker when we realize with great concern that the means of preventing or solving conflicts are inadequate, haphazard and slow and, what is even worse, are disregarded or ignored by some States or rendered ineffective because of the obstacles created by attempts to achieve power.

10. The fragile nature of the present international structure shows that, in the face of the threats to international peace and security, we must display good

* Resumed from the 4th meeting.

sense and fulfil our basic responsibility towards mankind by making every effort to foster and strengthen procedures for the prevention and solution of international conflicts. There is no doubt that this task must be undertaken on at least two levels: first, by the member States of the international community, and, secondly, by global and regional international organizations.

11. In the first instance, individual States must display a political will for peace in order to solve their conflicts and must lend their support to ensure that neighbouring or friendly countries involved in an international crisis situation achieve a peaceful solution; they must help in the implementation of resolutions adopted by various international bodies aimed at the settlement of conflicts between States and abide by the decisions of international organizations.

12. In the second instance, we must make an effort to strengthen and improve the means of obtaining peaceful solutions already available to all States Members of the United Nations, while at the same time trying to find new and imaginative formulas that will contribute to the prevention and settlement of conflicts.

13. My country has at past sessions of the General Assembly emphasized that the future of mankind depends upon real possibilities for effective negotiation and consultation to deal with conflicting international interests. I must therefore at this time express the strongest support of the people and Government of Honduras for the courageous initiative of the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization [A/37/1], concerning the strengthening of the role of the Organization for the sake of peace. Honduras congratulates the Secretary-General on his timely report, and calls upon all Member States to pledge themselves to the honourable mission of revitalizing the juridical, institutional and diplomatic means available to the Organization fully to implement the principles, goals and objectives laid down in the San Francisco Charter.

14. To follow our words with deeds and translate our thoughts into action, Honduras has taken an audacious step to help bring about peace in Central America, particularly since the election of the new constitutional and democratic Government of Roberto Suazo Córdova. This pacifist tradition is deeply rooted in our history and in the conscience of our people. Honduras is the central country of our region, having borders with El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua. The waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific bathe our shores.

15. In the nineteenth century and part of the twentieth century, Honduras suffered the adverse consequences of its geographic position and its soil was used as a battleground in the disputes of opposing political factions in neighbouring countries or conflicts between States. These political upheavals in Central America deeply affected the Honduran population and the ensuing internal wars caused grief and destruction. Fortunately, the experiences of our history to which I have referred helped us to overcome these problems and the Honduran nation emerged strengthened and we were enabled to substitute civilized, democratic, political dialogue for confrontation.

16. The manner in which our economic structures developed helped us avoid the establishment of a dominant class possessing most of the national wealth. The main items we produce fell to the monopoly of foreign interests, particularly as regards export, and drained our country of capital. Consequently the economic disparities which exist in Honduras have not resulted in an unbridgeable gap between the different sectors of our society. We have no hegemonistic oligarchies, no indigenous aristocracy. It is therefore not surprising that those who have achieved economic, professional or political success are often people of humble extraction, who have learned and succeeded through hard work.

17. These harsh conditions are reflected in various actions taken recently. No one is unaware of the fact that the countries which have suffered most acutely from the impact of recession, are, like ours, countries of the American continent which lack energy resources. Nevertheless, Honduras has made an enormous internal effort to readjust its economy and to meet fully all its economic and financial commitments, which has enabled us to protect the stability of our currency and the image of a country which takes seriously its responsibilities *vis-à-vis* the international economic community.

18. In the social field, we are proud of our free, strong and pluralistic trade union movement. Our farmers have been organized for more than two decades and the various farmers' associations and unions have more than 100,000 members. We also have numerous professional organizations of technical experts and craftsmen, and people involved in small-, medium- and large-scale industry, as well as associations of students, teachers, businessmen, farm workers, cattlemen, and others. Four political parties represent different trends of thought in our legislative system and people of all walks of life are members of our judicial system. For more than 30 years we have had labour laws to protect our workers and for 20 years we have had a process of agrarian reform and a system of social security. The freedom of the press is unlimited and fundamental human rights are fully protected.

19. In saying this I do not imply that we have solved all our problems; far from it. I am merely saying that we live in a society governed by the law, that there is a plurality of interests which find expression in the framework of freedom, and there are more things uniting us than there are separating us. We live in a society which is open to peaceful change and dedicated to the improvement of its democratic institutions.

20. The political, economic and social development of Honduras has created a reality which is unique in the Central American region. Despite many shortcomings in social services in the field of health, education, housing, nutrition and other areas, the Honduran nation has achieved high standards in certain fundamental areas which enable us to look to the future with optimism.

21. The Hondurans embrace the creed of peace through justice, and justice through freedom. Hence, those who are familiar with our people know that we reject violence in all its forms. More than any other Central American people, Hondurans practise dialogue

in the settlement of their disputes. We support the electoral process for the establishment of a government, in the belief that there is support in our society for all political sectors involved in running the affairs of our community.

22. These values of the Honduran nation were reaffirmed in the re-establishment of democracy which began in 1980, when the people were called upon to elect a National Constituent Assembly, and 84 per cent of the electoral population of Honduras went to the polls. Not even countries with the oldest democratic tradition can boast such vigorous popular participation. There is no doubt that this overwhelming expression of the sovereignty of the people is an outstanding example for the future of our country and of Central America.

23. One year later, in 1981, the Honduran people demonstrated even more vigorously their confidence in the free electoral process. Observers from almost all parts of the world witnessed a new, exemplary, civic event, namely the establishment of the political and legal system which now governs the destiny of our country.

24. The Honduran people, on the basis of its sovereignty, calls for a return to a climate of political understanding, social peace and respect for human dignity, at a time when we are witnessing in our region the tragedy of violence and social upheavals. The situation in my country is in stark contrast with the abolition in other States of the region of individual and public freedoms and the denial of the peoples' right to self-determination.

25. For these reasons, the democratic process which began in Honduras so successfully undoubtedly represents renewed hopes for peace and freedom which are bound to exert a positive influence in our tormented Central America.

26. Honduras, its people and its Government, are fully aware of the circumstances which threaten peace at home and abroad. They are equally aware of their role in the current situation in the region. The President of my country, Mr. Roberto Suazo Córdova, upon coming to power, stated that Honduras did not want to become the arbiter of the region and its anguish, its hopes and its expectations, for that is not its function. But Honduras ardently desires to help bring about stability and harmony, in keeping with its devotion to the principles of non-intervention and self-determination, and to help Central America to become a region of peaceful coexistence, whose people and leaders will establish and maintain understanding on the basis of effective dialogue. The President of Honduras wants Central America to be a zone of peace, not to see it tormented by bellicose disputes and polarizing confrontations. In that vein, the foreign policy of Honduras is based on the simple but pre-eminent principle of the internationalization of peace in that troubled region of our continent.

27. Based on our desire to adopt concrete measures in Central America to relieve the tension and dispel the violence of irreparable consequences, Honduras has presented a peace initiative which has received broad national and international support. It consists of six points which, in the view of my Government, cover the main questions to be discussed. This,

however, does not exclude the possibility of considering others aimed at the same goal of achieving peace in the region, which may come from other States equally interested in achieving the same goal. Honduras has proposed the following six points.

28. First, we propose that the bases for general disarmament in the region be immediately established. This would imply not only a halt of the arms race which has created so much tension and instability in Central America and in continental relations, but a real reduction of military equipment and manpower to ensure that countries possessing armed forces maintain them at the level strictly necessary for the defence of their territorial integrity and sovereignty and the maintenance of public order, and that they abide by the universally established criteria recognized by every democratic society based on the rule of law. There should also be agreements on the types of weapons whose limitation or proscription would be determined in this general disarmament plan.

29. Secondly, we propose that agreement likewise be reached on an objective and reasonable reduction in the number of foreign military and other advisers, or any other elements which are liable to cause concern or unrest, or undermine the identity of any nation.

30. Thirdly, we propose that there be a survey of and agreement on the required machinery to ensure, by means of international supervision and monitoring, to which Honduras will submit, that countries of the Central American region fulfill their commitments and responsibilities. This system of supervision and monitoring would be applied to countries where there exist conflicts and difficult situations likely to affect peace in the region, especially in ports, airports, borders and strategic areas. My country is ready to open its territory without any reservations to any form of international supervision for the purpose of achieving and maintaining peace.

31. Fourthly, we propose that there be consideration of and agreement on the most appropriate procedures and mechanisms to put an end to the traffic of arms in the region.

32. Fifthly, we propose that recognized boundaries and the traditional lines of jurisdiction of the States of the region be fully respected so as not to endanger peace through new disputes which might arise with regard to land or sea.

33. Sixthly, we propose that a set of guidelines be drawn up for a permanent multilateral dialogue on the basis of this initiative, thus to promote political understanding internally, to achieve a democratic and pluralistic system and assure respect for public freedoms and the right of the peoples to express their will freely.

34. We affirm that the arms race constitutes an inherent threat to the future of nations and the survival of mankind itself. We therefore believe that the excessive expenditures in war equipment should be used to combat poverty and misery and to promote the well-being of the people, to lend technical and scientific assistance, to overcome conditions of backwardness facing developing countries and to help in the establishment of a new international economic order so as to

reduce the tensions that aggravate the tragic problems of our times.

35. This is the struggle that we are engaged in to achieve domestic as well as international peace; but I must state clearly and unequivocally that we have fallen victim to certain problems which stem from the internal problems of neighbouring nations which are threatening our own security now. Honduras is being threatened by terrorism in which the direct participation of outside elements has been demonstrated, and which undermines fundamental human rights and attempts to undo the entire democratic process which we are building. The recent acts of terrorism have been denounced by our people who most energetically reject violence as a means of political action whose sole purpose is to destroy social peace and jeopardize human dignity.

36. The Honduran people want to live in peace, work in peace, build in peace, bring about change in peace and know that the road of peace was built to be used for peace in this democracy in which we live today.

37. The Government of Honduras expresses the hope that the international community, represented in the Organization, will devise and adopt multilateral legal instruments which will eradicate the underlying causes of terrorism and will fight and impose sanctions on this dreadful scourge, one which offends the conscience of civilized nations and of the peoples who strive to build a better future based on peaceful coexistence, understanding and solidarity.

38. Honduras wants to devote all of its strength to the consolidation of political democracy and economic and social development. We want and need a climate of peace and security, stability and harmony, to strive to overcome the present economic crises in our country and at the same time achieve social justice by means of peaceful change. We would like to devote our limited material resources to combat poverty and promote the well-being of our people rather than to compete in a ruinous arms race. We do not want an armed peace for Central America, nor a balance of power based on the possession of sophisticated weapons of destruction.

39. Honduras extends its hand to the countries that are ready to associate themselves with this effort for peace with justice and freedom.

40. Together with Costa Rica, Honduras has endeavored to find formulas to solve the conflicts in Central America peacefully and democratically. A meeting of foreign ministers of several Central American and Caribbean countries was held in San José on 4 October last, to consider ways and means truly and effectively to achieve these goals. A particularly significant issue was the establishment of a forum for peace and democracy with a mandate to carry out the peace initiatives based on agreements between States of the region.

41. This meeting of democratic countries emphasized the need to help establish peace in the region, to promote and consolidate a comprehensive system of institutions in the countries of the region and to create an appropriate scheme for intra-regional and international co-operation in various fields on the basis of peace, security, democracy and development.

42. This new vigorous effort is made in the context of the Honduran peace proposal, since multilateral dialogue on a permanent basis is the fundamental requirement for the achievement of appropriate and lasting solutions.

43. We would like to express the hope that the Government of Nicaragua will support this new initiative and the principles which have inspired it, for we believe that a Nicaragua which will establish and guide its revolutionary process along the path of democracy, pluralism and non-alignment is essential for the political stability and the peace and security of the Central American region.

44. The Secretary-General asked me today, without prejudice to other ongoing initiatives, to meet at Headquarters with the Foreign Minister of Nicaragua. I have accepted this fraternal invitation of the Secretary-General to demonstrate quite clearly once again, in this Hall where we gather in the pursuit of peace, justice and co-operation, the unswerving desire of the Government of Honduras to hold a dialogue for a global exchange of views on the problems which affect the Central American region.

45. I have tried to explain in plain and simple terms what Honduras consists of and what its contribution is to the cause of peace in Central America. The international community will judge us on the basis of our actions. Before I refer to other matters in the general debate, I should simply like to repeat, with all the strength that my Government is capable of demonstrating, that we shall continue to conduct our affairs in accordance with the principles of non-intervention, respect for the right to self-determination of peoples, the territorial integrity of every State and, especially, our respect for the use of peaceful means to solve disputes. I am simply emphasizing the words of the President of Honduras, Roberto Suazo Córdova, who, addressing himself recently to the Presidents of Mexico and Venezuela, affirmed that:

“The Honduran people will never resort to aggression or threats against any of our neighbours because we firmly believe that any dispute between States can be settled peacefully.”

46. My Government trusts that all Central American States will identify with this postulate and that, setting aside claims of supremacy and dangerous ideological confrontations which are alien to our spirit, our destiny and our history, a free and democratic Central America will see its efforts crowned with the laurels of peace.

47. There are many political, economic and social issues on the agenda of the General Assembly on which we should like to express our objective views which guide us in our participation in the work of co-operation that motivates the United Nations.

48. Our country will continue to make its enthusiastic contribution to the Group of 77, over which we have presided on two occasions in various forums. Honduras will also be present as an observer in the meetings of the non-aligned movement, aware that, in political and economic matters, both groups agree on principles of justice in keeping with the growing aspirations of the developing world.

49. The climate of mistrust and underlying hostility between the major political and military blocs of East

and West this year have darkened the international picture. The limited achievements of the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament is an eloquent statement on the real intentions which seem to guide the super-Powers at this time.

50. The principles of international law enshrined in the Charter have continued to be ignored in various situations, sacrificed to the most blatant form of power politics, and the Security Council has been paralysed during grave conflicts because of a total lack of agreement on the objectives and the actions to which it could have legitimately committed itself.

51. This atmosphere of tension and lack of effectiveness has further complicated the solution of problems which are within the competence of the Security Council, thus prolonging existing conflicts and failing to avoid the emergence of new crises and international confrontations.

52. In the Middle East, conflicts have worsened. Hence, in the past few months we have witnessed the invasion of Lebanese territory by the armed forces of Israel, which, engaging in heavy fighting with Syrian and Palestinian military units, have occupied part of that territory and for several weeks encircled its capital, Beirut, causing destruction, desolation and death. This tragic situation was further aggravated by the massacre of refugees, which caused indignation in the international community and deeply moved the Honduran people. My Government, which is attached to the values of respect for the human person, most vigorously condemns this tragic holocaust.

53. The Honduran Government firmly condemns the use of force in the settlement of international conflicts and rejects with equal vigour the corollary that the acquisition of territories by occupation can be justified.

54. Similarly, our Government believes that the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to have their own homeland should be achieved through serious comprehensive negotiations and the open and firm support of the international community.

55. The right of Israel to exist and live in peace with its neighbours within secure and recognized boundaries, which Honduras has always supported, can and must be coupled with the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the establishment of their own State.

56. In southern Africa, the hopes raised five years ago by the plan of Western Powers for Namibia, supplemented by the Security Council, have given way to profound disillusionment, creating a dangerous climate which could lead to new acts of aggression. In our view, there is no other way but to persist in achieving the holding of free elections in Namibia as soon as possible and, therefore, we lend our support to fresh negotiations to put an end to the illegal occupation of the Territory by South Africa.

57. The world problems to which we referred earlier cannot conceal the important fact that conflicts emerge and develop basically in a regional context and that according to the letter and spirit of the Charter it is first and foremost for the members of each region and regional machinery they have established to solve conflicts with a full sense of responsibility.

58. Because of its global character, the process of decolonization must be in conformity with the peculiarities of history and geography. Thus, in our American continent, a problem at once colonial and regional has been deeply felt recently by our peoples. We refer to the colonial situation of the Malvinas and the grave crisis and armed confrontation of last April and May between the Republic of Argentina and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

59. Honduras recognizes the sovereign rights of the Republic of Argentina over the Malvinas and supports its claim. Honduras believes that every conflict between States can be settled by negotiation; therefore, it rejects the use of force in any international conflict. Honduras is in favour of a speedy negotiated solution between the parties which would give sovereignty over the Malvinas to Argentina.

60. Our people is united in the quest for material and spiritual advancement and the consolidation of Honduran nationhood through sound institutions based on justice, freedom and national harmony.

61. We are also united with regard to external matters. It is not a mere whim to insist on peace; nor is it Utopia. Men of good will and generous thought know how to achieve it. Leaders who forget that the supreme mandate is to secure the well-being of those they govern through respect for their dignity and the practice of harmonious coexistence, will inescapably be drawn to the exercise of tyranny which is doomed to failure. The lessons of history are many and Honduras has learned from them. We have chosen to take the encouraging and promising road of democracy and peace.

62. Mr. AL-THAWR (Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Allow me at the outset to take this opportunity to express to Mr. Imre Hollai my warm congratulations, personally and on behalf of the Yemen Arab Republic, on his election as President of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. We confirm to him that we are overjoyed to see him in that important post and we wish him full success in his tasks, which involve onerous responsibilities. We are sure that the work of this session will be crowned with success thanks to his expertise and acknowledged statesmanship. For our part, we shall spare no effort in co-operating with him in carrying out his great responsibilities in ensuring that the session does the work required of it at this crucial phase through which our world is now passing. We wish, through you, Sir, to put on record our well deserved appreciation and admiration for Mr. Ismat Kittani, who conducted the proceedings of the thirty-sixth session in a brilliant and exemplary manner, which was characterized by objectivity and effectiveness. We wish him success in his future tasks. My delegation wishes also to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for the constructive efforts he has made and the commendable work he has done in the short period since his assumption of the post and for the way he has fulfilled the responsibilities which the nature of his sensitive task involves. I wish also to convey the greetings of the Yemeni people to all the peace-loving people of the world represented at this annual and respected gathering.

63. We all know that the United Nations came into being as a result of the strong desire and determination

of the peoples of the world to avert the tragedies of further world wars. This resolve reflects the sincere and profound conviction that it is necessary that peace and security prevail throughout the world and that we end, once and for all, all violence, aggression, military threats, hegemony, intervention and colonialism in any form. Therefore, in the minds of all, the United Nations is linked with noble concepts and superior values, because it is the crucible of all sincere efforts to achieve peace and the supremacy of justice in all dimensions, and the starting-point for efforts that will lead to understanding and solidarity among nations, instead of division and wars.

64. For this reason, my country has reaffirmed more than once its commitment and adherence to the principles of the Charter and its noble purposes in all fields, for this is the proper way to establish normal and peaceful relations among all nations and solid guarantees of the achievement of international peace and security. Therefore all Member States should support the Organization in its constructive role and should abide by its resolutions more loyally than ever before. We should combine our efforts to ensure that the basic principles of the sovereignty, equality and independence of all nations, regardless of size, position, military strength, or social, economic or political system, will prevail.

65. We in the Yemen Arab Republic, too, support the right to self-determination and full and effective independence of all peoples that suffer under the yoke of imperialism and racial domination and that struggle to achieve the noble goal to which we aspire. At the same time we affirm our unshakable belief in the need to ensure the unity and territorial integrity of all nations and non-intervention in their internal affairs. We also affirm the right of all nations to self-determination, and, above all, the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, to return to its homeland and to establish an independent State on its own soil.

66. We view with a sense of gratification the efforts exerted by the United Nations to preserve international solidarity, support liberation causes and to ensure well-being and economic and social development everywhere. However, we look forward to further achievements, because the Organization can achieve more than it has already. It can redouble its efforts towards international peace and security, the assurance of justice for all the peoples that long for it in Palestine, in Lebanon, and in Namibia, and the greatest good of the whole world by providing norms and safeguards that guarantee respect for and compliance with the resolutions of the Organization.

67. Proceeding from this premise, we support every detail of the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization and on increasing its efficiency and overcoming the difficulties that stand in its way. These difficulties represent a real challenge that should be faced by all Member States if we want the Organization to be a real instrument for the consolidation of peace, which we all so deeply desire, and of justice, to which we all aspire.

68. The Yemen Arab Republic reaffirms its belief in fundamental human rights, the dignity of the individual and the promotion of international peace and security, and calls for continuous dialogue and per-

manent understanding among nations and peoples. It calls for resistance to dominating influences, no matter by whom, and seeks to widen the scope of co-operation among brother and friendly countries. It deplores more deeply than ever before the fact that these principles—in which the international community came to believe after painstaking and agonizing experiences—are not being effectively implemented in international relations, which causes us to look to the future with deep pessimism and concern.

69. We do not have to look very far to confirm this prognosis. It is sufficient to consider the development of the international situation since the last regular session of the General Assembly. Many of the international conflicts have worsened and become more complex and serious. Many of the problems raised during the thirty-sixth session and even before that, at previous sessions, remain unresolved; they have become more complicated and it will be more difficult to solve them in the near future.

70. What shall we say to the deprived, the persecuted, those that yearn for justice for freedom and for the support of the international community? What shall we tell the displaced, the wounded, the maimed and murdered Lebanese and Palestinians who have appealed to the Organization and the conscience of the world, because their rights have been usurped and they have been the victims of aggressors in their own home and in the refugee camps? Shall we tell them that the Security Council, the organ responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, has been convened more than once in order to consider the abominable aggression by Israel against Lebanon and that each time the representative of a super-Power, the United States of America, used its right of veto in order to obstruct the cessation of the massacres in Lebanon whose victims were men, women and children, and to obstruct the imposition of sanctions upon Israel in accordance with the Charter?

71. What is the responsibility of the United States concerning the issues of international peace and security in the world after all that? For some time past Lebanon has been persistently complaining of the violation by Israel of the cease-fire agreement through repeated Israeli aggression against southern Lebanon and through the violation of the independence and national sovereignty of the country and the support extended to the rebels against Lebanese authority.

72. Today we face a new situation after the barbaric invasion of Lebanon by land, by sea and from the air. Towns and villages were destroyed, including the capital, Beirut. Houses were pulled down over their occupants and the most sophisticated internationally prohibited means of destruction were used. Despite all that Israel is still there, engaged in occupying, usurping, murdering and destroying with impunity, assured of the military, political and economic support of the United States without which it could not have continued its aggression. It is really surprising and at the same time revolting that the United States and some other Western countries did not use their influence early and still have not done so to compel Israel to withdraw from Lebanon and to stop the bloodshed and the daily massacres that Israel has committed on Lebanese territory. It is terrible that the United States should claim to preserve inter-

national peace when it supports Israel, which currently represents the greatest and the gravest threat to international peace and security. This claim, which clearly involves a contradiction, has practically disclosed the role of the United States in supporting the Israeli aggression against Lebanon and in focusing American diplomacy on the ousting of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] from Lebanon, without linking it to the recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination and to establish their own independent State on their soil.

73. We wonder how the United States can reconcile its international responsibilities concerning international peace and security and its strategic co-operation with the State of Israel which today represents the most dangerous regional military Power seeking expansion and hegemony over the Middle East region. We consider this co-operation and this alliance to be the factor that encourages Israel to persist in its aggression against Lebanon and that it has an adverse effect on all efforts aimed at reaching a just solution to the conflict in the Middle East.

74. The Yemen Arab Republic has heard more than enough words of condemnation and denunciation—they will not return rights to those who have been deprived of them and will not restore life to an innocent child killed by the American war machine and Zionist hands. Words of denunciation have become unacceptable from those who could have influenced events, especially those who knew in advance what was to happen in Lebanon and could have prevented it. We firmly believe that the new Zionist arrogance and Israeli terrorism, immune to international resolutions, its arrogance with regard to all norms and legal instruments, and the constant acts of aggression, have proved more than ever before that Israel is not a peace-loving State and that it should not have a voice in the Organization, which is made up of all the peace-loving nations. All the Members of the Organization should adopt practical measures against Israel and punish it for the crimes it has perpetrated and for its breach of international peace and security and should compel it to implement Security Council and General Assembly resolutions concerning the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of their State on their soil and concerning an immediate withdrawal from Lebanon and from every bit of occupied Arab territory. It should be compelled to pay compensation for all the material losses it has caused and the leaders of the new Fascist Zionist terrorism should be prosecuted for their inhuman unprecedented massacres, devoid of all human feelings. Israel has become the true and indisputable representative of neo-nazism at its worst.

75. Israel thinks that if it destroys Lebanon it could put an end to the Palestinian presence and to the Lebanese national movement and get rid of the PLO, thus achieving the security and stability it seeks, through force and through starting wars from time to time and devising ways to increase its aggression, expansion and colonial settlement. This sick concept led Israel to wage wars against the Arab countries, beginning in 1948, then again in 1956, in 1967, in 1973 and finally in Lebanon in 1982. In each war Israel

emerged with a piece of land taken from a neighbouring Arab country after having usurped all Palestinian soil bit by bit. But it has not achieved security and stability in accordance with its military concept in spite of all that and will not achieve them; rather the contrary holds true.

76. Israel has been a continuous source of tension and jeopardy to international peace and security since its inception. It is time now that Israel and its friends and allies, particularly in the United States, should realize that security and peace in the area can only be achieved through the recognition of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination and to the establishment of their own independent State on their soil, under the leadership of their sole, legitimate representative, the PLO. Without that peace and security will not be achieved, for Israeli concepts are based on an illusion founded on expansion and aggression.

77. It is now imperative for the United States to consider its unjust biased attitude in favour of Israel if it wants to make any positive and constructive contributions to the solution of the Palestinian question and the Middle East crisis. It should co-operate with the international community to compel Israel to implement General Assembly and Security Council resolutions in the interest of international peace and security, which have become jeopardized and are about to collapse as a result of the wanton acts and constant defiance of the Organization, including the flouting of its resolutions, whether those concerning the return of Arab territories occupied after the 1967 aggression or those concerning the right of the Palestinian people to return home and to establish their independent State on their soil, Palestine.

78. Those who advocate right, justice and peace are those who support the rights of the Palestinian people, which are inalienable and historical rights. Those who support Israel are aligning themselves, through such support, with the new Israeli fascism. It would be more appropriate to speak of peace in the Middle East if the efforts of all those who love peace were directed towards the adoption of practical measures to ensure the halting of Israeli arrogance and its continual flouting of international resolutions, and to compel Israel finally to withdraw from all the Arab countries it occupied after the aggression of 1967, as well as to halt the judaization measures being taken in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, to recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, who have been displaced, and to involve the PLO in all the efforts that are being made to maintain peace in this sensitive area of the world by peaceful means, since it is a main party to a conflict that has lasted too long. That conflict has resulted in many tragedies and many victims, so many that it is now no longer a military and political conflict alone but a problem that is a daily torment to the living conscience of mankind, which is agonizing over the massacres perpetrated by Israel against the Arab people of Palestine and Lebanon.

79. The international community is today called on to impose deterrent sanctions against the war criminals and neo-Nazis who now head the Israeli State, and who have no hesitation in using the most heinous methods of destruction, and weapons which

are prohibited internationally, against the peoples of the area. We are facing a new situation, which we must consider in order to draw the proper conclusion from it. Terrorism now has a State that protects it and exercises it, for the first time in contemporary history. Yet this State is a Member of the United Nations, while at the same time it rejects United Nations resolutions, and carries out acts of aggression, murder and repression whenever and wherever it wishes.

80. It is easy to understand the effect this must have on the future of peace and security in the area, and even in the world at large. Even more incomprehensible than all this is the insistence of the United States of America on giving military and political encouragement to that terrorism, continuing to support it in international forums, and standing by it politically in its aggressive stances by the abuse of the veto in the Security Council every time that the international community tries to impose practical sanctions against Israeli arrogance and evil practices that defy the reason and the imagination, particularly those hideous massacres of Palestinian women, children and old people in Beirut.

81. Those who could have prevented the aggression and could have compelled Israel to refrain from entering Beirut or the Palestinian refugee camps will stand before mankind as responsible for the inhuman and criminal massacres in the camps of Sabra and Shatila. The United States of America cannot escape its responsibility for those genocidal crimes, committed in violation of the ethics and honour of mankind, because it undertook responsibility for the process of negotiation and for the supervision of the evacuation of the Palestinian fighters from Beirut, providing all necessary political guarantees to protect those who remained behind. But it appears that the credibility of United States policy and ethics completely collapses whenever Israel is concerned. That fact should be noted by everyone.

82. We deeply deplore this situation, and we doubt the integrity of the role played by the United States of America in the area, after the last farce of American diplomacy in Beirut. We call on the Organization to stand firmly against Israeli nazism, which has today become the major challenge to all peace-loving nations. We also believe that the international prosecution of all the criminals and murderers responsible for the Beirut massacres is an essential requirement for mankind, after the commission of such crimes amid the shocked silence of the international community, to ensure that no such hideous massacres are repeated by those in Israel who thirst for more blood and would not hesitate to commit such murders again in the near future. Those who were responsible yesterday for the massacres of Deir Yassin and Qafr Qasim are responsible today for the massacres and hideous murders in west Beirut. Unless the international community hastens to shoulder its full responsibilities, inexorable tragedy will be inflicted on the Palestinian and Lebanese people, and on the peoples of the whole area.

83. My country has more than once expressed its profound concern over the terrorism and piracy in the area, and the acts of oppression, repression and torture that Israel is committing against the Arab population in the occupied territories, a population living under an

unjust rule and inhuman laws while their territories are occupied and settlements are being built on areas taken from the neighbouring Arab countries by coercion and aggression. My delegation calls on all nations and peoples firmly to denounce and condemn such Israeli acts based on aggression, oppression and expansionism, and it calls for the imposition of all possible stringent political and economic sanctions against Israel, to compel it to act in compliance with the will of the international community, withdraw from the occupied territories and restore to the Palestinian people their legitimate rights.

84. We attach great importance to the work of the current session. We call on it to meet its responsibilities of working for peace, rekindling the hopes that have become dimmed and restoring confidence to all those who have become so disillusioned through seeing the repeated acts of aggression carried out by the racist Pretoria régime, which is committing crimes of murder, torture and oppression against the majority of the people of South Africa, as well as committing with impunity repeated acts of aggression against the people of Namibia and the peace-loving front-line States.

85. The present collaboration between the two racist entities in Tel Aviv and Pretoria has resulted in acts of murder, oppression, torture and *apartheid* surpassing anything known previously. In recent years those two entities have begun to exchange information on nuclear research and the production of nuclear weapons with a view to the imposition of terrorism and imperialism in the area.

86. My country firmly and unconditionally believes in and supports the liberation movements in the world, foremost among which are the PLO and the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], and reaffirms that the Namibian problem will never be solved and the occupation of Namibia can never be ended unless the Organization continues its efforts, upon which the people of Namibia pin all their hopes of freedom and independence. We believe that the implementation of United Nations resolutions, particularly Security Council resolution 435 (1978), represents the practical basis for solving that problem, which has been complicated and burdened with further ramifications as a result of the defiance of South Africa and at its rejection of the United Nations resolutions designed to end its illegitimate occupation of Namibia.

87. The United Nations—indeed the whole world—has condemned South Africa for its shameful racist policy which is exercised by force against the black majority and for its inhuman torture, persecution and exile of the black people in South Africa. The Pretoria régime even boasts of committing these crimes and is competing with its permanent ally, the Zionist régime, in finding new means of repression and humiliation and establishing settlements.

88. The Namibian issue must emerge from its situation of stagnation, especially since the United Nations devoted a special session of the General Assembly to discussing the Namibian question in all its aspects. It must not remain a source of tension and trouble in Africa and continue to threaten world peace and security.

89. The world is living today in a state of economic imbalance. The rich of this world are becoming increasingly rich and the poor increasingly poor. As a result of this grave division, which rests on inequality, the gap is increasing day by day and a sense of responsibility and enthusiasm in regard to setting up the new economic system based on justice and equality and building new world economic and monetary structures is today more urgent than ever before. But enthusiasm alone is not sufficient: it is necessary to crystallize the strong political will that can redress the frightening imbalance and redistribute wealth instead of confining it to certain Powers. We must constantly bear in mind the interest of all parties.

90. The emergence of negative phenomena in world economic life, such as the increasing protectionist trend in the markets of the industrialized countries, the fluctuations of the exchange rate and the skyrocketing of interest rates on food commodities, consumer goods and capital goods have led to the deterioration of world trade conditions and to enormous deficits in the balance of payments of developing countries.

91. The increasing indebtedness of these countries year after year, added to the deterioration of the economic and social growth rate therein, results in these developing countries alone paying the price and sacrificing their development in the interest of the rich, industrialized countries. Hence, the General Assembly is called on to give this subject increased attention and study in order to correct the imbalance in international economic relations and to take action to achieve more progress in the negotiations concerning this question, having regard to its importance to the international community in general and to the interests of developing countries in particular.

92. The peoples of the third world cannot remain for ever a source and exporter of raw materials and a market-place for manufactured goods. It is not in the interest of the international community that these States remain in a condition of economic impotence, unable to cope with their financial obligations towards others. Consequently, it is necessary to achieve constant development and progress in these countries. But the modernization and development process is linked in its turn to science and technology and the method of the transfer of such science and technology to developing countries, with the help of those who are more advanced in those areas, in order to promote their scientific capability and their administrative and technological know-how. That must be done if we really want to avoid more crises and deterioration in the world economy.

93. We can all achieve prosperity and happiness for mankind at large if we work with a common approach and if the developed countries pledge themselves to a courageous monetary reform, to revise their present economic policies and increase their development investments in the developing countries in order to alleviate the suffering and deprivation of the people of those countries and restore some balance and harmony to the troubled world economy. There is no doubt but that the promotion of the specialized world financial institutions in the United Nations system in the field of economic and social development

constitutes a direct contribution to the achievement of the well-being of mankind.

94. Mutual respect, non-interference in the internal affairs of States and the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, the freedom of each State to decide on its own its economic and social structures in accordance with its national and political options constitute a sure guarantee of co-operation and peaceful and constructive coexistence and represent the appropriate process for promoting the policy of international détente. The Arab Republic of Yemen, which has founded its policy on respect for national sovereignty and the exchange of interests and economic benefits with others in accordance with the principle of equality, rejects totally the policy of hegemony and military force in international relations, as it rejects also, absolutely, the principle of setting up military pacts, bases and facilities. It is greatly concerned over the emergence of signs of tension and cold war between the Western and Eastern blocs and the pursuit of aggressive practices by some States and the negative impact that this has on international relations, in addition to endangering the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the States of the world to danger.

95. Signs of deterioration in international relations have become more tangible today than ever before as a result of the use of military force in solving international disputes and of interference in the internal affairs of States and the persistence of the frightful arms race, especially in the nuclear field. This constitutes a threat to mankind that could have the gravest results. Consequently, all States must take the necessary measures to improve international relations, promote the policy of détente and peaceful coexistence, affirm international legitimacy and define means of making the concept of disarmament a tangible fact ensuring security to the human community and happiness to mankind. The super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, must renew their talks for limiting nuclear weapons and to eliminate all obstacles that are impeding the pursuit of these negotiations. Complete disarmament and the cessation of the nuclear arms race have become two vital prerequisites for all the peoples of the world that are looking forward to the day when this feverish race towards destructive arms will come to an end so that mankind may feel secure about its existence and future and so that the efforts and money wasted on the manufacture, purchase, and stockpiling of weapons can be diverted to solving the crushing economic crisis from which many peoples of the world are suffering, and to meeting the material and spiritual needs of men. The second special session devoted to disarmament was a golden opportunity to hear all the opinions and concepts on which future negotiations should be based.

96. For us, peace is an essential and noble objective. We must exert maximum efforts to promote peace everywhere in the world, for there is nothing more precious and more important to all the peoples than peace. But we feel disappointed and suffer when we see that hatred and war have replaced love and understanding among States and peoples. Peace has been shattered today in some parts of the world, such as the Arab Gulf, the Horn of Africa and the Falkland Islands.

97. Arbitration, mediation and peaceful and diplomatic solutions are much better than recourse to force, which in most cases leads to a dead end, perpetuates grudges between peoples and obstructs the process of co-operation and peaceful coexistence among nations.

98. The war between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran has continued for more than two years despite the ties of a common creed and proximity and despite the mediation efforts exerted by the non-aligned countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, as well as by the United Nations. Now Iraq has responded to those mediation efforts and withdrawn its forces to its borders. It would thus have put an end to hostilities but for the pretexts invoked by Iran to continue the war and to postpone the settlement of the conflict by negotiations and peaceful means between the two Moslem neighbour countries. We call on Iran to seize this opportunity and respond to the peace proposals; to cease its aggression against the territory of Iraq and not to abandon hope of a reconciliation with that neighbouring Moslem country.

99. We appeal to the Organization to redouble its efforts to bring those destructive hostilities to an end and we call on the two conciliation committees, of the non-aligned movement and the Islamic Conference, to continue to use their good offices to bring about an end to the war and the restoration of rights, in order that peace may once again prevail in the lands of Iraq and Iran.

100. My country, which firmly believes in regional co-operation between neighbouring countries, is also interested in the maintenance of security and stability in the region. Therefore it views with profound concern the continuing state of tension in the Horn of Africa and calls for the solution of the border problems and of the historical and political problems between the nations of the area through negotiations and peaceful means, for the sake of the peoples of those countries and to prevent any foreign intervention in their internal affairs under the pretext of providing aid and support to one party or the other.

101. My country rejects any military presence or bases in the Indian Ocean or the Arab Gulf. It reaffirms that the security of the Gulf and the Arab peninsula is the responsibility of the countries of the region and their peoples. It calls for support for the need to consider the Indian Ocean, the Arab Sea and the Red Sea areas that should be free from any fleets or military bases. We support the efforts made in the Committee on the Indian Ocean and the necessity of convening the Conference on the Indian Ocean during 1983, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 36/90. We look forward to the day when signs of tension will disappear once and for all from that sensitive part of the world. It is extremely dangerous to let the hotbeds of tension and conflict increase every day.

102. As regards Afghanistan, we reaffirm the right of the Afghan people to self-determination, free from foreign intervention of any form and from any source. We believe that it is high time to find a peaceful solution to that conflict, in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations.

103. On Korea, we affirm the necessity of putting an end to the dispute between the two parts of the peninsula and of reaching a peaceful solution of the problem, on a democratic basis, acceptable to both parties. An encouraging environment should be provided for Korean unity through the withdrawal of foreign forces from the area and the seas around it.

104. As regards the Cypriot conflict, it is the firm position of my country that there should be an agreed solution between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots aimed at the reunification of the island on a democratic basis which will ensure freedom of religion and expression and civil rights for all Cypriots. The Organization would be fulfilling its responsibility for the preservation of peace and ending the anomalous situation in which the island finds itself now by applying all the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and considering them a basis for settling the Cypriot conflict.

105. One of the positive achievements of which we are proud in the Yemen Arab Republic is our success in keeping our country free from international polarization and the rivalry between the super-Powers. My country adheres firmly to the policy of non-alignment and positive neutrality. We are proud of belonging to the Organization of the Islamic Conference and to the League of Arab States and we believe that the continuing co-operation between the United Nations and those organizations will undoubtedly be a crucial factor in the implementation of many social and economic plans and will contribute to the solution of many international political problems.

106. We also feel that all our endeavours should be aimed at developing our country and raising the standard of living of our people so that we may keep pace with other countries of the world. This is the concern of our political leadership, under President Ali Abdulla Saleh, who considers the issue of reunifying the two parts of Yemen to be of extreme importance in its endeavours to achieve progress and dignity. There have been many achievements socially, economically and politically as regards reunifying the two parts of Yemen on a democratic basis. We have reached the stage of periodic meetings between the Presidents of the two parts of Yemen to consider programmes of integration and reunification at all levels.

107. My country has devoted all its efforts since the revolution to serious and pressing efforts to promote the welfare of Yemeni citizens and provide a proper climate for the establishment of democracy, justice and political freedom, and on this basis to initiate a process of setting constructive goals at a high level. My country is anxious to ensure the success of all plans beneficial to it. It has so far been able to fulfil the essential needs of all citizens and to set up the major infrastructures, which we consider to be the cornerstone of production, despite the fact that the revolution took place only a short time ago. We have the patience and faith to continue our march and to work for reconstruction, development and fruitful co-operation with all countries of the world on a basis of equality, good-neighbourliness, mutual respect and non-intervention in the internal affairs of others, settling all our conflicts peacefully, so that everyone can enjoy peace and security and we can help each

other in an atmosphere of sincerity conducive to the happiness of mankind as a whole.

108. Finally, I wish to thank the President and express my appreciation and commendation of all his sincere efforts in the interest of achieving international peace, justice and freedom.

109. Mr. RABETAFIKA (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): The unanimous election of Mr. Hollai to the presidency of the Assembly is a tribute to the People's Republic of Hungary, a country with which Madagascar is glad to have very cordial relations based on our common aspiration to social progress, and if I can speak as a former colleague I must say that we also see in this election recognition of his personal qualities and his unceasing contributions to the deliberations and work of the United Nations. To his predecessor, Mr. Kittani, we would address fraternal thanks for the exemplary and responsible way in which he carried out his mandate. It is also fitting for us again to express the confidence of the Malagasy Government in the Secretary-General and to assure him of the full co-operation of our delegation.

110. At the last session, when analysing the international situation, the Foreign Minister of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar highlighted three points: the failure of the system of collective security drawn up in the Charter in rather special circumstances; the widespread insecurity in international relations; and the need for a multilateral approach to both the assessment and the solution of world problems.

111. That analysis is still valid today, particularly now that we are so bitter and disconcerted to see that—despite the numerous meetings, the succession of conferences and the numerous consultations—we still cannot manage to emerge from the world political and economic crisis. How could it be otherwise, when real or potential conflicts are constantly on the increase, and when, through neglect or of necessity or inadvertently, the determination of priorities is governed by one law only, the law of confusion, and when we are virtually helpless in the face of the return of the primacy of national interests?

112. The most pessimistic among us are quite willing to say that we have tried all remedies, that nothing can be done about this problem, that all we can do is remain content with a short-lived respite from time to time. We are tempted to agree with them, because the notions on which the hopes of a just and equitable redefinition of international relations were based have been discarded. What happened to détente? What about peaceful coexistence? Is it now obsolete? And what happened to the right of peoples and nations to independent development? Are we still bound by international solidarity? The generous enthusiasm of the 1970s is no longer with us, and we are witnessing the erosion of the collective responsibility necessary for vision and the management of a world that obviously can no longer be what it was 37 years ago.

113. The vast majority of the countries of the third world were not present at the time of the drafting of the Charter, the limits and even the imperfections of which we recognize. But in joining the Organization we were determined to remain as faithful as possible

to the precepts of the Charter. In that respect we were idealists, because, for example, we thought that by brandishing the Charter we would be able to rid the world of *apartheid*. But at the end of the twentieth century *apartheid* remains at the centre of our concerns. It is an inhuman and retrograde policy if ever there was one. The racial segregation practised in South Africa is detrimental not only to the dignity and well-being of the non-white population of that country; it poisons the political life of the continent as a whole, and its persistence makes it impossible for us to talk about true stability or peace in either the short term or the long term.

114. The *apartheid* régime presupposes the use of force, because no ethnic group can willingly submit to domination and exploitation by another group. To stay in power this régime has to ensure that its victims will stop being inspired by the example of the independent African countries. It has to undermine and destroy the network of solidarity which the South African liberation movement, essentially the African National Congress [ANC], enjoys or may enjoy beyond the frontiers of South Africa. That is why the Pretoria authorities do not hesitate to show their anti-African nature by increasing their acts of aggression, interference and destabilization against their immediate or more distant neighbours, in particular those of southern and eastern Africa.

115. The sister Republic of Seychelles will take a long time to recover economically from the mercenary aggression of 25 November 1981 and to regain the security it needs to press ahead with its policies and the development that should be promoted by enabling the Special Fund set up under resolution 3202 (S-VI) to become operational.

116. The racist régime sends into action mercenaries and bandits, which it trains, finances, leads and commands, in order to challenge the socialist course followed by Mozambique.

117. Angola, which has suffered several acts of aggression since independence in 1975, has had part of its territory occupied for more than a year by South African troops; its airspace is constantly violated, and its civilian population and installations are constantly at the mercy of bombardments and airborne troops.

118. Was that provided for in the Charter? Is it tolerable? The only answer can be no, but when we Africans—who are in our flesh and in our dignity victims of the system of *apartheid* and the extortion that accompanies it—ask for sanctions against Pretoria or compliance with and the strengthening of the arms embargo decreed by the Security Council, all we get is unwillingness to act and vetoes.

119. In Namibia, which South Africa still considers to be one of its provinces, Pretoria has done nothing to break the infernal cycle of injustice, turmoil and repression through voluntary renunciation of a policy that is constantly challenged. Instead, the racist régime continues to rely on force to suppress or at least to thwart the desire for emancipation of those who disagree with it and continues to maintain the *status quo* of the illegal occupation of the Territory.

120. It is regrettable that certain circles, disregarding this aspect, refuse to recognize SWAPO as the

authentic and sole representative of the Namibian people and continue to treat it as a terrorist organization, showing a lack of sensitivity towards the large-scale physical liquidation of SWAPO militants. Those same circles have been the most zealous advocates of the need to shore up confidence in the racist régime and to keep it secure, as if injustice and illegal occupation needed comfort or consolidation.

121. Recently those same circles have not hesitated to go beyond South African requests by reimposing a conditional link between the independence of Namibia and the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist troops that are in Angola at the request of the Angolan Government. Leaving aside the fact that this would constitute a flagrant intervention in the internal affairs of a sovereign independent State, this proposed link is truly surprising. It seems to be forgotten that it was South Africa that committed aggression against Angola and not the other way round. Now it is South Africa that needs to be protected against the combined forces of Angola and Cuba. Instead of internationalist or—why not?—multinational troops being brought in to provide protection for that country, those that are there are being asked to leave.

122. For this reason we support the terms of the communiqué of the summit meeting of the front-line States held in Lusaka on 4 September 1982. Reaffirming that Security Council resolutions 386 (1976) and 435 (1978) are the sole valid basis for a negotiated settlement of the Namibian question, we subscribe to the position of the non-aligned countries that the United Nations has the prime responsibility for the solution of this question, with a view to the rapid transition of the Territory to independence. If that independence is further delayed, the Organization should shoulder its responsibility and proclaim Namibia independent, with all the consequences which that might have, particularly for South Africa, whose rights in the matter we challenge, for the Member States, which cannot with impunity abandon the Namibians to their fate and, lastly, for the Organization itself, one of whose primary objectives is after all the liberation of peoples.

123. The unanimity of the African States on the political liberation of Africa, particularly of its southern part, we should have liked to see manifested in a positive manner in respect of Western Sahara. For us, the admission of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic as the fifty-first member of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] is irreversible because it represents an important stage in the struggle of the Sahraoui people to put an end to the Moroccan occupation, which we continue to denounce, and to enjoy fully independence, sovereignty and their inalienable national rights. Last year, in Nairobi, at the eighteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, a consensus emerged in respect of the framework in which the exercise of those rights could take place and no divergence of views manifested itself as to the need for a cease-fire and negotiations between the parties to the conflict, which in our opinion can only be Morocco and POLISARIO.

124. The crisis experienced by the OAU does not date from the admission of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic to that organization but it is evident that

its solution depends to a great extent on the commencement and successful outcome of negotiations on Western Sahara. The error in this matter, if there has been an error, does not lie in the existence of divergent views, but may derive from the belief that unity can be achieved at any price and on any conditions. The African determination to overcome this crisis is still as firm as ever and we shall achieve our aims and be even more strengthened in our principles and convictions, if only to confound those who have counted on a temporarily disunited Africa in order to promote certain interests which will never be ours.

125. On the Middle East, there are those who would like to calm our apprehensions by suggesting that the recent Israeli aggression against Lebanon and the Palestinian people ended in political defeat. In Israel itself something seems to have changed, something resembling the qualms of a conscience which had long been accustomed to accept the double talk of the Government; while among the most fervent defenders of the Zionist régime there are those who complain they have been led astray by Begin and Sharon and now seem to recognize the dangers of unconditional support for Israel and the virtues of a more critical and objective attitude to its crimes.

126. Although salutary those reactions have come rather late and we cannot forget what a great price has been paid by the Palestinian people in order to bring about these modest movements in public opinion. Israel is now its own rejection front. It is the only country which has rejected in turn the United Nations plan, the Fahd plan, the Reagan plan, the Brezhnev plan and the Fez plan. In its isolation, and even though it is in the wrong, none the less Israel in fact, however wrongly, holds positions of strength which enable it to veto any proposed solution. Its supplies of weapons, munitions and military hardware continue to be assured. It occupies Jerusalem, Lebanon and the Golan Heights. The West Bank and the Gaza Strip are under relentless control. The settlements are solidly established and do not seem to be threatened. The liquidation of the Palestinian resistance continues, with the use of methods the horror of which transcends imagination, including as they do genocide.

127. In this connection the President of my country wrote as follows in a message to the Secretary-General dated 19 September:

“... from now on, the word ‘genocide’ will bring to mind not Oradour, but Beirut... the holocaust, the concentration camps and systematic massacres at Dachau and Buchenwald are eclipsed, as we near the end of the twentieth century, by the final solution perpetrated by Begin’s and Sharon’s executioners.

“Now, after the genocide in west Beirut, we feel bound to declare to the world that verbal condemnations and United Nations resolutions are no longer enough but that it is time for action.

“I therefore have the honour to request you:

“1. To call upon all the great Powers to impose an economic, commercial, diplomatic and military embargo on Begin’s Fascist and extremist Israel; in particular, that the great Powers which boycotted Argentina at the time of the Malvinas affair should

desist immediately from supplying Israel with arms, munitions and petroleum.

“2. To consider the possibility of organizing an international tribunal along the lines of the Nuremberg Tribunal against the Israeli Fascist war criminals and their Lebanese accomplices.

“3. To demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon.

“It is high time for a review of history, geography and frontiers in this explosive region of the world and to give the martyred Palestinian people a State, a homeland, a nation of their own.

“In the absence of urgent, concrete and decisive action, we greatly fear that the peace of the whole world will be very seriously threatened.” [See A/37/465.]

128. In another part of the world a deplorable conflict has been taking place for more than two years between two countries which, like my country, belong to the non-aligned movement. We have no more ardent desire than to see the Islamic Republic of Iran and Iraq resolve their conflict in a peaceful manner, bringing the hostilities to an end as soon as possible, because their own interests and the interests of the rest of the world are at stake. In this respect we are encouraged to see that, within the framework of the current meeting of Foreign Ministers of non-aligned countries, the two parties have agreed to accept a consensus text reaffirming the principles of the movement and those of the Charter, principles which can and must serve to bring about a just and lasting settlement of this dispute.

129. The armed conflict which broke out this spring in respect of the Malvinas was a source of great consternation to the world because of its intensity and its ramifications, involving regional alliances. Was this confrontation inevitable, once the negotiations between Argentina and the United Kingdom had remained too long in a state of uncertainty? As the General Assembly now intends to invite the parties to resume their talks, it is important in our opinion to learn from the past, and in particular from the recent past. We may wonder, among other things, whether the idea of self-determination should constitute a relevant factor in these negotiations.

130. Just as the Jewish settlers living in the settlements set up by Israel do not acquire the right to take part in a referendum on self-determination concerning the future of the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, so in the same way the personnel transferred by the Falkland Islands Company for the purposes of the colonial exploitation of the islands cannot determine by their vote the question of sovereignty over those islands.

131. Although it is not on the agenda, the question of Korea is none the less of concern to Member States. We do not believe that the solution lies in the endorsement of the division of the country and the admission of two Korean entities into the Organization. How will that resolve the problems posed by the abuse of the United Nations flag and the introduction of atomic weapons into the peninsula? Direct negotiations between the two parties is inevitable if there is a real desire to make progress towards the

settlement of this crisis and they are all the more called for since the joint communiqué of 4 July 1972¹ has defined the basis for negotiations. We would add only that the principles of that communiqué are in no way incompatible with the establishment of the great Koryo confederation which we very much look forward to.

132. Other hotbeds of tension exist in Asia, Central America and the Caribbean and we are concerned by them because they do violence to the principles which we cherish, particularly the right to self-determination, respect for sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States, the right of peoples to choose freely without interference of any kind their political, social and economic régime, and the right of nations to preserve by all possible means the gains of their revolution. We will not repeat our position, which is constant and well-known. We wish to assure our friends and comrades from those regions that our solidarity is with them, as it is with all the victims of destabilization, injustice and imperialist domination.

133. Before proceeding to consider the world economic situation, I should like fairly briefly to touch upon disarmament. At the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, we tried to maintain the impetus of the first special session and despite some rather unfavourable factors we felt that the time had come to promote further a multilateral approach to disarmament, particularly in view of the risks attendant upon the bilateral negotiations. We did not succeed in our aims, but this is no reason for us to abandon the comprehensive programme for disarmament, the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons tests, the control of strategic nuclear weapons, or the strengthening of the nuclear non-proliferation régime, particularly as regards negative security guarantees.

134. We still believe that the two approaches, bilateral and multilateral, strengthen and complement each other, particularly in the case of nuclear-weapon-free zones, zones where the limitation of conventional weapons is envisaged, and zones of peace such as the Indian Ocean, which, for our own security and for the sake of world peace, should become a demilitarized, denuclearized zone. On this matter the proposals of the non-aligned countries are blocked, but an Indian Ocean treaty remains our final objective and we once again urge the great Powers to reduce “... their military presence in the Indian Ocean area as a first step towards the eventual elimination of the great Power presence and the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a ‘Zone of Peace’” [A/37/333, annex, para. 170]. Such was the unanimous position of the non-aligned countries at the ministerial meeting of their Co-ordinating Bureau at Havana last June.

135. I should now like to refer to the economic situation and first to point out that the deterioration of the situation, which is a manifestation of a structural crisis, has become one of the most serious political problems of our age, since it is a potential source of instability and insecurity for all countries, both the developing countries, which already have negative growth rates, and the developed countries, where the recession is continually getting worse and unemployment rates have become uncontrollable.

The crisis is widespread; it is global and it will remain with us for a long time because of the deterioration of the international economic climate and the emergence of trends which are not favourable to integrated development based on solidarity.

136. Although the consequences of the crisis have been felt grievously by the international community as a whole, its bad effects have hit much harder at the developing countries. The repercussions of this are manifold, but some of them need to be emphasized. The developing countries have a large trade deficit, mainly due to unequal terms of trade and stagnant production. Despite their producers' associations, they have no control over commodity prices on international markets, or over the rising prices of capital goods; they are therefore subjected to inflated import prices and reductions in the prices of their exports, which lead in turn to a net reduction in investment, forcing them to sacrifice part of their development programme.

137. The deficit in their balance of payments, resulting from the increase in their financial obligations in the private capital markets and the high level of interest rates have led to an unprecedented increase in the external debt of those countries, to about \$540 billion at the end of 1981. The servicing of that debt alone absorbs an average of 25 per cent—in some cases over 40 per cent—of their export earnings.

138. Moreover, in the field of multilateral co-operation, despite the encouraging indications, official assistance for development is slowing down. The financing of the programmes and funds of the United Nations system is becoming more and more uncertain, while support for multilateral financial institutions is crumbling and the massive transfer of resources remains illusory.

139. In the quest for solutions to these problems, we should like simply to take up again the following points which have already been discussed many times by the States members of the Group of 77.

140. First, interdependent economic relations as they are in the present day world are still unbalanced and reflect inequalities of development. The aim can no longer be the recovery of the world economy on the basis of an undifferentiated process of growth; there must be development of the countries of the third world fully in keeping with their options.

141. Secondly, the problems posed by world trade, the financing of development and the international monetary system require concerted action and cannot be dealt with without a recognition of the harmful effects of certain national policies on the world economy, and particularly the economy of the developing countries. We have not adequately grasped these effects because of the distance between the decision-making centres; that is why we consider it essential that the sixth session of UNCTAD should provide Member States with an opportunity to deal in an integrated manner with development issues.

142. Finally, the third aspect of joint endeavour is required to restore an economic environment favourable to development and the recovery of the world economy, with due regard for the objectives of the new international economic order.

143. These few considerations confirm the value of global negotiations and we look forward to seeing these negotiations open as soon as possible. Desirous of being considered as equal partners in the reform of international economic relations, the third world countries have proposed an agenda and a procedure for these negotiations which reflect their belief that equity and justice alone can assure a reorganization of relations governing countries which have long been categorized on the basis of an incorrect understanding of the international division of labour.

144. At the beginning of my statement, I referred to the erosion of collective responsibility which is not only due to the fact that each one of us wishes to propose or, in the worst of situations, to impose its own solution. In this respect we must first of all revitalize and strengthen what should properly be called the pillars of the Organization, that is to say, all the organs or machinery for consultation and decision-making at the regional and intergovernmental levels, taking care, however, to avoid further polarizing positions, and adopting convergent approaches in the interest of security for all in all spheres. The solution of conflicts will thus be made easier and one can even hope that conflicts will even be avoided.

145. This requires, however, that we re-examine our priorities in the light of the permanent interdependence of problems which will continue to confront a world of increasing solidarity. In our view, it is not too late to check confrontation—whether between East and West, North and South or even between countries of the South—in order to make mutual recognition of interests the corner-stone of co-operation and coexistence. In short, as Members of the Organization we must, in facing the crises before us, be open-minded and positive, resist temptations towards fragmentation and maintain the common principles to which we have freely consented, without allowing ourselves to have recourse to expedients in the name of pragmatism and acceptance of reality.

146. It is in this context that we have studied the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization with the greatest interest. Our concerns are very much his own, and, since the Organization is not just the symbol of collective responsibility but also the most appropriate framework for its implementation and further development, we can but rejoice if the indications given by the Secretary-General in his report are followed up by deeds, particularly by the permanent members of the Security Council. This would put to an end the continual challenge to the authority and functioning of the Organization. To take up this challenge is also one of the reasons—and not the least—for our participating in this general debate. For our part, we renew our whole-hearted commitment to do our utmost in this respect and in the cause of peace.

147. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply. I should like to remind them that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements made in the exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes.

148. Mr. ADELMAN (United States of America): The statement this morning by the Cuban Minister of

External Relations was outrageous, even by comparison with other extreme statements that have been made by totalitarian States in this Hall over the past several weeks. Even as Cuba presumes to speak for the non-aligned movement, it must be plain to any responsible listener that Cuba in fact speaks as client and apologist for the communist movement. The statement is thus standard distortion of Marxism-Leninism, the predictable world view warped by communist ideology. In a sweeping view of the current world situation, no mention whatever is made of the brutal invasion and occupation of non-aligned Afghanistan by 100,000 Soviet troops. Only the most passing and apologetic mention is made of the invasion and occupation of once non-aligned Kampuchea by more than 200,000 Vietnamese troops. These omissions and distortions by a self-styled spokesman for the non-aligned countries simply boggle the mind.

149. I was particularly impressed by the Minister's remark that "In Latin America, after nearly a century of imperialist domination, the situation could not be more hopeless for tens of millions of human beings subjected to the most dreadful poverty". [23rd meeting, para. 133.] The current Cuban leadership, after two decades of totalitarian rule, finds a situation that could not be more hopeless for the slightly under 10 million beings subject to the most dreadful rule there. We could do no better than quote—as indeed the Minister himself did this morning—from the words of President Fidel Castro, who said that Cuba was "sailing in a sea of difficulties" surrounded by problems that could last "20 years or who knows how long".

150. World Bank statistics could be cited which show Cuba's per capita gross national product declining by 0.2 per cent per year since 1960, making it unique in having such a constant decline despite enormous outside assistance. In 1959, Cuba had the third highest per capita income in the hemisphere; today it has one of the lowest. Twenty years after the revolution, stringent rationing continues, the economy is declining and unemployment is on the rise. This is all true—miserably and distressingly true—despite the fact that as a client State Cuba receives \$8 million on a daily basis from the Soviet Union.

151. On the military side, the Cuban Minister's statements also could not be more false. As he well knows and as all the world well knows, the Soviet Union has been fueling the arms buildup in an unprecedented and relentless way. There has been no American spurt to the arms race and in fact no arms "race" in any meaningful manner at all.

152. For it is no "race" when the Soviets increase an average of 4 to 5 per cent in real terms each and every year over the past 10 years, while the military expenditures of the United States have declined in real terms by 25 per cent since 1968.

153. It is no "race" when the Soviets have spent three times the American total over the past decade on strategic offensive forces and today spend three times the United States amount in the entire strategic realm.

154. It is no "race" when the Soviet Union over the past decade developed and deployed four generations of intercontinental ballistic missiles, ICBMs, far more powerful than the American land-based mis-

siles, and thus put in question the survivability of the United States land-based ICBM force, while the United States force is today essentially the same as it was when the SALT I Treaty was signed.

155. It is no "race" when the Soviet Union has been deploying its highly mobile, MIRVed long-range SS-20 missiles at the rate of about one a week, while the United States theatre nuclear force in Europe—on which our allies rely in part for their defence—has not been modernized in years but, rather, has been reduced by 1,000 warheads over the past two years.

156. It is no "race" when the Soviets have spent 50 per cent more on military research, development and testing and engineering than the United States over the past decade.

157. Finally, it is no "race" when the Soviets have spent 60 per cent more on general purpose forces, that is, conventional forces, than the United States.

158. Cuba itself has spurred a real arms race in its own region, for Cuba has a higher ratio of its population under arms than any other country in Latin America.

159. Since 1975, Cuba has conducted a massive arms buildup. Recently, MIG 23 FLOGGERS, assault helicopters, a KONI class frigate and FOXTROT submarines have been received. Military shipments from the Soviet Union have today reached the highest levels since 1962.

160. These arms have been sent clandestinely and used to destabilize the democratically elected Government of El Salvador and for terrorism elsewhere in the region and the world.

161. Offsetting unemployment at home, upwards of 35,000 Cuban mercenaries remain in Central Africa and in the Horn of Africa engaged in brutal war against Africans.

162. We know that the Cubans first spread their military ventures into Africa, not at the request of the Angolan Government at all, since no Angolan Government existed when the Cubans first came. It was instead an Angolan civil war involving three liberation parties, and the Cubans came in support of one of them. They began fighting and killing Africans then, in 1975, and there they remain, fighting and killing Africans seven years later, in 1982. A respected leader of Africa and a genuine father of African liberation, Ivory Coast President Félix Houphouët-Boigny, realized the truth of the situation in 1977 when he said:

"In less than two years, the Cubans have killed thousands of Angolans, our African brothers, murdered in cold blood. More victims fell in this short period than in the 15 years of guerrilla war against Portuguese colonialism. Yet the West rarely notes this gruesome reality."

Though a few years late, we in this Hall take note today of this gruesome reality.

163. The Cuban human rights record is equally abhorrent: no political opposition or public dissent is tolerated by the Cuban State and Party apparatus; Cuba will not even allow the Red Cross or other international organizations to visit its 1,000 political prisoners; a massive haemorrhage of 125,000 people

fled Cuba in the Mariel sealift and up to 500,000 have applied to emigrate.

164. In essence, as everyone must realize by now, Cuba is a totalitarian Marxist-Leninist State where the citizenry has been deprived of the exercise of elementary and basic political rights. Freedom of speech does not exist, no political opposition is allowed, and the Government holds 1,000 political prisoners, often under degrading conditions. Great sacrifices have been imposed on the population for some 20 years, in the name of revolution and social reconstruction. But Cuba's economy remains stagnant and dependent on Soviet subsidy. Development remains a distant goal, and discontent evidently runs deep.

165. It gives my Government no pleasure to recite this grim litany. For this outlaw régime is of our own hemisphere, and principally it destabilizes and—by its example—degrades our own hemisphere.

166. And, even more broadly, Castro's Cuba postures as the legitimate spokesman of the non-aligned. My Government knows that this is not so—and it is more than time that this ultimate Cuban lie be branded for what it is, and put to rest.

167. Mr. ADAN (Somalia): In a rare display of barefaced hypocrisy, the Foreign Minister of the Empire-State of Ethiopia yesterday came to the rostrum of the Assembly at the 22nd meeting and shamelessly denied his despicable régime's unprovoked invasion of my country. He then proceeded to indulge in a vicious attack against the Government of Somalia, as well as the Governments of sister Arab countries. Clearly, all this was done in a futile attempt to divert the attention of world public opinion from his régime's violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Somalia, in contravention of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and that of the Organization of African Unity. This is not surprising, since it has become the hallmark of Ethiopian representatives to engage in Orwellian lies, to blame the victim, whenever the misconduct of their obnoxious leadership is brought to the attention of the international community.

168. I am certain that not even the most gullible amongst us will for one moment believe the hypocritical protestations of the Ethiopian Foreign Minister. The evidence of Ethiopia's aggression against my country is incontestable. One has to go no further than the front page story in the *New York Times* today to establish that. The Foreign Minister of Somalia reported in his statement three days ago at the 18th meeting that heavily armoured Ethiopian brigades, enjoying air cover and supported by foreign forces, had invaded the territory of the Somali Democratic Republic on 1 July this year and on several days thereafter. Representatives will remember that I also reported these events as they occurred to States Members of the United Nations, through the Secretary-General. Ethiopian denials notwithstanding, the stark reality is that Ethiopian forces have managed to penetrate into Somalia's territory at two points, in one instance as deeply as 32 kilometres, capturing the district town of Galdogob and the village of Balamalle.

169. Ethiopian identity cards found on captured soldiers and deserters, Ethiopian military insignia on

captured arms and equipment—many of them complete with Soviet operational manuals dated as recently as 1982—and captured documents in Russian and Amharic, all bear witness to the mendacity and duplicity of the Addis Ababa régime.

170. Ethiopia's attempts to mislead world public opinion have failed dismally. Only last month, the 69th Inter-Parliamentary Conference held in Rome confirmed Ethiopia's aggression. It strongly condemned the military invasion committed by Ethiopia and its allies and directed against the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of the Somali Democratic Republic. The Conference further called for the unconditional withdrawal of all foreign forces from the territory of the Somali Democratic Republic [see A/37/578]. Similarly, the Twelfth Arab Summit, Conference held in Fez, resolved to support the Somali Democratic Republic in facing the requirements of safeguarding its sovereignty over its territories and in driving out the invading Ethiopian forces from Somali territory [see A/37/696]. Ethiopia's aggression has received the attention also of the international press and mass media, as well as the condemnation of the international community at large.

171. The Ethiopian Minister stated yesterday: "Ethiopia neither covets nor has it ever claimed any portion of the territory of Somalia". [22nd meeting, para. 41]. Listen to that!

172. But the facts are quite different. Not content with its territorial aggrandizement during the scramble for the colonization of the African continent—which incidentally more than doubled its territory, as can be easily ascertained by comparing old maps of Abyssinia with the current map of imperialist Ethiopia—the Imperial Ethiopian Government shamelessly claimed sovereignty over Eritrea and the Somalilands in a memorandum presented to the four-Power Foreign Ministers' Conference held in Paris in 1945. I have at hand a photocopy of the memorandum—and I am willing to furnish a copy to any interested delegation. It is blatantly and nakedly headed "Ethiopia's Claim to Eritrea and Somaliland". The memorandum makes this historical distinction:

"It is a fact established beyond the slightest doubt that the series of migrations which took place in the second and first millenium before Christ from the Asiatic continent, and in particular the Arabian Peninsula, to the area now known as the Empire of Ethiopia passed in part by the region of Eritrea."

Representatives will, I am sure, take note of the fact that the Ethiopian memorandum from which I quote speaks of Ethiopia as an "Empire". The memorandum continues:

"The other arm of the migration passed by the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb and led to the settlement of the area now known as Italian Somaliland. The result of these migrations was the establishment of the Empire of Ethiopia which for many centuries included the territories now known as Eritrea and the various Somalilands."

None of this supposed basis for Ethiopian expansionist policies has, of course, any historical foundation. This iniquitous memorandum even went on to assert that

Ethiopia was "best fitted" and "fully prepared" to administer both Eritrea and Somaliland.

173. Fortunately for my country, the Ethiopian Imperial Government was thwarted in that attempt to seize Somalia. But, alas, it was successful in its recolonization of the Ogaden and in the illegal annexation of Eritrea in defiance of all the relevant United Nations resolutions, on the basis of which that unfortunate territory and its people were supposed to be self-governing in federation with Ethiopia. The colonialist claims of Ethiopia, under the late Emperor Haile Selassie, to Eritrea and Somaliland were made in the best tradition of Ethiopia's imperialist policies, which had been formulated by his predecessor, Menelik II, who in his circular letter to the European Powers in 1891 had laid claim to African territory as far north as Khartoum in the Sudan and as far south as Lake Victoria. Incidentally, page 2 of the memorandum states: "Ethiopia rendered valuable assistance in the suppression of the Mahdi's revolt" in the Sudan. That is an interesting revelation of Ethiopia's collaboration with imperialism over the years, despite its boastful assertions that it has always championed African liberation struggles. African brothers and sisters, please take note.

174. Imperialism and territorial aggrandizement continue to be the policy of the current régime. Today Mengistu Haile Mariam has shed the title of Emperor in form only, and is no different from his antecedent empire-builders, Menelik II and Haile Selassie I. That is why the suppressed nationalities throughout the Empire of Ethiopia are in open revolt, as noted also in *The New York Times* today.

175. The junta in Addis Ababa talks of revolution and tirelessly cites all the jargon at its command—the Minister's speech was a classic example of that—but the basic realities of the Ethiopian Empire-State remain unchanged: the cover-ups, the bitter personal struggles, the assassination of colleagues, the oppression of subject nationalities, the corrupting influences of the colonialist mentality on even the colonizer, are still there.

176. It is persistent Ethiopian colonialism in the Ogaden, Eritrea, Oromia and Tigray that has led not only to the largest and most tragic flow of refugees in the history of the African continent but also to great depravity on the part of the Abyssinian colonizer.

177. The conquered provinces of Ethiopia are still the scene of countless atrocities far surpassing even the horrors of recent tragedies in Lebanon. The Ethiopian Minister's show of concern for the plight of the Palestinian people is therefore devoid of all moral content in the light of the systematic massacres and genocide being committed by his régime against the subject peoples of Ethiopian imperialism. Nor has any representative of a régime where such brutalities continue to be official policy the right to talk of human rights, especially to the Assembly, dedicated as it is to the creation of a more just and humane world.

178. Mr. SAIGNAVONGS (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): At the 22nd meeting, yesterday, in exercise of his right of reply, the representative of the United States quoted with fervour and conviction a newspaper article written

by a Vietnamese turncoat who, for some reason, went so far as to stain his country's honour.

179. When we see that the American leaders took seriously this kind of information picked up on any street corner, it is not astonishing that their various attempts at theatrics ended in failure. That was true of the attempt to free the hostages in Iran two years ago; of the attempt to free the American prisoners at Son Tay, in Viet Nam, in 1971; of the brazen incursion of their agents inside Laotian territory last year, in flagrant violation of international law, to search for the remains of American soldiers who had been missing since the war of aggression against the three countries of Indo-China—but they brought back only the remains of some non-Americans.

180. Endorsing the calumnies in the text he read out, the representative of the United States accused my country of being an occupied country. My delegation really does not see the point of his slanderous accusation. Yes, Laos was occupied—but by the United States, up to 1975. But the general uprising of our people at that time compelled the aggressor to make a catastrophic departure from my country. Undoubtedly still feeling nostalgia for that time when the United States Ambassador reigned as pro-consul in Vientiane, the United States Government has not yet been able to swallow the affront it received. Undoubtedly the United States representative wanted to make international public opinion forget the crimes committed by his Government against my country. But the United States will never be able, by slander or by fables, to erase those crimes and shirk its responsibilities. For the families of some 550 American soldiers who disappeared in Laos—these are American figures—are still there, asking their Government for explanations.

181. My delegation feels that such slanderous accusations by the United States cannot promote understanding between our two Governments.

182. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia): I have no intention of engaging in sterile polemics with the representative of Somalia, but I feel obliged to point out some of the glaring inconsistencies in his statement and in other statements of the Somali delegation to the Assembly.

183. Last Tuesday, at the 18th meeting, when my delegation exercised its right of reply to the preposterous allegations of the Foreign Minister of Somalia, the same representative of that country accused my delegation of committing the unforgivable crime of coming to the Assembly with a well-prepared text of reply. Today, he has himself come with a long-winded text full of diatribe and the usual distortion of facts. Yet even before I heard his vituperation I knew what he was going to say. I shall therefore read from another text which—to use the words he used in describing my previous text—is "obviously prepared in detail over some time". I am not to blame if the Somali delegation is as monotonous as a broken record, repeating itself over and over again.

184. In his statements last Tuesday and today the representative of Somalia assailed the pre-revolutionary leaders of Ethiopia as colonialists and imperialists, thereby denouncing them and their role in history. The crocodile tears he shed, the last time he spoke, for the late Emperor—who died a natural death

at the ripe age of 84—if anything, reveals the utter confusion and notorious inconsistency of the representative of Somalia.

185. He also referred to my country as “the Empire State of Ethiopia”. Well, the only place I know by that designation is New York State. Therefore I hope that the founders of this cosmopolis and their present-day successors, Governor Hugh Carey and Mayor Ed Koch, will forgive him for having usurped the majestic name reserved for their State.

186. Somalia’s representative has repeated his Foreign Minister’s allegation that Ethiopian forces had crossed the *de facto* border of Somalia. That, of course, is a gross fabrication. Our forces have crossed no border and occupied no territory. In any case it is a strange allegation since Somalia continues to refuse to recognize international boundaries. It is as a result of this obsession that Somalia claims every piece of land in the Horn of Africa where its camels and cows graze—a tribute to nomadic culture, but a source of constant vexation to all the neighbours of Somalia, particularly Ethiopia.

187. There is nothing new in what has just been said by the representative of Somalia and in what his Minister had to say on Tuesday. The Assembly has witnessed once again a miserable attempt at rewriting history, to which we shall not even reply. It is the same age-old distortion of historical facts, the same worn-out clichés and fabrications and useless rhetoric.

188. Despite these shameless distortions and slanderous fabrications, the truth is that none of the Ethiopian administrative regions which adjoin present-day Somalia and which the expansionist régime in Mogadishu wants to annex today could ever have been part of Somalia, for Somalia had never existed as a State on the map of Africa prior to its creation by the United Nations. I challenge the representative of Somalia to define and to trace the historical limits and internationally recognized boundaries of Somalia, other than those given it by the United Nations in the 1950s.

189. Disparaging remarks were also made against Emperor Menelik. The truth is that Somali tribal chiefs sitting under acacia trees were busy selling their lands to the European colonialists of the day for a few kilograms of rice and some mirrors when Menelik had inspired the Ethiopian people to struggle for their independence and territorial integrity. Anyone interested in ascertaining the validity of what I said about Somalia’s tribal chiefs of that day may check the records of the Trusteeship Council, from A to Z. No amount of falsification can therefore minimize Menelik’s place in history nor efface the victories over Italian colonialism and imperialism scored by the Ethiopian people at Massawa, Dogali, Senafe and Adowa under the brilliant leadership of Menelik.

190. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted by the General Assembly in its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, was also invoked and distorted by the Foreign Minister of Somalia and his Ambassador to give legitimacy to Somalia’s expansionist ambitions.

191. To say the least, this historic Declaration, which emphasizes the principles of national unity, territorial integrity, sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States, could hardly be ambiguous. Moreover, since the Ethiopian people have exercised their right to self-determination through manifold and obvious historical processes, they surely cannot be expected to be lectured on the subject, least of all by representatives of an oppressive and corrupt régime. The self-appointed role of Somalia’s representatives as advocates of a lofty principle is at best ridiculous. Just for their benefit, let me emphasize that the principle of self-determination was never meant to apply to an independent and sovereign State or parts thereof.

192. If Somalia were to practise what it profusely preaches, the restoration of Jubaland and the port of Kismayu, which were taken away from Kenya in 1924, and other similar territories to their historical ownership, and the granting of self-determination to Issaque, Mejerten, Gedebursie, Haberawel and the other oppressed nationalities of Somalia could perhaps be an interesting exercise.

193. With regard to the so-called Ethiopian refugees to whom the Foreign Minister referred, my delegation would like to place on record, once again, the fact that Ethiopia has consistently rejected the preposterous claim, as well as the figures given by Somalia. That the so-called refugees are needy citizens of Somalia who are being paraded in relief camps for political and fund-raising purposes is well documented. So is the massive diversion of international humanitarian assistance for commercial and military use. We need only remind the Assembly that food supplies sent for the so-called refugees by foreign countries are being openly sold by the régime at home and abroad. Sacks of rice and flour supplied by countries such as France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and Canada are piled up in shops and market stalls in Mogadishu and other towns. Tins of butter provided by the European Economic Community as aid to the so-called refugees are for instance on sale in Mogadishu.

194. Lest there be any misunderstanding, I must stress that we are not opposing humanitarian assistance to that country. What we are strongly objecting to is Somalia’s attempt to get subsidies for its misguided, mismanaged and tottering economy by using Ethiopia as a pretext and its diversion of aid for military purposes.

195. A régime which has consistently claimed to be sheltering more than 2 million so-called refugees in the past three years now claims to host 700,000 persons in camps, with an equal number living elsewhere. Those are the latest figures announced to the world by the authorities in Mogadishu, after intensive negotiations involving some donor countries and organizations which, in all conscience, could not accept Somalia’s gross exaggerations as a basis for humanitarian aid.

196. Despite Ethiopia’s repeated appeals for strict monitoring, no corrective measures have been taken by the United Nations agencies concerned. Unless swift and prompt measures are taken to control the practice of diversion of humanitarian aid in which the Mogadishu régime is so sophisticated, Ethiopia

will be compelled to hold donor Governments and agencies responsible for subsidizing terror and aggression by the régime in Mogadishu.

197. Finally, the representative of Somalia referred to an article which appeared in *The New York Times* today; conveniently, he only urged members of the Assembly to read the title of that article. The truth is that if one reads the article itself—

198. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I must interrupt the representative of Ethiopia; he has exceeded the time available to him.

199. The representative of Somalia has asked to speak a second time in exercise of his right of reply. I should like to remind him that, in keeping with decision 34/401, he is entitled to speak for only five minutes.

200. Mr. ADAN (Somalia): Thank you, Mr. President, for calling the Ethiopian representative to order when he exceeded his time limit.

201. The Ethiopian representative seems to be allergic to my referring to his country as an empire. But this is not my appellation. I have a memorandum here submitted to the four-Power Conference in Paris in 1945, entitled "Memorandum No. 1 from the Imperial Ethiopian Government". That memorandum refers to the Ethiopian Empire time and again. I repeat: it is not my appellation. So much for the Ethiopian representative's allergy to that title.

202. In regard to the refugees, I cannot really subscribe to the allegations made regarding the numbers and the distribution of food. The international community is aware that Somalia has appointed a private company by the name of Care to handle the unloading, transportation and distribution of food in the refugee camps. Therefore Somalia has nothing to do with the food that is donated by the international community.

203. In regard to the number of refugees, Somalia agreed to a committee made up of representatives of the Government, the donor countries, the voluntary agencies and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees going and conducting a head count census to come up with the right figures—and it did come up with the right figures. But Ethiopia has so far refused to accept such a committee and thus to allow the international community and the United Nations system to ascertain the number of so-called displaced persons and even returnees.

204. The Ethiopian representative has denied that there are refugees in Somalia. Yet they are always supplicating the United Nations High Commissioner; they are applying for assistance for returnees—for refugees who have returned to Ethiopia—and as a result are getting millions of dollars. Where are these refugees returning from if not from Somalia? The Ethiopian representative's remarks on the refugee situation are ridiculous and they do not deserve a detailed reply from me, because the facts are known all over the world.

205. One can only be amazed that a representative of the current Ethiopian régime should have the audacity to make accusations against any Government in the field of human rights. The Ethiopian Empire—a relic of a bygone age—still persists in its colonialism, frustrating the legitimate rights of subject peoples to self-determination. It has annexed Eritrea;

it illegally occupies Western Somalia, or the Ogaden; it has invaded my country and it now seeks to destabilize our whole region.

206. It is fresh in human memory that the Mengistu clique and its henchmen perpetrated the infamous campaign of red terror which dehumanized the country and in so doing, took the lives of tens of thousands of Ethiopians. Many of those killed in cold blood were children and teen-agers, who were often tortured before being shot, sometimes in the presence of their own parents. In many instances, payment was demanded from parents who came to retrieve the bodies of their children for burial, in proportion to the number of bullet wounds—the more bullet wounds, the higher the price. In other cases, proper burial was denied and bodies were thrown into mass graves.

207. A headline in *The Times* of London of March 1979 read: "Bodies Litter Addis Ababa Streets as Death Squads Indulge in Indiscriminate Mass Murder". Nor has the world forgotten the cold-blooded murder of the late Emperor—he did not die at a "ripe age"; he was murdered—or the massacre of 59 notables, including former Prime Minister Aklilu Haptewolde and Endalkachew Makonnen, and others—some of whose relatives are, it would seem, today loyally prepared to defend the perpetrators of such atrocities.

208. When the worst excesses of the campaign of red terror were transferred to the obscurity of the provinces, what prevailed in Addis Ababa has been described as the "peace of the graveyard".

209. Colin Legum, an authority on African affairs, recorded in the *Observer* of 13 April 1980: "All opposition has been savagely crushed, executions are frequent and summary, nobody can be sure how many political prisoners fill Ethiopian jails—100,000 to 150,000 would be the very least". He went on to state that Stalin-like purges occurred regularly within the ruling elite. *The Times* of London questioned the number of political prisoners in Ethiopia's terrible dungeon prisons as recently as 16 September.

210. It is a well-known fact that the leader of the current régime achieved the position of head of State by executing his several rivals. As a storekeeper in the army of—

211. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I apologize for interrupting the representative of Somalia, but I must draw his attention to the fact that he has used all the time allowed him. To be quite fair, I cannot allow him to continue.

212. I call on the representative of Ethiopia. Since this is his second statement in exercise of the right of reply, he is allowed only five minutes.

213. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia): The representative of Somalia rejoiced at my being called to order, but he almost challenged the presidency.

214. I should like to finish what I started to say earlier.

215. With regard to the reference by the representative of Somalia to today's issue of *The New York Times*, I must say that, for lack of any concrete evidence to support his wild allegations, the representative of Somalia has been tenaciously hanging on to

every piece of thread. Nowhere in the dispatch has the correspondent claimed that he had any independent and conclusive assessment of the situation—only what the Somali Ambassador had told him by prearrangement and Somalia's patrons so obligingly confirmed. Consider the timing: an article appears in the morning, while the Somali representative prepares to exercise the right of reply to Ethiopia in the afternoon. The usual quarters have done their bit of public relations.

216. As to the reference by the representative of Somalia to the bias of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, I would ask the Somali Ambassador whether the Union was established for the sole purpose of defending Somalia's allegations. Was not the Union functioning when Somalia committed its entire war machine to its brazen aggression against Ethiopia in 1977? I regret to say that the Union lacks any credibility; it suffers from a large credibility gap.

217. The representative of Somalia keeps on talking of resolutions. Certainly, by taking advantage of Somalia's membership in parochial associations within a number of organizations in which Ethiopia is not represented, Somalia's representatives prepare drafts, implore delegations to support their customary lies and try to dignify them as resolutions of those organizations. Why should Ethiopia be expected to take such fraud into consideration—let alone accept it?

218. By beating cold-war drums the authorities in Mogadishu have attempted to internationalize their

own internal problems. Similarly, by resorting to cold-war rhetoric they have tried to gain the sympathy and support of the Powers that be. But the irony of it all is that successive Somali régimes have enjoyed unexcelled proficiency in propagating palpable falsehoods. The present régime is no exception. Only recently, when that régime claimed to be a staunch ally of the USSR, it condemned the Americans as "mealy-mouthed imperialists" and "enemy number one of the peoples of the world". We all know what it is saying today.

219. Field Marshal Siad Barre, President of the Democratic Republic of Somalia, himself used to claim that he had made a contribution to Marxist ideology that no other man had ever made, and that he had successfully reconciled Islam with Marxism. Today they are saying something else. It may be possible to fool some of the people some of the time, but not all of the people all of the time.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex I.*