



President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT: This afternoon the Assembly will hear an address by the Vice-President of Panama. I have great pleasure in welcoming Mr. Jorge E. Illueca and I invite him to address the General Assembly.
2. Mr. ILLUECA (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, your many years of association with the United Nations, during which you have demonstrated your wisdom, spirit of co-operation and human qualities, have earned you your election, which guarantees the successful outcome of our work for all States Members of the United Nations. We welcome your presidency of the General Assembly and should like to pledge the determined co-operation of the delegation of Panama. I am expressing the feelings of broad sectors of mankind when I say in addition that we wish to praise the outstanding job done by the distinguished statesman of the third world, Mr. Ismat Kittani, as President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. He is a tireless promoter of the ideals of the United Nations.
3. Never before in the history of mankind has there been so many sombre political and economic factors as there are today which have created such an ominous world situation.
4. Even for those who maintain that international law is an instrument of co-ordination and not confrontation, the major problems on the Assembly's agenda place us at a crossroads where negative factors in international life bring us to an impasse. There is the prospect of another possible conflagration with unpredictable results if common sense, wisdom and determination do not prevail in promoting the ideals, purposes and principles which inspired the authors of the San Francisco Charter to draft a system of collective security within the sphere of the United Nations for dealing with the major conflicts of our era which threaten to bring about the self-destruction of mankind.
5. In the peaceful settlement of disputes and in cases of breaches of international peace, we find ourselves confronted with an impossible mission owing to the lack of political will on the part of the members of the Security Council, and in particular of the permanent members, to undertake the task of making the United Nations system of security effective and imposing the coercive measures contemplated in the Charter. This action is necessary and urgent in situations as anachronistic and offensive to the

conscience of mankind as those occurring in Africa, the Middle East, the eastern Mediterranean, Asia and Latin America, especially in the Latin American South Atlantic.

6. The large, medium-sized and small Powers in this world assembly cannot do much in the way of making a positive contribution as regards events which have occurred in 1982. There has been no progress in the global negotiations which created so much hope at one time as a means of realizing the aspirations of mankind embodied in the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 35/56, annex*].
7. The second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament resulted in resounding failure in the face of the intensification of the arms race between the super-Powers of the East and the West.
8. As far as the non-aligned group is concerned, we were saddened to see that as a result of the fratricidal war between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran it has not been possible to hold in Baghdad the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in which such hopes had been placed. The cycle had then been broken which caused the non-aligned countries, representing two thirds of mankind, to meet at the level of heads of State or Government in order to bring here to the Assembly their positive, strong non-aligned influence projecting the peace-loving doctrines of Nehru, Tito, Nasser, Makarios, Pandaranaike and other great apostles of peace.
9. The injustices in the economic relations between the developed countries and the developing countries have become more severe in this ominous framework of inflation, public indebtedness, growing unemployment and economic crisis afflicting the poor countries particularly.
10. UNCTAD, which during the past two decades had aroused the hopes of the developing countries, was originally scheduled to hold a session in Havana in 1983, but, for well-known reasons, it will not be held in that city. The preparations for Belgrade have been adversely affected by negative factors pertaining to economic relations and by the hard position taken by the developed countries in regard to the legitimate demands of the countries of the third world.
11. There are more and more reasons why the non-aligned movement and the Group of 77 should intensify their efforts to strengthen those movements and bring about collective self-sufficiency so that the developing countries will be able to establish, in an effective and substantial manner, real and significant economic co-operation. To the extent that political and economic difficulties increase because of the resurgence of

colonialism and hegemonism on the part of the major Powers, the developing countries must strengthen co-operation among themselves both politically and economically.

12. The colonial aggression that Latin America had to endure in the spring of 1982 has reaffirmed the fraternal ties of unity, co-operation and solidarity among the countries of the region.

13. One positive event which should be stressed is the eighth meeting of the Latin American Council, the supreme body of the Latin American Economic System, which took place at Caracas at the ministerial level in August 1982. Apart from support for Panama in the implementation of the Canal Treaties, which we have noted with gratitude, the most outstanding achievement of the meeting was the adoption of the programme of action for the implementation of the measures provided for in the Panama Declaration on economic relations between Latin America and the United States, adopted on 1 December 1981 at the high-level consultative meeting of the Latin American Economic System, which took place on that date in the capital of my country. The Latin American Council, in its Decision 114, decided to endorse the Panama Declaration contained in Decision 87, which, as was stated by our Foreign Ministry:

“... after stressing the inequality in the terms of trade between the United States and Latin America as a factor that obstructs economic, financial and social development in the Latin American region, establishes a programme of collective co-ordinated action and a working plan to rectify the asymmetries in the aforementioned trade. The document sets forth a common strategy for Latin America in these negotiations, based on the criteria and actions which the plan defines. The programme and the plan encompass all aspects of United States-Latin American economic relations and offer a series of recommendations which the countries of the region should take into account in their economic relations, both individual and collective, with the United States.”

In the programme and in the plan to which I have referred, there are set forth in a positive manner fundamental principles to place, within the framework of justice, equity, good understanding and co-operation, the relations which have existed between this group of countries and the United States.

14. Panama is situated in the extreme south of the Central American isthmus and practically in the middle of the so-called Caribbean basin. Its history and its geography have bound us indissolubly to Central America, to the Bolivarian countries and to the Antilles. Our geographical function, as a bridge between the oceans, has linked us with practically all the markets and countries of the world. Ever since the present Panama Canal was built it has, in addition, brought about special relations with the United States.

15. At the same time Panama is one of the countries with the most stable economic, social and political régimes in an area beset by complex social and international problems with dangerous implications. My country has the unavoidable responsibility of playing a role as conciliator, as part of the political

efforts to overcome the crisis which might very well turn the region into a disaster zone.

Mr. Otunnu (Uganda), Vice-President, took the Chair.

16. In defining that role, I should like to recall that the stability that exists in my country is due to the fact that in the past decade we have made considerable progress towards peaceful revolution. Structural reforms have been carried out which have brought about a social and territorial redistribution of wealth that is much more just and balanced, and mixed and co-operative state sectors have been created with a productive economy, conceived of from the social point of view. Social security, education, health and communications have been considerably enhanced. A system of representation and popular participation in the political decision-making process has been created. National integration has been improved.

17. In contrast with many other countries of the region, these economic, social and cultural changes remove the main causes of injustice, repression and social discontent which are at the root of the political disputes that have disrupted many countries in the area or have polarized their relations.

18. My country cannot be indifferent to the climate of violence and the warlike acts that have occurred in the region—either for ethical, political or security reasons. Internal tension, to which should be added outside interference of one kind or another, in support of one side or another in conflicts, has already created a structure of militarization of forces and alliances which could at any moment lead to a widespread conflict. This would have uncontrollable consequences and could cause bloodshed and inevitably jeopardize the entire international situation and destroy the region.

19. Hence, for the past decade, Panama has been pursuing a regional policy that is most definitely aimed at trying to bring about a peaceful settlement of the problems of the area. We want to avoid a spiral of internal confrontations continuing in the region—this has already taken on genocidal proportions and has led to warlike acts between sister countries. We have found ourselves in considerable agreement with Mexico and Venezuela as we have sought solutions by means of multilateral political negotiations among all the parties in dispute within our area.

20. For this reason, too, we have promoted the principle, the right and the duty of maintaining good relations with all countries of the region without exception, though they may have political systems different from our own. Peacefully we have defended the principle, the right and the duty of preserving the neutrality of Panama both as regards the forces in dispute in the area and as regards the super-Powers. We are aware that ongoing dialogue and understanding with all the other countries and forces, aimed at détente and harmonious coexistence, are the only way to restore security in the area and preserve international security and the security of our own country.

21. We want Panama to be a forum and an active communicator or intermediary in the bringing about of

agreements aimed at détente, and we do not want to be one of the parties to a confrontation. For this reason, and in the best diplomatic traditions of my country, we have refused to be part of any blocs or pacts that would exclude other countries, although in certain cases we have no doubts about their good intentions.

22. Stability in Panama is also largely due to the fact that during the past decade complex negotiations have been held with the United States regarding the status of the Panama Canal. The Treaties¹ that arose from those negotiations met a large number of the national demands of Panama. In this respect Latin American solidarity was of decisive assistance, as was the solidarity of the third world countries and others, which encourage us in our anti-colonialist policies. Although we did not obtain everything to which we were entitled, great progress was made, and the new Canal Treaties establish much more balanced relations between Panama and the United States.

23. My country's rights over the Panama Canal are beyond any doubt, since it is a waterway fed by Panamanian fresh water and we have certain rights that spring from the permanent sovereignty of my country over its natural wealth and resources.

24. It is understandable and almost inevitable that an international pact should be designed to harmonize the interests of two sovereign countries that may well have common though not identical interests. There may, of course, be differences of interpretation between the parties when it is a question of implementation. That is what has happened in this case. In so far as the stipulations of the Treaty are concerned, Law 96-70 of the United States Congress, which authorizes the American executive to implement the Treaty, gave rise to differences of opinion between the two Governments. My Government has made that known to the international community.

25. Last Friday, 1 October, Ricardo de la Espriella, President of Panama, and Ronald Reagan, President of the United States, had a working meeting in Washington, a meeting of the greatest importance, five years after the signing of the Torrijos-Carter Treaties and precisely on the third anniversary of the entry into force of those instruments.

26. The purpose of the meeting was to consider relations between two friendly countries, to promote complete compliance with the Canal Treaties of 1977, to bring about more just economic relations between our peoples and to make effective the common purpose of creating the conditions of harmony, justice and understanding indispensable to the efficient and optimal functioning of the Panama Canal.

27. One of the merits of the visit of President de la Espriella was that it brought about in the news media and United States public opinion an understanding of the reservations that the Panamanian Government had had regarding certain measures and actions by officials of the United States that were not in harmony with the Treaties. It is our hope that a just solution to the outstanding problems will be found, in particular as regards the elimination of the discriminatory salary scale known as the Panama Area Wage Base, which as a result of actions by the Panamanian leader, might be replaced by a general salary scale

that is not discriminatory—if, as we hope, the United States co-operates with Panama in the achievement of that result at the next meeting of the Board of Directors of the Panama Canal Commission, which will take place in November in Washington.

28. We should like to add that perhaps the most serious concern of my Government in this area has to do with a proper understanding of the spirit and purpose of the Treaty concerning the Permanent Neutrality and Operation of the Panama Canal.

29. Neutrality for the inter-oceanic waterway is a goal that my country has never been willing to abandon. Its security cannot be based on military considerations. We want the Canal at all times—in times of peace and in times of war—to be a path of concord open to all the countries and nations of the world. We have never wanted the Canal to serve warlike purposes. The Canal needs security in a world like ours, in which, notwithstanding the existence of the United Nations, war and the use of force remain means of settling differences or international disputes. We nevertheless consider that the security of the Canal is based on relations of goodwill, friendship and co-operation among nations.

30. Defence of the Canal must be within the Canal, from the Canal and for the Canal. We cannot accept the possible use of armed forces stationed there or the weapons stocked there for missions or warlike actions outside the borders of Panama. We do not want our land or the Canal built in Panamanian territory to be used for actions that undermine the neutrality that Panama has declared to the entire world. We do not want to be exposed as a military target to the uncertainties or risks of war that are so alien to us in terms of both motives and aims.

31. Such are the purposes of the neutrality Treaty, and we have therefore called upon all the nations of the world to adhere to the Protocol attached to that Treaty. We should like to renew that call on this occasion.

32. According to the Charter, the United Nations and regional bodies are mechanisms for collective security and indispensable for the maintenance of international peace. It is only logical that in order for them to be effective this international body must encompass, without exception, all countries that have a right to membership.

33. The results of the last world conflagration and the cold war for many years made it impossible to obtain the goal of universality for the United Nations. As examples we need only cite the opposition to the admission of the representatives of the People's Republic of China for 23 years and the resistance to admission to membership of Spain, which was finally admitted together with 15 other countries in 1955. In this latter case it was clear that the establishment of diplomatic relations and the exchange of ambassadors and ministers with a Government does not imply any judgement regarding the national policies of that Government.

34. Votes that are cast in the General Assembly for reasons of State do not always reflect the will of the peoples. In the cases that I have mentioned, and in many others, votes are often cast for reasons that

arise from certain circumstances, and at times only later do justice, reason, common sense and goodwill prevail internationally and in the decision-making process of Governments, which then express their goals in international forums.

35. The same things happen regionally; sometimes the smooth functioning of a region is impeded when important sectors do not participate in the system.

36. Over the years Panama has maintained that there is a need to restructure the bodies and norms of the inter-American system. In our opinion, if the Organization of American States [OAS] is to be effective it must be a pluralist, all-encompassing forum open to dialogue dealing with more just economic relations in the American continent, like the North-South dialogue, with the participation of all the nations of the western hemisphere.

37. Viewed thus the OAS will require as an essential element the contribution of the United States, and the incorporation of Canada would be desirable. The incorporation or the reincorporation of those States of Central America and the Caribbean which are not now part of and have been excluded from the organization would indeed be indispensable.

38. In the inter-American system, situations arise which deserve serious and dispassionate consideration, bearing in mind the interests of the States of the region. Frequently the question is asked: can the OAS function effectively without the United States? The answer is, obviously, that it cannot, on the understanding that the United States, like other member States, accepts the obligations set forth in the charter of the OAS and in the other agreements of the inter-American system and provided that it complies with those agreements.

39. There is no doubt that within a regional system properly understood, it would be appropriate to ask if the OAS, which is experiencing a profound crisis, would be able to function effectively without the participation of Belize, Canada, Cuba, Guyana and Puerto Rico.

40. The primary task of this new institutional conception of the inter-American system would be, in the political arena, examination of the Central American question and of the Caribbean, normalization of relations between Cuba and the United States, eradication of colonial enclaves in Latin America, the status of the Malvinas Islands and of the Guantánamo naval base and territorial disputes between the countries of the area, as well as exploration of the possibility that in this year, which marks the bicentenary of the birth of the Liberator Simón Bolívar, a fraternal solution might be found by which Bolivia might attain its legitimate aspiration to the sovereign outlet to the sea of its forefathers.

41. In the economic sphere, the inter-American forum must undertake the task of considering the economic relations between Latin America and the United States of America, to place them in a just and equitable context, serving as a forum for negotiations within the framework of North-South relations.

42. The problems besetting the region are numerous in the area of trade, commodities, financing, transnational corporations, foreign investment and the

transfer of technology and would offer fertile ground for significant and dynamic co-operation among the countries of the region.

43. The idea of holding in Caracas on 24 July 1983, or an appropriate date, a Latin American summit conference to commemorate the second centenary of the birth of the Liberator has been linked to the holding of a conference of Foreign Ministers of Latin America which might take place in Panama City, headquarters of the Amphictyonic Congress of 1826, which was convened by Bolívar on the eve of the Battle of Ayacucho in 1824. At the same time, initiatives have been taken by the Governments of Uruguay and Colombia regarding the holding of an inter-American meeting of heads of State or Government of the region.

44. In order to dispel any confusion on this matter, a distinction should be drawn between meetings which might be convened by the OAS within the inter-American system and meetings of a consultative or other nature at the purely Latin American level. The former, on inter-American meetings, are held within the framework of the OAS, a regional organization to which the United States and the Latin American countries belong as of right, with the exception of Belize, Cuba and Guyana, which are not members of the regional body.

45. The twelfth general assembly of the OAS, which will be attended by the foreign ministers of the United States and member States, will be held in a few weeks, in November of this year, in Washington. It would not be logical to consider the possibility of an inter-American meeting of Foreign Ministers in December, as the November meeting will offer an opportunity to consider at that level matters of common interest to the countries of the area.

46. A different matter would be a consultative meeting or a meeting to deal with matters contained in a previously agreed agenda, attended by all Latin American countries, including Belize, Cuba and Guyana, which are excluded from the OAS.

47. The Secretary-General of the OAS, Mr. Alejandro Orfila, effectively helped to clarify the situation when, on 14 September, he went on record in favour of the proposal for a hemispheric meeting of heads of State because, in his opinion, it is necessary to bring inter-American relations up to date. In his statement, Mr. Orfila visualized an inter-American summit meeting within the framework of the OAS and, of course, without the participation of Belize, Cuba and Guyana. However, Mr. Orfila went on to say that it is truly essential for Latin America to reach agreement on its own points of view, before those views are brought up at the hemispheric level. What Mr. Orfila meant was that this was a Latin American meeting, by Latin Americans and for Latin Americans. This cannot be interpreted in any other way.

48. In his statement, Mr. Orfila considers the feasibility of an exclusively Latin American meeting at which, logically, Belize, Cuba and Guyana, which are Latin American countries, would also participate.

49. The Latin American meeting, which is different from the inter-American meeting, would then be the framework within which, without hostility or antago-

nism towards any country, great or small, an effort would be made to reach agreement on positions and strategies in the political and economic spheres to defend and promote common interests of Latin American countries.

50. The fact that the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance,² that is, the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro of 1947, was ineffective during the South Atlantic crisis has naturally caused concern in all sectors of the Latin American region concerning the future of collective security for the countries of the hemisphere. This is unquestionably a matter deserving of the closest attention on the part of the Latin American countries. It should be the subject of consultations between them, in an effort to define once and for all the fate of this regional agreement. A Latin American consultation on that subject should precede a hemispheric meeting which, without doubt, must also include in its agenda the status of the Rio Treaty.

51. Lack of timely action would, in our opinion, mean that consideration might once again be given at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, to be held in New Delhi in 1983, to the proposal to denounce the Rio Treaty put forward by the host country at the Sixth Conference held in Havana in 1979. That proposal was not discussed then because of Panama's firm opposition to that action, which it considered inopportune at that time, but it has been given a new dimension by the Malvinas crisis.

52. International relations are now subject to a caustic cold war dialogue. Local confrontations have spread to other spheres and there are legitimate fears that the lack of understanding and communication which make possible peaceful intercourse among nations in conflict can gradually lead to a third world war.

53. Latin America has its own cultural characteristics and common interests of an economic and social nature, as well as historical roots which bind us to the nations of Central America, South America, Mexico and the Caribbean as a regional group with well-defined qualities of its own.

54. The community of Latin American nations attaches the highest importance to all its relations with the United States and is seeking to develop them in a harmonious, friendly and cordial way in a spirit of reciprocal co-operation and of respect for its territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence and for the principle of the sovereign equality of States. When these relations have an adverse effect and when there is tension or friction between Latin American countries, or between us and the United States, as is the case with Cuba and Nicaragua, there is natural concern, as expressed by the President of Mexico, José López Portillo, and the President of Venezuela, Luis Herrera Campins, and a desire to seek the path of conciliation, understanding and peace.

55. The regional bodies bringing together exclusively Latin American countries, which historically were brought together by Bolívar, who wished to guide them towards unity and integration, are today a political reality which is part of the system of international relations.

56. The most representative Latin American bodies are part of the group of Latin American States within the United Nations system and the Latin American Economic System, which is not only a mechanism for Latin American consultation and co-ordination but also a part of its strategy of conducting economic relations under the wise, skilful and admirable leadership of the Latin American statesman, Carlos Alzamora, to whom Panama expresses the appreciation and gratitude of the Latin American countries for what he has done to promote the genuine interests of Latin America.

57. In general, the regional organizations constitute a typical example of modern international law. This is not just a phenomenon pertaining to our region. Just as there is within the United Nations the regional Latin American group, there are also, as independent and separate entities, the group of Western European and other States, which includes the United States, the African group, the Asian group and the Eastern European group.

58. The importance of the regional groups of the third world is manifested by the Group of 77, made up primarily of the States of the Asian, African and Latin American groups. Its work affects the North-South dialogue, has to do with the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade, the 1980s, the process of global negotiations and the adoption of criteria for programmes of action. As regards the sessions of UNCTAD, the sixth session will take place in Belgrade in 1983; each and every regional group of the third world, including the Latin American group, through the Latin American Economic System, holds co-ordination meetings prior to UNCTAD sessions, which lead to a plenary meeting of the Group of 77, where spokesmen from Latin America, Africa and Asia set forth criteria on each subject which will be put forward at the UNCTAD session.

59. This explains why there are purely Latin American bodies, with the right to participate on an equal footing as the Asian and African groups, and the group of Western Europe and other States, which includes the United States, the Eastern European group, and other organizations made up of countries with common interests, such as the Organization of African Unity [OAU], the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the League of Arab States and the European Economic Community.

60. Latin America rightly wishes to strengthen its capacity to negotiate within and outside this hemisphere using purely Latin American machinery. Latin America wants Latin American solutions to Latin American problems, from a Latin American point of view, implementing principles of friendship and co-operation with all countries of the world in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

61. The designs of the former colonial empires do not change in their anachronistic attempts to control the maritime routes to nearby countries in the ocean spaces to which they attribute strategic values. Both here in the Assembly and in the Security Council, and in other international forums, we have said that colonialism is reprehensible and must be eliminated, regardless of the State or States practising it. We

maintain that colonialism is an evil wherever it arises. In the inter-American system colonialism has no legitimacy. The concern expressed in 1940 by the Foreign Ministers of the States of the Americas as regards Nazi occupation of European countries with possessions in the Americas must, of course, apply to the eradication of colonial situations which still endure in this hemisphere, as Bolívar stated when the Panama Congress was convened.

62. In accordance with its anti-colonialist position, which is one of the constant features of Panama's foreign policy, we support Argentina's sovereign claim to the Malvinas Islands. Panama considers that from the historic and legal point of view these islands and the adjacent waters are part of the territory of the Republic of Argentina. This was the position in law and in fact until, 150 years ago, Great Britain, pursuing its imperialist designs, which had resulted in the domination of oceans and continents, set foot on those islands against the will of Argentina.

63. The British colonial presence there today is inconsistent with the principles of the Charter, confirmed and developed in so many General Assembly decisions to constitute a consistent body of legal norms condemning colonialism and expansionism, which must be respected by all Members of the Organization.

64. Faithful to these decisions, my Government, together with other Latin American countries, supported the request by 20 Foreign Ministers to include this item in the agenda of this session of the General Assembly [see A/37/193], in the hope that by means of negotiations under the aegis of the United Nations and on the basis of the principles and norms of international law a final solution might be found to this problem, which disrupted international peace and security at the cost of so many human lives.

65. This final solution must be based on the return to Argentine sovereignty of the Malvinas Islands and their dependencies, the early withdrawal of British forces and the adoption of a statute guaranteeing the orderly transfer from British administration to Argentine administration, safeguarding the interests of the employees of the English Falkland Islands Company and the British nationals who are residents of the islands.

66. The case of the Malvinas Islands, which with its adjacent seas is *de jure* under the sovereignty of the Republic of Argentina, may be seen as similar to that of Namibia, which is so dear to the nations of southern Africa. South Africa has invoked security needs to prolong its arbitrary occupation of Namibia, saying that the Cape route, as a means of access to the South Atlantic and European and North American ports, is essential to the survival of western civilization.

67. In both cases the colonial Powers have raised obstacles to the settlement of nationals of the countries under colonial oppression and almost isolated the occupied territories to keep out anything which might go against the colonial structure, manipulating the demographic composition of the territories subjected to their colonial domination for their own evil purposes.

68. This is the Pretoria régime's pretext for its claim that the territory, waters and air space of Walvis Bay are an integral part of the territory of South Africa.

69. This pretension of South Africa's sordid colonialism, which has so frequently been rejected by the General Assembly, is the same as that invoked by the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to keep the Malvinas Islands occupied by force. It is argued in England that occupation of the Malvinas Islands by a State member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] is essential for the control of the maritime routes of the South Atlantic and for the transport of oil from the Persian Gulf to western Europe and the eastern coast of the United States. That is also related to the British desire to maintain a strategic position in regard to its designs over Antarctica.

70. With an effrontery equal to that of South Africa in its claims to control Walvis Bay, England wishes to take from Argentina by force the Malvinas Islands, an integral part of its sovereignty. Africa and Latin America, because of their anti-colonialist positions, and the rest of the third world, will not allow the British and the South Africans to continue in their brazen attitude and there will soon be independence for Namibia, including Walvis Bay as an integral part of its territory, just as the Malvinas Islands and their dependencies will be returned to Argentine sovereignty.

71. In the colonial war of the South Atlantic, Argentina's national honour remained untarnished. In that southern sea there was a brave display of heroism and courage by the Argentine armed forces, who shed their blood in defence of the integrity of their homeland, which is also part of the Latin American continent, and they will make further claims and show further courage for the homelands of Sarmiento and San Martín.

72. In the face of the colonial anachronism, Latin America will join hands to bring about the restoration of the Malvinas Islands to Argentina. Latin American nationalism must achieve that without delay. Impelled by the ideals and hopes of the Argentine people, we hope together for victory. We stand together with them and with the present and future generations of the heroic Argentine nation.

73. On 12 October, according to a communication we have received, there will be a commemoration around Nelson's Column entitled "A victory march", an attempt to convey an imperialist picture of England. Why have they chosen 12 October? Why Columbus Day? On that day 500 million people celebrate their Hispanic cultural heritage. Why should they be insulted in this way? We should like to lodge a protest on behalf of the many human beings who are offended by this action, which has no justification in modern times.

74. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples adopted by the General Assembly in resolution 1514 (XV) of 1960 solemnly proclaimed the need to bring to a speedy and unconditional end to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, an end to all practices of segregation and discrimination. That charter on decoloni-

zation is part of the spirit of our era and it is aimed at the complete elimination of colonialism in the world and at overcoming the opposition of the colonial Powers to implementation of one of the basic, supreme principles of the San Francisco Charter.

75. There still exist in Africa, Latin America, Asia and Europe colonial enclaves which do not belong in today's world. Sources of conflict are the British enclaves of Gibraltar, Hong Kong and the Malvinas Islands, which are an offence to the countries to which they belong and must be returned to the sovereignty of Spain, the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Argentina respectively.

76. Let me take this opportunity to explain why the Government of China can reject the threat made by the British Prime Minister and the allegation that the treaties by which the Manchu Dynasty granted England the colony of Hong Kong are valid under international law. Beijing is right in saying that Hong Kong is part of the territory of China. The three treaties going back to the nineteenth century on which Great Britain rests its case are contrary to international law because they were unequal treaties; they were never accepted by the people of China; consequently Beijing is entitled to recover the entire colony when the conditions are ripe.

77. These unequal treaties are no longer relevant. They are like the unequal treaties which were imposed on Spain in 1713 regarding Gibraltar and on Panama in 1903 regarding the inter-ocean waterway. Hong Kong, the Malvinas Islands and Gibraltar are unjustifiable anachronisms which are in violation of the Charter of the United Nations. They threaten international peace and security. These enclaves must be returned to the People's Republic of China, the Argentine Republic and the Kingdom of Spain, as a sign of respect for the sovereignty of those countries and in the interests of justice, in harmony with the spirit of our time.

78. I should like to refer to another subject. The situation in the Central American isthmus is a source of constant concern to my Government. The civil war in El Salvador, the violence and the terror which have gripped the countries in the area, endangering the lives of the people, are rooted in the exploitation of human effort, the economic and social inequality which has existed and the violations of human rights and democratic principles which have prevailed for decades in the Latin American region. The present armed confrontation is an extreme and critical stage in the age-old fruitless struggle of thousands of men and women of all ages to secure proper living conditions within an economic, social and political system which each Central American country has chosen for itself without any foreign pressure or interference.

79. As a result of civil war in Central America, peaceful people have been displaced and belligerents have been moved across frontiers, and this has given rise to clashes between the armed forces of the countries involved in those movements. Everything is ripe for a conflagration which could involve the entire region and be a pretext for open intervention by outside Powers and an international conflict of enormous proportions and complexity. That is why

we are alarmed at the increasingly crude language of the authorities of some countries in the area who speak glibly of the possibility of war between certain countries and refuse to foresee the terrible hardship which would ensue for thousands of women, children and old people in the area.

80. All those who can view with equanimity this sinister possibility, which many in the area would have us do, recognize that this announced war would be a disaster for all contending parties equally. They would emerge from it impoverished and indebted and in a worse position, without ever having solved the problems they have to cope with today.

81. It is the added misfortune of these heroic peoples that the rivalry of the super-Powers, which are unilaterally trying to seize world supremacy, has encroached on the Central American region, where they are threatening to make into pawns in their struggles people who seek only their identity, their independence, their freedom, justice and bread.

82. In that connection we can say confidently that Central American problems cannot be solved without a dialogue. Panama has always been prepared to promote a dialogue, with the participation of all interested parties—in particular, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua.

83. Similar thoughts inspired President de la Espriella of Panama when he said that there was an urgent need to promote machinery for regional and world reconciliation and to engage in negotiations about the internal and external conflicts of the Latin American region. The President of Panama also said that he was much in sympathy with, and supported, the initiative taken by the Presidents of Mexico and Venezuela, Mr. López Portillo and Mr. Herrera Campíns, to resolve these disputes by negotiation. These leaders sent letters to Commander Daniel Ortega Saavedra, Co-ordinator of the Governing Junta of Nicaragua, to Roberto Suazo Córdova, President of Honduras, and to Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, in an effort to promote détente and peace in Central America.

84. Panama's position on international affairs was clearly set out in the speech by President de la Espriella to the diplomatic corps in Panama on 16 September last, when he said:

“Consistent with the policies of Omar Torrijos, we have reaffirmed the Bolivarian, Latin American, neutral and non-aligned status of Panama and our recognition of the duties arising from that status. We confirm our country's tradition of developing friendly relations with all the peoples of the world, on a basis of equality and mutual respect, and our constant readiness to promote détente and the peaceful settlement of disputes, especially in the geographical area to which we belong.

“We support the principle of the sovereign equality of States... We continue to support the collective purposes of the Latin American countries and the countries of the third world in their efforts to bring about a new international economic order and a new international political order, based on the sovereignty of States and the permanent sovereignty of all States over their natural resources.

“This encompasses—Panama believes—the right to self-determination, which means that every people should be able to choose whatever political system it considers to be in accord with its interests and wishes, without outside interference. For this reason, we shall continue to support the efforts of the peoples to fight colonialism and defend their independence and integrity, rejecting all forms of interference and threats against other countries, especially those of our area.

“Consistent with our Latin American commitment and our Bolivarian traditions, we reiterate Panama’s willingness, as the historic site of the Amphictyonic Congress, to be the setting for the peaceful settlement of the problems of our area.”

85. The independence of Puerto Rico is one task of the liberating revolution of the Latin American countries which has been long delayed. Bolívar and other leaders of the prolonged struggle started by the rebellions for emancipation knew that their great enterprise in seeking independence would end only when all the peoples of the Antilles had rid themselves of the European colonizers.

86. At the Congress of Panama there was discussion of the need for concerted action to bring about the independence of Cuba and Puerto Rico, which were subject to Spanish domination. That desire is not new in Panama or the other countries of Latin America. In 1903 Mr. Belisario Porras, three times President of the Republic and one of the greatest statesmen of this century, said that the United States was opposed to Spanish domination of Cuba and Puerto Rico because it wished to exercise hegemony.

87. It was eight decades after the battle of Ayacucho before Cuba was liberated, but Puerto Rico emerged from Spanish domination only to fall under the domination of the United States. The people of Puerto Rico must be allowed to decide on their own the question of their nationality and the character and structure of their political organization, free from all pressure and without any interference from any quarter.

88. The question of Puerto Rico has historic roots. The fact that it has not been included in the agenda for this session does not mean that there is a solution and does not prove that the problem does not exist. It would be naive to believe that the votes cast here for reasons of State reflect public opinion in Latin America. The debate in the General Committee and in the General Assembly should warn the administering Power that the vote of confidence many countries have given it is not for ever.

89. It is clear that there must be a dialogue for peace and that an effort must be made to achieve a permanent, positive solution protecting the political and cultural personality of Puerto Rico. Latin Americans have a special affection for the people of Puerto Rico and recognize their right to self-determination and their option to be part of the Latin American community, on an equal footing with all the other countries of the western hemisphere.

90. The question of Lebanon is directly related to the question of Palestine, which is the central element in the Middle East conflict. With every passing day

it is more and more clear that it is not possible to bring about a just, complete and lasting peace in the area without the Palestinian people fully exercising its inalienable national rights.

91. In its resolution 36/226 A of 1981, the General Assembly, *inter alia*, strongly condemned Israeli aggression against Lebanon and the continuous bombardment and destruction of its cities and villages, and all acts that constitute a violation of its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity and the security of its people.

92. Panama rejects and condemns terrorism, whether Moslem, Christian or Judaic, whatever the source—but we also reject and condemn State terrorism, which is among the crimes that are the most execrable and offensive to the conscience of mankind. The massacre in the refugee camps in Beirut two weeks ago has horrified the universal conscience. Men, women, children and old people were killed in cold blood in numbers that amounted to genocide.

93. President Reagan, who has conceived a plan for a Palestinian homeland on the West Bank, was informed by the French Government of the chilling and terrible facts, which strike the hearer to the soul. In his column on 22 September, James Reston reported that when the French troops arrived at the Palestinian refugee camps they were allowed to destroy the mines which had been buried, but the Israeli troops did not allow them to protect the refugee camps. The camps were entered by the Israelis’ “Christian” allies, who killed the occupants while the Israeli troops stood on guard outside.

94. The massacres of Shatila and Sabra, for which world public opinion holds the Christian Phalangists and the State of Israel responsible, will be an eternal blot on the names of those who committed this crime against humanity. The condemnation of the world will hang over their heads, as a curse of dishonour and infamy, which will spread through time and space to hang over the heads of their descendants for successive generations. Those responsible for this atrocious crime cannot associate themselves with the ethical values of Christian or Jewish culture, which have so much to do with the civilization of our times.

95. The torture and suffering of the legendary Maccabees and the tragic martyrdom of the innocent children of Bethlehem murdered by the order of Herod have remained in the memory of mankind in the same way as will the enormity of the massacres at Shatila and Sabra. The Beirut martyrs will not have died in vain if their sacrifice means the birth of the Palestinian nation.

96. It may be appropriate to remind the Assembly that, in connection with the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries which took place in Belgrade in 1978, on behalf of the Torrijos Government I defined certain fundamental principles of foreign policy of the Republic of Panama laid down in successive non-aligned conferences. These are equally valid in 1982, and I will repeat what I said.

97. The Government of Panama maintains as a fundamental tenet of its foreign policy its rejection

of the presence of foreign military forces in any country of the world. The Panamanian Government does not justify or excuse any action by East or West against the right to self-determination and the principles of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States.

98. Panama recognizes that it has an historic mission to promote the scientific and technological development of the countries of its area, in order to bring about their economic and social liberation and to accelerate their integration. Panama promotes the idea of Latin American nationalism, based on solidarity and recognition of a pluralist reality. Panama reaffirms its view that we should strengthen that Latin American nationalism, which is particularly necessary so that we may deal with our problems, free from foreign interference, promote the interests of Latin America and prevent anything entering into Latin American policies which could undermine the personality of our peoples and the sovereignty of our States.

99. Panama devotes priority attention to its relations with its sister Republics of Colombia and Costa Rica, which are neighbouring countries. It recognizes the need to co-ordinate efforts to promote development and the balance and harmonious exploitation of our border areas.

100. Panama respects human rights above and beyond any political or ideological considerations.

101. Panama, as a signatory of the Declaration of Ayacucho,³ respects the Treaty of Tlatelolco⁴ and co-operates in giving effect to the prohibition of nuclear weapons in Latin America and the limitation of conventional weapons in Latin American countries, although that does not affect our capacity to protect our territorial integrity and defend ourselves from colonialist aggression from this continent or other continents.

102. Latin America is anxiously watching the controversy regarding possession of the territories of the Esequibo. All the countries of the Latin American region are confident that this dispute will be settled by negotiation and will be resolved rationally, with no room for ill feeling between neighbouring countries, on the basis of understanding and a sense of justice.

103. Panama welcomes the efforts to normalize relations between the United States and Cuba. We restate our position in support of the termination of the embargo against Cuba and our solidarity with that country in its demand for the return of the Guantánamo naval base.

104. As a result of the good offices of the countries of the area, we hope that relations of Grenada and Nicaragua with the United States will be improved on the basis of understanding, co-operation and good-neighbourliness.

105. With regard to the Middle East, Panama believes that existing conflicts should be settled peacefully within the framework of the United Nations. A just and lasting settlement, in the opinion of Panama, must include the withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territories and respect for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and the right of Israel and

all the peoples and countries of the area to live in peace within recognized and secure boundaries.

106. Panama recognizes the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to its own independent State. As regards Jerusalem, Panama, like the Vatican, does not recognize the annexation of Jerusalem and insists on the internationalization of the Holy Places. Similarly, we do not recognize the annexation of the Golan Heights, which belong to Syria, or the annexation of any other occupied Arab territory.

107. Panama will continue to call for the withdrawal of the Turkish army from Cyprus and for respect for the territorial integrity, independence and non-aligned status of the island. We demand compliance with the relevant United Nations resolutions and, in particular, General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) and Security Council resolution 365 (1974).

108. Panama deplores the continuance of the absurd war between Iran and Iraq, which must be brought to an end by means of a just and honourable political settlement which restores peace between those two sister countries in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

109. We hope that the great Korean nation will initiate a constructive dialogue between the communities of the North and the South, leading to the peaceful brotherly reunification of that great political entity in the Korean peninsula.

110. Tension must be reduced in South-East Asia and comprehensive political solutions must be found through negotiations, with the active participation of all the parties concerned, in the hope that peace will quickly be restored to the area.

111. As regards southern Africa, Panama is opposed to racism, racial discrimination, *apartheid*, and the unjust oppression by the Pretoria régime of the great African national majority. We support unreservedly the aspirations of the people of Namibia and Azania and reaffirm our solidarity with the front-line countries and the national liberation movements of South Africa, in particular the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] and the African National Congress [ANC].

112. Panama, which was the first Latin American country to recognize the existence of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic, supports the right to self-determination of the people of Western Sahara.

113. Panama was also one of the first countries to speak out against Soviet intervention in Afghanistan; calling for compliance with the resolutions of the General Assembly demanding the withdrawal of foreign troops and respect for the territorial integrity, independence and non-aligned status of Afghanistan.

114. As a maritime country using the Indian Ocean and belonging to the third world, Panama maintains its enthusiastic support for the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)], and condemns the rivalry of the super-Powers of the East and the West in that area, since it constitutes a threat and a source of anxiety to the coastal States of the Indian Ocean.

115. The ideas expressed by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization [A/37/1] are very thought-provoking. Although we do not wish to make any comparisons with the reports of his predecessors, in our opinion this is a document notable for its clarity and sincerity in describing the situation of the United Nations and indicating the omissions, evasions and insufficiencies in the fulfilment of its responsibilities under the Charter. The Secretary-General affirms that these shortcomings have undermined the confidence of the world public and makes positive suggestions as to the action that should be taken to regain that lost confidence.

116. In 1978, when I participated in the general debate at the tenth special session, the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, I said:

"The United Nations, which came into being at the end of the Second World War as a system of co-operation and not of confrontation, has not been able to operate successfully the machinery provided in the San Francisco Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security. Proof of that is to be found in the tragic conflicts between the Arab nations and the State of Israel in the Near East, the Calvary of the Palestinian nations with its inalienable rights trampled under foot, the infamous aggression and untold suffering to which the people of Lebanon have been subjected, the tragic occupation of the Republic of Cyprus by the illegitimate action of the Turkish army, the repugnant subjugation of Namibia by the racist régime of Pretoria, the abominable imposition of *apartheid* at the expense of the vast native majority in South Africa... the bloody conflict among sister nations on the African continent and the reprehensible colonialist cells which still persist as hateful blots on the Latin American map." [10th meeting, para. 63.]

117. Without trying to unravel the many political puzzles of the United Nations, Panama, during the six years of the past decade that it was a member of the Security Council, tried to free that United Nations organ from its inertia, so that it could carry out its sacred duties under the Charter.

118. When we began our work we found ourselves in a situation similar to that just before the Second World War, which came about as a result of the failure of the League of Nations, the cause of which was the negative attitude of the major Powers as manifested in their reluctance to take the enforcement action provided for in the Covenant, thus robbing the League of its effectiveness, bringing it into discredit, and finally to extinction.

119. Hesitancy in dealing with critical situations that require preventive or corrective action to deal with conflicts, tensions and confrontations among Member States; failure to comply with General Assembly and Security Council decisions by large, medium-sized and small Member States; the persistence of the super-Powers in manufacturing and stockpiling nuclear weapons and conventional weapons with indiscriminate effects, including chemical and bacteriological weapons; the indifference of those countries to decisions adopted at special sessions of the General Assembly on disarm-

ament and many other cases of a similar nature today, as in the past, have led to dismay and frustration on the part of the peoples of the entire world.

120. Year after year, we the representatives of the small and medium-sized countries which make up the vast majority of the Organization, have been repeating our denunciations, confirming our aspirations, casting votes in support of solutions which are not only just but also obviously viable; but nothing has changed in the conduct of the Organization. There have been the same flouting of the law, the same deplorable conditions for hundreds of millions of human beings who are asking only for bread, justice and peace. We have brought these things to the Assembly's attention and debated them, but they have resulted only in thousands of pages now filed away in the archives of this body.

121. All that is the background to the views put before us by the Secretary-General, which sound in our ears like a shout of alarm, a cry of anguish. We must repeat the truth, again and again, even though it is painful to realize that whatever we say is a waste of breath. Nevertheless, it is impossible to resign ourselves to the deterioration of the Organization. This can be halted; it can be remedied. In carrying out my official duties I frequently travel throughout the countries of the third world; that is why I am certain that the lack of confidence of peoples in the United Nations is not a repudiation of the Organization. They wish to revitalize the Organization, and enable it to solve the vital problems of mankind, utilizing the plentiful resources available.

122. The small and medium-sized countries will not renounce their ideals and aspirations, forged in the fires of the Second World War and expressed in the Charter of the United Nations. There will be no slackening of efforts for a just and lasting peace, no cessation of the call for collective and personal security. They have not resigned themselves to oppression, nor have they lost their faith in right.

123. They are confident that their firmness will lead to the removal of the obstacles that have impeded action by the United Nations and obstructed the realization of the goals of the Charter—the assurance of peace, the consolidation of security and the establishment of a new international economic order.

124. The small and medium-sized countries lack the physical means to build a more effective system of collective security. But what we can do is speak out in international forums, as we are doing in the General Assembly. We can speak in unison and call on the major Powers to stop their rivalry and confrontation and to place their resources and potential at the service of the United Nations, and implement the Secretary-General's proposal to hold a meeting of the Security Council at the highest possible level to discuss in depth the burning problems of the international community.

125. We must enhance the dignity of the United Nations by returning to the spirit which prevailed at its founding and devoting itself to the tasks jointly undertaken, in a moment of enlightenment, by the Powers which had suffered the material and human devastations of the Nazi-Fascist aggression which caused the Second World War.

126. With a sufficient amount of imagination and determination we can join forces to keep the sacred promise to mankind made in the San Francisco Charter—to save present and succeeding generations from the scourge of war and self-destruction.

127. There is still time to heed the appeal of the non-aligned at New Delhi to turn a page in the history of mankind, a page revealing an awareness of our common destiny and the solidarity of all peoples.

128. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I thank the Vice-President of the Republic of Panama for the important statement he has just made.

129. Mr. BONGO (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): It is an honour for me to convey to Mr. Hollai on behalf of the Gabonese delegation and on my own behalf, our warmest congratulations on his election to the presidency of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. Aware as we are of his wealth of diplomatic experience and his brilliant qualities, to which all previous speakers have paid a tribute, I am convinced that under his enlightened, fair and balanced guidance, our work will be conducted in an atmosphere of calm and dignity and will yield useful results, thus living up to our expectations. I should therefore like to assure him at once that the Gabonese delegation will always be ready to co-operate with him in any way he wishes, to assist in achieving his goals. To Mr. Kittani, Deputy Foreign Minister of Iraq, President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly, I wish to say how highly we esteem his judiciousness, effectiveness and sense of moderation which he demonstrated throughout a tenure of office during which he had to deal with many difficult and delicate questions within the framework of a seriously declining international situation. The Government of Gabon has already had occasion to convey its official congratulations to Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, the new Secretary-General, on his election to the chief office of the Organization. I wish here to repeat our profound satisfaction at his appointment, which is an honour not only to Peru but also to the whole third world, and to assure him once again that he can always count on the Gabonese Government for the necessary understanding and support in the accomplishment of his difficult and delicate task.

130. There is now a well-established tradition that we, the representatives of Member States, should meet here each year to review the international situation. By evaluating the accomplishments since the last session and exchanging views on future prospects, we attempt to define together the objectives to be attained and the tasks to be performed for the coming period.

131. The thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly has opened in a very dramatic climate, marked by the tragic events in Lebanon, the fratricidal war between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran, the aggression against Angola by South Africa, the presence of foreign occupation troops in Afghanistan and in Kampuchea, not to mention other sources of tension which imperil security and peace in other parts of the world.

132. The peaceful settlement of conflicts through negotiation, the very basis of détente and international co-operation, is increasingly giving way to the use of naked and blind force, a phenomenon that is becoming more and more frequent and indeed seems now to be the rule in diplomatic practice.

133. The right of peoples to decide on their own destiny, although universally recognized, is far from being accepted and applied by those Powers which hold sway over them.

134. New forms of political and economic domination are emerging and developing, aggravating injustice and imbalances, a source of tension and conflict which imperil international peace and security.

135. There is no denying that international relations are now going through a difficult period and the persistence of these tensions and conflicts is subjecting the Organization to a considerable ordeal and exposing the international community to new perils.

136. In the Middle East the recent invasion of Lebanon by Israel with all its disastrous consequences has even further complicated a situation that was already explosive in that region. The recent massacres committed in the Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut have filled us all with shock and horror. The international community has unanimously condemned that odious crime, which sounds the death knell of a certain morality which hitherto had compelled respect for non-combatants' right to life. Let us hope that that criminal act will not open the way to a new cycle of blind and murderous violence, whose first victims are liable to be more innocent people.

137. The situation in the Middle East has now become so serious that the United Nations, with the total support of the great Powers permanent members of the Security Council, must more than ever before do everything in its power to halt war and to look for a comprehensive, just and durable solution that will restore peace to that sorely troubled region. Such a solution can never be based on force and must therefore be accepted by all, because it has become clear that there can be no solution to the Middle East crisis if it fails to take account of the interests of all parties. This entails the restoration by Israel of the Arab territories occupied in 1967, the participation by Palestinians in the peace negotiations, and, of course, all necessary international commitments guaranteeing to all the right to existence within secure and recognized borders.

138. Furthermore, Gabon is profoundly concerned over the bloody and prolonged conflict between Iraq and Iran which is jeopardizing peace and security in that so sensitive and vital part of the world.

139. On the strength of its close and friendly relations with the two States in question, Gabon once again appeals to the sense of responsibility and realism of their leaders to put an end to that fratricidal war so that dialogue and negotiation may commence, in accordance with the spirit of the Charter and the principles of non-alignment to which both countries have subscribed.

140. The situation has become even more explosive in that part of the world through the existence on

the borders of Iran of another source of tension: Afghanistan, a country rent by a terrible internal war.

141. The United Nations must continue its past actions and its efforts to secure the withdrawal of foreign troops fighting in that country. It is only after that withdrawal that the peoples concerned will be able freely to express themselves and to determine the régime of their choice, which alone can guarantee the sovereignty of Afghanistan and safeguard its non-alignment.

142. The same applies to Kampuchea, where the legal, internationally recognized régime is not able to exercise its authority throughout the territory because of the presence of foreign troops. We wish to encourage the initiatives aimed at restoring legitimacy and democracy to Kampuchea taken by the free political forces of that country as well as by the independent States of the region.

143. With regard to the Korean peninsula, the division of the country into two distinct antagonistic States because of differences in the political options of the present régimes is a sequel of the cold war of a bygone era, a time of confrontation of the rival ambitions of East and West. Faithful to its motto—dialogue, tolerance, peace—Gabon has always recommended that the two parties should sit down at a negotiating table and together, without foreign interference, seek ways and means of permitting the reunification of the country. This position was recently once again reaffirmed by the Gabonese head of State, El Hadj Omar Bongo, who stated:

“It is through dialogue and dialogue alone, in the spirit of the joint communiqué issued on 4 July 1972 whereby the two Koreas announced to the world their wish to work peacefully for unification, that the peninsula will achieve this end in the interest of peace and security, not only in Korea but also in the world at large.”

144. The violence of the conflicts which we have just described has as its consequence, it would appear, that of polarizing and attracting the concern of the international community, which gives the impression of being less attentive to what happens in Africa. Are we to believe that the problems of Africa arouse only secondary interest and that compassion and fraternal solidarity are aroused only by what happens outside the black continent?

145. Nevertheless, in Africa people are dying by the thousands and continuing to die in the south of the continent—in Namibia, Angola and elsewhere—because of the aggressive acts of the South African racists dictated by their inhuman policy of *apartheid*. In spite of the unanimous censure of the international community, in spite of the appeals and condemnations of the United Nations, the racist Government of Pretoria continues imperturbably and with impunity its disgraceful policy of segregation and continues to subject the black community to terror and violence. Expeditious methods of physical elimination have now become common practice. The arsenal of unjust laws is constantly being strengthened and ever more sophisticated in order better to neutralize and subjugate the black people, whose sons, within the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, are being imprisoned, tortured,

martyred and murdered every day in their heroic resistance struggle.

146. This heinous policy, which everyone has utterly censured and condemned, can be carried on only thanks to the massive support of major international capital and the proved complicity of the Governments of countries which possess in South Africa powerful and varied interests. Once again we call upon those Governments to cease all co-operation with the racist Government of Pretoria, in accordance with United Nations resolutions, and to exert on that Government all appropriate pressure to prevail upon it to abandon its *apartheid* policy and to permit the black majority finally to occupy in dignity and equality of rights and duties its proper place in national life.

147. With regard to Namibia, the South African government does not appear to wish to give way and to comply with the will of the international community. The independence of Namibia, which should have been achieved long ago, is constantly being postponed from year to year because of the refusal by Pretoria to put an end to its illegal occupation of that country. The South African army, which is meeting with heroic resistance from the valiant people of Namibia, is not only sowing terror and desolation among the innocent civilian population but also attacking, now openly, neighbouring countries, particularly Angola. It is inadmissible that the great Powers, which bear responsibility for peace in the world, should countenance this arrogant policy of aggression, which is a violation of international law and flouts international morality. The Governments of the five Western States of the contact group must impose on the Pretoria Government the settlement plan contained in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which is the only valid basis for negotiation.

148. The manoeuvres of Pretoria to justify its illegal occupation of Namibia by the presence of its forces on the territory of Angola cannot possibly deceive anyone, and blackmail aimed at establishing a link between the withdrawal of its troops from Namibia and the presence of Cuban troops in Angola is inadmissible and must be rejected. Indeed we are all aware that South Africa is illegally occupying Namibia, an international Territory under the sovereignty of the United Nations, while the Cuban troops are in Angola on entirely legal grounds, by virtue of agreements negotiated and concluded in full independence and liberty by two sovereign States. Consequently, there can be no question of linking the two facts, and the Governments of the five States of the contact group must make the South African government see this. Africa—indeed the whole international community—demands that South Africa withdraw from Namibia so that the people of that country, fighting so heroically, can exercise freely its right to self-determination and accede to national sovereignty with territorial integrity.

149. The United Nations will thus have succeeded in putting an end to an anachronistic colonial situation that is unacceptable in the world today, where all men, all peoples, all countries must be free, equal and sovereign.

150. The violence, conflict and war which trouble peace and security in the world are all part of the absurd logic of man's self-destruction, to which the folly of the arms race is inexorably leading—an arms race which is assuming a pace and proportions that are more and more alarming. The continuance of the manufacture and accumulation of increasingly sophisticated nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction and the development of biological and chemical weapons with terrifying effects are leading inexorably to a wholesale conflagration.

151. This real danger of a planetary catastrophe, although everyone is aware of it, is, unfortunately, not sufficient to halt the arms race in which the great Powers are engaged. It has become commonplace to describe the vast sums spent on armaments, just as it has become commonplace to denounce the wastage of all the resources spent in that way—resources which could have been devoted to development needs—but, such is man's nature that, blind to the obvious, he pursues his course imperturbably, even if it is a path that leads to the abyss.

152. The failure of the second special session of the General Assembly on disarmament, held here last June, is a sad example of that blindness. At that session representatives of the non-nuclear-weapon States, as at the first special session on disarmament, vigorously denounced the mad arms race and the wastage of resources and urged the great Powers to put an end to the policy of over-armament, to abolish weapons of mass destruction and to embark on a process leading to general and complete disarmament. We must recognize, unfortunately, that that appeal fell on deaf ears, and at that session the Assembly was unable to come up with any positive measure.

153. Nevertheless, Gabon believes that we should not lose hope and that the efforts already begun should be continued, to prevail upon the great Powers to adopt a more co-operative attitude towards the United Nations, which must be in a position to play its full and proper role in disarmament negotiations.

154. General and complete disarmament is a vital necessity, not only because it will put an end once and for all to the ever-growing risk of a planetary conflict but also because it will free the huge sums of money now being swallowed up in the arms race and enable them to be used for reviving the world economy, which, as we can see, is today in a state of general collapse.

155. Indeed many studies undertaken recently both by the World Bank and by UNCTAD present a very gloomy picture of the economic situation in the world. The slowing down of economic expansion has spared no region, no group of countries, whatever the level of development or economic structure. This slowing down has been particularly clear in the developing countries, where we have witnessed a sizeable increase in unemployment and a significant and constant decline in national income.

156. It is unlikely that the international economic situation will make possible any revival of growth in the developing countries in the next few years. The exports of these countries will continue to decline until there is a clear revival of the economies of the industrialized countries. Similarly, the decline in the

terms of trade, which is reflected in the increase in the prices of capital goods and the decline in the prices of commodities, the malfunctioning of the international monetary system engendered by the abandonment of fixed parities and the increase in interest rates, which has now placed an intolerable burden on debt servicing, do not give grounds for optimism; they are all reasons for the general economic recession we can see in the developing countries.

157. The industrialized countries do not seem to be concerned about this situation. On the contrary, they are multiplying protectionist measures in the name of their national interests, in flagrant violation of the international norms, which are in any case unfavourable to the developing countries.

158. It is to deal with this situation, pending a restructuring of the world economy, that we have found it necessary to call for an increase in bilateral aid, particularly official development aid. Similarly, multilateral institutions should adopt more flexible methods in this regard. It would, for example, be desirable that the share of the resources of the International Monetary Fund [IMF] allocated for co-operation for developing countries be granted on more favourable terms and for the World Bank to increase its loans to those countries, which of course presupposes a strengthening of its means of intervention.

159. In my statement to the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session [27th meeting], I said that I placed great hopes in the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development at Cancún, which was supposed to launch the process of global negotiations. Unfortunately, those negotiations have not yet got under way, and millions of people who are calling for the establishment of a new international economic order fail to understand how this year again we have been unable to reach an agreement that would make it possible for the negotiations to begin.

160. It is in order to mitigate the effects of this momentary failure in the North-South dialogue, a failure we all deplore, that the developing countries have been trying to organize regionally and sub-regionally. In our own subregion, for example, on the initiative of El Hadj Omar Bongo, President of the Gabonese Republic, 11 heads of State and Government met this year in Libreville, Gabon, and, in keeping with the spirit of the Lagos Plan of Action,⁵ laid the foundations of an economic community of Central African States, an organization that should provide us with structures to expand and promote trade and economic development among member States, and stimulate and consolidate regional solidarity and co-operation.

161. This need for solidarity and co-operation, noted in the economic plan, has also been felt on the cultural level with just as much force. It is clearly a vital imperative in the fight for development, fulfilment and assertion of the identities of the peoples of these States, which have a profound awareness of their common identity. That is why in the cultural field—again on the initiative of President Bongo—the representatives of the States of the Bantu world, which embrace some 150 million persons, met in Gabon to attempt more closely to identify the cultural dimension of development and to examine the pos-

sibility of creating an international centre for Bantu civilizations, a project agreed upon by the UNESCO World Conference on Cultural Policies, known as MONDIACULT, held last July in Mexico City.

162. In the face of all these problems, all these difficulties both economic and political, one question naturally arises: how to create a more favourable climate for international relations and hence how to propose solutions likely to satisfy the aspirations of States and peoples.

163. In the view of the Gabonese delegation, the United Nations must enjoy increased effective support from its Members if it is to become an effective instrument in the service of the community of nations in the consolidation of the independence and sovereignty of all States, the safeguarding of international security and the strengthening of world peace.

164. Mr. HLAING (Burma): It is my privilege to extend to Mr. Hollai the warm congratulations of the delegation of Burma on his unanimous election to his high office and to assure him of our support and co-operation in the discharge of his responsibilities. We are most fortunate in having the advantage of his wisdom and experience, and we are confident that he will guide the deliberations of the Assembly with the tenacity and resourcefulness which the numerous tasks before us require. Next we wish to express our deep appreciation to the former President, Mr. Kittani, for the distinguished manner in which he conducted the proceedings of the last session of the Assembly and his vigorous efforts to bring it to a successful conclusion.

165. The international climate in which the Assembly is meeting is rife with tensions and acute world problems. From whatever angle the present world situation is viewed, there is no denying that we are facing a time of serious upheavals in almost all spheres of international relations. The disconcerting features are evident in the political overtones of the declining trend and the rising tensions in great-Power relations; in the economic overtones of a deepening world recession, with conflicting interests ensuing among nations; in racial cleavage and the revival of old historical quarrels in regional relationships; and the increasing acts of terrorism afflicting human life and international order. Taken together, these adverse manifestations potentially endanger international peace, stability and security.

166. The bewildering complexity of issues burdening the world of today are mirrored in the variety of agenda items to which the Assembly will direct itself. Some of the most important issues have been with us for many years and have become aggravated with the passage of time. The United Nations today faces far more intractable challenges than could ever have been foreseen at the time of its founding. The concomitant increase in the number of conferences, bodies and institutions is also straining the human and financial capacity of the Organization. The dilemma besetting the Assembly is how to reconcile the ever widening scope of activities and responses demanded of the Organization with an annual budget that must be kept within the financial limits of what the membership as a whole can reasonably be expected to accept and to bear.

167. The delegation of Burma does not propose to dwell at length on the host of issues before the General Assembly at its thirty-seventh session. We shall focus our attention on the principal political and economic questions which we consider to be the current realities of the highly difficult and dangerous world situation in which we live.

168. The international quest for disarmament is still an unfulfilled aspiration of the world community. Paradoxically, while there is now a swelling international drive for disarmament, the arms race has surged ahead on a scale unknown before, increasing the already enormous outlays for destructive purposes. Whatever the circumstances, the crucial problem of how to bring about disarmament remains. To our understanding, there are only two ways of achieving disarmament—by mutual agreement or by unilateral action. But the present policy of positions of strength and its reliance on superior destructive power as the ultimate deciding factor constitutes a psychological road-block to both processes. We say this because if one adversary decides to arm heavily the other will invariably do likewise. Thus weapons themselves add to fear and mistrust and become the greatest obstacle to any headway on disarmament and arms control.

169. All this leads one to conclude that there are dim prospects of success for agreement unless a suitable atmosphere of confidence and trust can be nurtured to bring about enough mutual understanding to enable both sides to make the requisite concessions and compromises.

170. The central arms-control doctrine being exercised today is that of stabilized nuclear deterrence, where each side refrains from attack for fear of mutual annihilation. Deterrence has its use and has thus far prevented the outbreak of another world war. However, stabilized deterrence will not stop the arms race. Mutual effort to maintain deterrence leads to a steady spread of nuclear weapons. International tension and fear remain high without the prospect of disarmament.

171. Clearly, this is not compatible with the universal view that there is an urgent need to find a solution to the dilemma of nuclear weapons. Unless things take a more sensible turn, it seems that man is doomed to live in harrowing uncertainty as to what the future will bring. Thus, the *status quo* is not only not good enough, it cannot in fact endure, for the human system cannot for long put up with the persistent, constant pressure which the *status quo* imposes upon it.

172. It is self-evident to all that no one can expect to win the arms race. As we see it, the only sensible recourse for those engaged in that perilous venture is to call for a halt and decide to agree on a sequence of processes leading to reduction of their nuclear arsenals. In order to mitigate the danger of a nuclear war erupting, either by miscalculation or by accident, we hope that the two leading nuclear Powers will sustain the recent resumption of their bilateral contacts on strategic nuclear arms and assert sufficient political will to ensure the success of their discussions. Divergencies may be very sharp at present, but there can be no progress anywhere on the arms control

front until the two leading nuclear Powers agree on what to do about their strategic arms.

173. As rapidly as the situation permits, those bearing the main responsibility for the arms race must begin the critical transition from deterrence to disarmament, for it soon may be beyond the reach of efforts to initiate the process. The main ground for advocating this is that, ultimately, it offers the only hope for the continuance of human survival.

174. Developments in the Middle East this year took a dramatic turn for the worse. Tension sharpened and escalated fighting led to direct military intervention in Lebanon. The policy and practice of sending a punitive expedition of such formidable strength can only be deplored. The action constitutes a flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon and is yet another example of the use and abuse of force. It is abundantly clear that such actions are completely at variance with the norms of conduct in international relations and cannot augur well for the future. The position of the delegation of Burma remains one of serious concern.

175. Nobody who has followed the situation in Lebanon could fail to be shaken by the remorseless violence, the heavy toll in human lives and the suffering that resulted from the recent conflict in that country. The general contours of the Middle East situation may have changed somewhat, but that does not alter the fact that there is an urgent need for an overall settlement in the region. It is equally clear that the prospects for peace in the Middle East are not likely to become brighter until the Palestinian question is resolved to the satisfaction of all concerned. It accounts for virtually all the problems of the Middle East and will remain a weight on the world's conscience.

176. At this point, I should like to reiterate the support of the delegation of Burma for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Lebanon within its internationally recognized boundaries and for the full implementation of all Security Council resolutions in that regard.

177. As we see it, the two problems—that of the Middle East and that of Palestine—are inextricably intertwined. Consequently, any search for a political settlement must necessarily encompass both questions, rather than dealing with one to the neglect of the other. This means that only the method of seeking a comprehensive solution with the full association of all interested parties can lead to the possibility of achieving a durable peace in the Middle East.

178. The Assembly has been struggling with the Middle East and Palestinian questions for many, many years. The main obstacle to the resolution of the many issues involved is the extreme antagonism of the parties concerned and the refusal of either party—Israel or the Palestinians—to recognize each other's existence and to acknowledge the mutual right to statehood. This is making very difficult any constructive and fruitful negotiations towards a solution that would be in the interest of all parties concerned, for lasting peace in the Middle East. The positions of the parties to the conflict being what they are at present—implacable hostility on the

one side and impetuous belligerence on the other—there are few signs of any willingness by either side to be the first to break the impasse. We take the view that there is no option but for the parties to coexist. That cannot happen without a change of heart on the part of all those at present involved.

179. The delegation of Burma does not underestimate the highly emotional and complex political questions of the Middle East. None the less, we are of the view that this long-standing conflict cannot be settled by force, but only by negotiations. Realism demands that the parties to the conflict learn to put up with each other, for there is no other way to make relations more humane, more peaceful and more secure. The road of negotiations may be a long and tedious one. Given the will, however, there is no problem in the world, no matter how intractable, which cannot be solved by negotiations and without loss of honour by either side.

180. The world community became seized of the issues of Kampuchea and Afghanistan at the beginning of the 1980s. The unresolved situations in both countries continue to undermine the development of good-neighbourly and co-operative relations in their respective regions.

181. The delegation of Burma has had occasion at previous sessions of the General Assembly to voice its regret and deep concern over the occurrence of armed intervention, which obviously cannot be justified or condoned, in both situations. Our approach to both situations and to their solution is based on our firm and consistent support for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which upholds in unequivocal terms respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of States as cardinal principles to be scrupulously observed in international relations among States. The Charter outlaws the threat or use of force in international relations in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations. It strictly enjoins all States to settle their international disputes by peaceful means and to refrain from intervening in any manner whatsoever in matters within the jurisdiction of any State.

Mr. Bassole (Upper Volta), Vice-President, took the Chair.

182. Burma believes that only scrupulous respect for those principles by all States, both in word and deed, would make it possible to promote the progressive establishment of and universal respect for the rule of law.

183. Any violation of those principles, directly or indirectly, in whatever guise or under whatever pretext, deals a grievous blow to mankind's hope for a peaceful and just world order. By the same token, whenever and wherever a Power—big or small—resorts to armed force in contravention of those principles, the inevitable result is their serious weakening and erosion, creating conditions with far-reaching implications which are of concern to all countries everywhere.

184. It was in this spirit that the delegation of Burma gave its support to the resolutions of the General Assembly which called for the withdrawal of all

foreign troops from Kampuchea and Afghanistan and for strict observance by outside Powers of the principles of non-interference and non-intervention. All those conditions are necessary to enable the peoples of Kampuchea and Afghanistan freely to exercise their will and determine their own destiny.

185. As the internal and external circumstances in Kampuchea and Afghanistan develop, we hope that the leaders of those countries will be able to master their conflicts and to find a peaceful way to a political solution and national reconciliation.

186. The independence of Namibia, envisaged in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), is long overdue. Since the United Nations plan embodied in the resolution had the acceptance, in principle, of all parties to the dispute, we believed that Namibia's struggle for freedom had entered its final stage. But over the following years the pathway to Namibia's independence meandered between hope and frustration, the principal obstacle being South Africa's attitude of intransigence. Meanwhile, South Africa's escalation of military activities against the front-line States has only added to the political impasse and the worsening situation in southern Africa. The latest reports on continuing efforts at negotiations indicate that there are somewhat improved prospects for a Namibian settlement. We hope that that improvement will continue and not break down as in the past. Until a definite date is fixed for the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) the outlook for Namibia's independence will continue to remain highly uncertain.

187. The delegation of Burma reaffirms its support for the Namibian people's inalienable right to freedom, independence and territorial integrity, including Walvis Bay, under the leadership of SWAPO. We look forward to the implementation at the earliest opportunity of the United Nations plan granting Namibian independence.

188. We welcome the adoption by the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea of the United Nations Convention of the Law of the Sea⁶ which establishes an international régime on all aspects of the uses of the sea. The major portion of the rules have long been applied in practice as norms of customary law and have acquired full validity with the new Convention. It is a package arrived at by carefully balanced and painful compromises, over nine years of hard work and highly complex negotiations, in order to achieve wide acceptance. To allow it to go overboard would mean that no order would prevail on the seas and that a universally acceptable codification would never again be attainable.

189. International relations as a whole are exacerbated as a result of the prolonged crisis in the world economy. The forecasts made by the primary financial and trade organizations of the world are not at all encouraging. They foretell an ever widening gap between rich and poor nations resulting from the slackening of economic growth, lessening cash aid flows for development, declining world trade resulting from protectionism, and prolonged monetary instability. Both inflation and unemployment have become priority issues to be grappled with before the world can be pulled out of the present crisis. In facing up to the situation the best intentions and the most

dedicated efforts of all of us can be frustrated if we do not succeed in overcoming these economic setbacks afflicting the world economy.

190. The consequences of the disarray in the world economy are being felt in all sectors of international economic life. No country is immune from their disruptive effects. The impact upon the developed countries has taken the form of slower growth, widening payments deficits and rising inflation and unemployment rates. These countries are tending increasingly to solve their problems by way of protectionism, reducing their payments deficits and tightening money policies to arrest inflation. We would hope that, in putting their economies in order, the developed countries would do so with as little harm to the developing countries as possible.

191. Apart from encountering the same problems, the developing countries are faced with worsening terms of trade, declining demand for primary commodities and mounting debt burdens caused by rising interest rates.

192. All of this indicates that there is a complex interplay of economic forces influencing both developed and developing countries. The conclusion would be that the problems of the world economy and of the international economic relations are common problems which require joint action by developed and developing countries. Clearly, the situation calls for an untiring effort to work out a basis of co-operation. Reconciling the conflicting needs and desires of the minority, developed countries, and the majority, developing countries, will also call for much tolerance and good will. As we see it, there is no other way. In the contemporary world economic development has become a matter for international co-operation and this requires a meeting of minds between countries in all stages of development.

193. Another requirement is that of solving certain structural discrepancies in the world economy so that it can result in a more rational and equitable economic system than the present one. It is a path we had hoped could be begun with the launching of global negotiations, to put relations between developed and developing countries on a new, constructive foundation that would be realistic, equitable and lasting. That this has not yet taken place is a matter of considerable disappointment for the developing world. Such a process could only begin if all sides could be influenced to adopt a less rigid attitude and to come together in a spirit of mutual need and mutual responsibility.

194. The delegation of Burma believes that the path of confrontation, or negotiations rooted in any adversary psychosis, cannot lead us out of the present uncertainty and impasse. Statesmanship of the highest order, good will, reasonableness, and, above all, realism on all sides are required for the building of bridges towards global negotiations. The world's economic problems are of a structural nature and can, therefore, only be resolved within the entirety of international economic relations.

195. We make these comments simply by way of emphasizing what seem to us to be the salient features of the current world situation and its problems. There is no doubt that international relations in their entirety are in deep crisis. We express the hope that this

session will prove fruitful and will signify an important step towards forward movement on many of the issues which have been at a standstill. The bounden duty of us all is to meet this challenge.

196. Mr. BRANCO (Sao Tome and Principe) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe cannot remain silent in the Assembly regarding its profound concern at the grave problems beclouding the area of international relations, which by their very gravity are imperilling the security of the world and threatening peace and solidarity among nations.

197. Today more than ever before the peoples of the world want to live in dignity and freedom, but they are threatened. They are the victims of barbarous aggression, intolerable interference and covert blackmail by those whose vocation and nature it is to sow grief, pain, suffering, terror, poverty and destruction wherever people are proclaiming their right to self-determination, wherever people are fighting and dying for freedom.

198. We cannot fail at such a time to be conscious of the heroism of the Palestinian people, the courage and determination of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] and its brave fighters, who, in the face of a deluge of fire and steel, have taught zionism and its allies a masterly lesson in popular resistance.

199. It is almost unbelievable that so much horror and barbarism should have been committed at the threshold of the twenty-first century by an imposter State protected by guilty accomplices, a State which has now reached the last stages of paranoia. These atrocities demonstrate clearly to responsible mankind the dangers which lie in wait for it and which can only be dispelled by a greater determination in our common defence of the ideals and cardinal principles cherished by the peoples of the world and by forging a network of unbroken solidarity.

200. The plot aimed at exterminating the Palestinian people must be denounced, condemned and resisted, vigorously and with determination, by the international community. The appalling pictures of the holocaust in west Beirut and the most recent massacres in the Palestinian refugee camps have stirred the conscience of the millions of men and women who have identified with the Palestinian cause and firmly refuse to take refuge in blindness and amnesia in the face of the most monstrous crimes in the history of the struggle of peoples for self-determination and independence.

201. What crime is it that zionism and the imperialist forces hold against the Palestinian people and the PLO? The Palestinian people has quite rightly proclaimed its right to a homeland, to the establishment of the State of its choice and to the recovery of its territories occupied by force. What is that people to do, that people robbed of its land for 35 years, condemned to exile and murder, other than fight for the recognition of its inalienable rights, which others affect to ignore.

202. Israeli barbarism in Lebanon, the occupation by the Zionist forces of part of the territory of that sovereign State, a Member of the Organization, and the systematic use of the right of veto by the United States to prevent any unanimous condemnation of these criminal acts and the application of sanctions

under the Charter lead us to the conclusion that law and international practice governing relations between States are being scornfully disregarded by some in order the better to preserve their unnatural alliances.

203. Sao Tome and Principe supports the Palestinian people and the PLO, its sole representative, because we also cherish honour, dignity and national independence as high values which no one will ever succeed in destroying.

204. The invasion of Lebanon and the occupation by force of the Arab territories by Zionist troops lead us to mention the invasion of the People's Republic of Angola and the occupation of parts of its territory by the racist and terrorist troops of the *apartheid* régime, which is another shameful phenomenon of contemporary life. Those actions illustrate the identity and the complementary nature of the views and actions of Tel Aviv and Pretoria.

205. To link the independence of Namibia, under the aegis of SWAPO, with the withdrawal of the internationalist Cuban forces from Angolan territory is intolerable interference in the affairs of a sovereign State, a Member of the United Nations. Furthermore, no one can claim to be unaware of the reasons which led the Angolan Government to appeal for the solidarity of friendly countries the better to defend the sovereignty and integrity of its territory, so seriously threatened by the massive presence of terrorist racist South African troops. Those troops are illegally occupying part of the territory of the People's Republic of Angola and once again the international community seems to be acquiescing in a situation where international rules are being flagrantly violated. This passivity is of the greatest possible benefit to South Africa, which is able with total impunity to massacre the innocent civilians, destroy socio-economic infrastructures and maintain its illegal occupation.

206. In spite of the existence of a recognized political and juridical framework for conducting the negotiations on the independence of Namibia in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978), those negotiations are at a standstill and all possible pretexts, even the most threadbare, are being presented as pre-conditions for any settlement of the Namibian problem. Certain Western countries which have economic and strategic interests in Namibia want to prevent that Territory from becoming truly independent and the Namibian people, represented by SWAPO, its sole and legitimate representative, from being able to live in peace, freedom and dignity.

207. In South Africa, in Western Sahara, in East Timor and in Puerto Rico, heroic struggles are being waged by their peoples to put an end to *apartheid*, illegal occupation, colonialism and foreign oppression.

208. The presence of foreign troops is preventing the peoples of Cyprus and Korea from realizing their legitimate aspirations.

209. The delegation of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe wishes to reaffirm from this rostrum its unswerving support for and its active solidarity with the people of East Timor and express the hope that the statements of the administering Power on the subject of the decolonization of East Timor will lead to recourse being had to the machinery

provided under the Charter to permit the Maubere people to express its views freely on its own future.

210. Our delegation also wishes to express its militant support for the peoples of Western Sahara, Puerto Rico, Cyprus and Korea in their struggle to preserve their national sovereignty, self-determination, independence, national unity and peaceful reunification.

211. A vast plot by the imperialist and reactionary forces is threatening the peoples and Governments of Africa, Latin America, Asia and elsewhere. An infernal machine is being unleashed against us in order to destabilize régimes freely chosen by our peoples and all possible means are being used—the creation of puppet movements and armed gangs, the dispatching of mercenaries, the establishment of military bases, the persistent refusal to make the necessary changes in the structure and machinery of international economic relations, the stopping of investment credits, aid blackmail, and so on. These actions have one purpose in common: to safeguard the economic and strategic neo-colonialist and imperialist interests in the region.

212. Furthermore, armed border conflicts are being fanned into flame and fuelled among the developing countries to weaken our human and material resources and prevent our using our strength and solidarity in a true programme of national reconstruction.

213. In this vast plot, international and regional organizations are not spared. Those bodies are threatened with paralysis and may very well, in this context, cease functioning. It is as if the forces of evil want to prevent the peoples of the third world from gaining access to credible forums where they can denounce and condemn the plots, the manoeuvres and the massacres and diminish the historic role of those bodies, that is, to defend the struggle for emancipation of the peoples of the world against every kind of exploitation and discrimination.

214. It is because the United Nations, the OAU and the non-aligned movement have remained faithful to their original vocation that serious threats are posed to their future and their capacity to take just and courageous decisions enabling responsible mankind to undertake commitments of solidarity and jointly to meet the challenge.

215. In this context the task of the new Secretary-General is not an easy one. A son of the third world, renowned for his qualities and his experience, he will through his enlightened leadership enable the United Nations to succeed in defending international order, justice, peace and the progress of the peoples of the world so that the Organization can continue to deserve the confidence of all peoples and in particular of the peoples whose human dignity has been diminished. The United Nations, in particular at the sessions of the General Assembly, must not become a kind of confessional, where we all find ourselves under the spell of words and exorcise the evil spirits, thus relieving our conscience, because in sanctioning the practice of the use of words without accompanying action the Organization is likely to become the graveyard of the hopes of the peoples.

216. Our delegation is among those that wholeheartedly endorse the idea that the United Nations

should continue to be the forum par excellence of the peoples which are combining their efforts and fighting for the establishment of a new international order in which dignity, freedom, well-being, peace and progress can become a reality and not a mirage for mankind.

217. The delegation of Sao Tome and Principe wishes to assure the Secretary-General that the people and Government of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe will make a constructive contribution to the performance of this honourable task.

218. Mr. BARRE (Somalia): I wish to extend, on behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf, warm congratulations to Mr. Hollai on his well-deserved election as President of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. His accession to this high office is a tribute to his personal qualities and wide knowledge and experience of international affairs. I assure him of my delegation's co-operation in the months ahead. I should also like to take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Kittani on the wisdom and competence he displayed in guiding the debates of the thirty-sixth session, and to express our gratitude for his devoted service to the work of the General Assembly. It is a pleasure for me to pay a tribute also to the Secretary-General, whose first year in office has been particularly difficult. He has faced the challenges of his office with courage, realism and persistence. By his efforts on behalf of world peace and the authority of the United Nations, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar has shown himself to be worthy of the great responsibility upon his shoulders.

219. As the General Assembly takes stock once again of the world situation, there can be little cause for satisfaction over the state of international affairs. Whether we consider the proliferation of dangerous regional conflicts or the inability of the United Nations to maintain peace and security through collective action, the outlook is not encouraging.

220. In the Middle East, the Horn of Africa, southern Africa, Afghanistan and South-East Asia and in the recent Falkland (Malvinas) Islands dispute, the United Nations has not been able to fulfil its most fundamental purposes of peace-making and peace-keeping. In many cases when people suffering from injustice, oppression and foreign domination turn to the United Nations for redress, basing their hopes on the provisions of the Charter, they are offered only resolutions which remain unimplemented. The Secretary-General has rightly described the current state of world affairs as one which has brought us perilously close to a new international anarchy, and one in which the authority and status of world and regional intergovernmental institutions have been seriously eroded.

221. After nearly four decades of experience in using the Charter as the legal standard governing international relations, the wisdom and validity of its principles remain incontestable. However, its wide, global objectives continue to be subordinated to narrowly conceived national interests. In our view, this is the cause of the current breakdown in international law and order. Unless Member States address themselves seriously and sincerely to this dilemma, they cannot hope to achieve workable solutions to the many complex political problems on the agenda of the General Assembly.

222. In the Middle East Israel's denial of Palestinian rights is the driving force behind its lawless and barbarous devastation of Lebanon. International anarchy is nowhere so rampant as in this area, where Israel has shown that there are no limits to its contempt for international law and its callous inhumanity. Not content with denying Palestinian rights, the Israelis are seeking to exterminate the Palestinians themselves. In pursuit of their final solution to the problem they have launched a criminal aggression against a sovereign State, and they have had no qualms about the destruction of cities through saturation bombing and the killing and maiming of thousands of civilians, including women and children, by the use of vicious phosphorous and anti-personnel cluster bombs.

223. The recent massacres in the Shatila and Sabra camps in west Beirut have confronted us with horrors similar to those of the holocaust of the Second World War. Israel cannot escape responsibility for aiding and abetting the perpetration of the crimes against the defenceless civilians of those camps—crimes which have been strongly condemned by the entire world community. Israel has in the past claimed in international forums that its actions stem from a special religious and moral authority. Are we now asked to believe that the wanton destruction of life and property in Lebanon was carried out at the dictate of a just Creator, or that tragedies of the past which have no bearing on the Middle East justify Israel's expansionist greed and genocidal policies?

224. My Government hopes that the General Assembly will be uncompromising in its condemnation of Israel for the carnage in Lebanon and will also be vigilant in opposing any Israeli attempts at imposing new *faits accomplis* with regard to Lebanese territory. It must demand Israel's immediate, complete and unconditional withdrawal from Lebanon.

225. The General Assembly must also keep international public opinion focused on Israel's arrogant annexations of Arab territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem. It must be reaffirmed that the status of the city, which is sacred to Moslems and Christians as well as to Jews, cannot be unilaterally determined. The increased level of persecution in the West Bank and Gaza and the defiant escalation of the illegal settlement policy must also continue to be strongly condemned.

226. The failure of the Security Council in the past to take effective measures against Israel for its violations of international law certainly encouraged the Israeli Government to believe that it could flout any international convention, commit any act of aggression or carry out any atrocity with impunity. It is more than time for it to be disabused of this belief. Israel has undoubtedly breached the peace of the Middle East and threatened world peace and security. Its outright rejection of all proposals which could serve as a basis for negotiations shows that it has turned its back on peace and that it plans to continue with its expansionism at any cost. In our view, if the Security Council is to maintain any credibility and authority in world affairs it must be prepared to take significant action, including the imposition of sanctions, in order to check Israel's dangerous and irresponsible course.

227. The tragic conflict between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran is another unfortunate reflection of our troubled times. My Government sincerely hopes that the ongoing mediation efforts will succeed in the difficult and sensitive task of bringing an end to this conflict which has destabilized the Gulf area. Somalia adds its voice to the appeals of other Member States for the immediate cessation of hostilities and the start of negotiations which would ensure a return to peace and amity in the region.

228. The problems of southern Africa have always involved the fundamental principles of the Charter and over the years have increasingly threatened regional and international peace and security. These problems remain acute in spite of the fact that the struggle against South Africa's racist and colonial policies is in its final stages.

229. Unfortunately, the Pretoria régime is encouraged by the continued political, economic and military support of its main trading partners to intensify its racist oppression in South Africa, to remain illegally in Namibia and to attempt to dominate the southern African region through military aggression, political pressure and economic subversion. Clearly, the General Assembly must reiterate its call for unremitting efforts by the world community to eliminate *apartheid* and to enable the United Nations to carry out its legal responsibility for leading Namibia to independence.

230. Within South Africa the racist policies of the *apartheid* system are being applied with ever-increasing severity as the liberation struggle gains in effectiveness and strength. The legitimacy of that struggle cannot be over-emphasized. In the long history of the uprising of peoples against tyrannical and colonial forms of oppression, revolutionary wars have been fought for much less pressing reasons than the degrading inhumanity of *apartheid*.

231. The liberation movements within and outside South Africa deserve the strongest moral, material and political support for their efforts to regain the human dignity and fundamental right of the majority of the population. As for South Africa's ruling minority, it should be ostracized and isolated until it is prepared to take steps to establish a just society.

232. In the case of Namibia the salient factor is the illegality of South Africa's presence in the Territory, a status determined by the International Court of Justice and Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which remains the only valid basis for a settlement. It is now four years since South Africa began its machinations aimed at obstructing Namibia's independence. No longer can the international community tolerate South Africa's bad faith, its oppressive domination of the Namibian people and its brutal war against their liberation movement under the leadership of SWAPO.

233. My Government sincerely hopes that the current optimism over the prospect of a Namibian settlement is justified. However, in view of South Africa's past performance we believe that the General Assembly must not fail to remind the five Western States of their commitment to independence for Namibia as speedily as possible. In our view, there will be little progress on Namibia or on other southern African issues unless South Africa is made to understand

that it will certainly face comprehensive economic sanctions if it continues its intransigent, aggressive and inhuman policies.

234. The growing use of brute force as an instrument of foreign policy is disturbingly evident in the Soviet Union's continued occupation of Afghanistan, a small non-aligned State, and in its attempt to crush the resistance of the proud and courageous Afghan people. The same super-Power which invokes in the United Nations the doctrine of the non-use of force in international relations is responsible for the loss of thousands of innocent lives at the hands of its invading forces, for the devastation of Afghanistan's economy and for the creation of one of the world's largest refugee populations.

235. The ruthless nature of this war is further illustrated by the use of Afghanistan as a testing ground for forms of chemical warfare long condemned as barbarous by the international community. The General Assembly must continue to keep the plight of Afghanistan before the attention of the world and to stand firmly by its resolutions and those of the Security Council which call for the unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops from the country.

236. The presence of foreign troops in Democratic Kampuchea is another example of the subversion of national independence through foreign domination. Here again military aggression and alien rule have given rise to a tragic refugee situation and to chronic tension and conflict. My Government hopes that the efforts of the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations and other States to ensure the restoration of legitimacy and national independence in Democratic Kampuchea will be successful and that the constructive proposals made at the recent International Conference on Kampuchea will be fruitful. A political settlement would undoubtedly have far-reaching effects on the peace and stability of the whole South-East Asian region.

237. Since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI) on the Indian Ocean, serious obstacles have been placed in the way of implementing the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace by Soviet military intervention in the affairs of the countries of the region and in their local conflicts. Moreover, with the military and naval forces of the Soviet Union firmly entrenched in bases provided to it by certain regional States, there has been a steady deterioration in the stability and security of the countries of the region. These dangerous developments have set the stage for the escalation of super-Power confrontation and military rivalry in the Indian Ocean. It is, therefore, more important than ever for Member States to reaffirm their commitment to the principles enshrined in resolution 2832 (XXVI) and to the provisions of the Final Document of the Meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States of the Indian Ocean.⁷

238. In supporting these principles and provisions my delegation places particular emphasis on the dismantling of all foreign bases and the withdrawal of all foreign forces, including surrogate troops, from the region and on the obligation of the regional States to settle disputes with one another by peaceful means, on the basis of the principles of the United Nations Charter.

239. The Horn of Africa, my own area, continues to be affected by tension and conflict, not because of territorial or boundary disputes, as Ethiopian propaganda would have the international community believe, but because of the denial of the right to self-determination by the colonial régime of Ethiopia to its subject peoples of Western Somalia and of Eritrea. The importance of this right is emphasized in Chapter I, Article 2, of the Charter, which directs the United Nations to develop friendly relations among States based on respect for the principle of equal rights and the right to self-determination of peoples.

240. The grave regional and international repercussions of the denial of those rights continue to trouble the Horn of Africa. The exodus of the hundreds of thousands who fled from persecutions and oppression to take refuge in Somalia and other neighbouring countries involved great human suffering, placed intolerable burdens on host countries and continues today to be a disaster situation calling for humanitarian assistance from the international community.

241. My Government's overriding concern in its approach to the problems of Ethiopian colonialism is that the peoples of Western Somalia and Eritrea be allowed to exercise the rights guaranteed under General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV). Certainly, if the European colonial Powers had opposed the freedom struggle in Africa with the same arguments which Ethiopia continues to advance today to explain its continued occupation of Western Somalia, very few colonial peoples would have been able to take advantage of the provisions of resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV).

242. It is important for the world community to understand that until the 1890s when the Ethiopian Emperor Menelik joined the European Powers in their scramble for Africa, the people of Western Somalia enjoyed an independent existence and controlled their own affairs. It was in the course of Menelik's presumptuous attempt to extend the Ethiopian Empire from Khartoum to Lake Nyanza that the Ogaden was brutally seized.

243. Unfortunately, it served the interests of the colonial Powers to support Menelik's territorial ambitions, and in typical imperialist fashion illegal treaties purporting to transfer Somali territory to the Ethiopian Empire were concluded—without the knowledge of the people of Western Somalia. It was particularly ironic that the supposed authority for transferring Somali territory was the series of treaties between the colonial Powers and Somali chiefs which guaranteed that the Somali people would be protected by those same Powers and that their territory would not be ceded to any other Power.

244. It should be noted that Ethiopia was unable to exercise sovereignty over an area which was clearly outside its normal political, cultural and ethnic influence until after the Second World War, and in some instances as recently as 1955. During the Italo-Abyssinian war of 1935-1936 Western Somalia was occupied by Italy. Shortly afterwards the British conquered former Italian Somaliland and Western Somalia and, together with Somali territories already under British colonialism, virtually all of Somaliland was

united under a single colonial Power. In 1942 Britain restored Ethiopian sovereignty in Ethiopia proper which it had captured from Italy during the war, but it retained the administration of Western Somalia. Unfortunately, the inhabitants of the territory were once again betrayed by the British Government and transferred against their will to Ethiopian rule in 1948 and 1955.

245. I take the liberty of recounting these historical facts not only to refresh the memory of representatives present in the Assembly but also to underscore the fact that the Territory of Western Somalia is no different from other Territories which have since the Second World War benefited from the process of decolonization in recognition of the universal principle of the right of peoples to self-determination and national independence, as enshrined in the Charter. It is the denial of that right by the Empire State of Ethiopia which is at the root of the conflict in the Horn of Africa.

246. As I have already stated, Ethiopian colonial repression has generated refugees numbering millions. In Somalia alone there are 700,000 persons in camps and a similar number are living among the population all over the country. Unless the problem of Western Somalia is resolved on the basis of the exercise of self-determination by the people of Western Somalia, the refugees will not be able to return to their homes in safety and honour, and there is every likelihood that their presence in Somalia and other countries of the Horn of Africa besides constituting a grave danger for the peace and security of the region will also take on a permanent character necessitating continued relief aid and assistance by the international community. The dangerous situation already existing in the Horn of Africa, owing to colonialist Ethiopia's policies of repression and genocide at its denial of the right to self-determination to the people of Western Somalia—and, indeed, to the other subject peoples within the Empire State of Ethiopia such as Eritrea, Oromia and Tigray—has been further aggravated by that country's wanton invasion of the territory of the Somali Democratic Republic since 1 July of this year.

247. As representatives are no doubt aware, my Government has addressed several communications to States Members of the United Nations regarding this invasion and has given details of the nature and extent of the unprovoked aggression, in which tanks and armoured personnel carriers, long-range artillery and fighter bombers, supplied to Ethiopia in massive quantities by a super-Power, have been deployed. Heavily armed Ethiopian infantry brigades, supported by foreign forces, have managed to cross the *de facto* border—at one point as deep as 32 kilometres—in an effort to cut the important arterial road which links the southern and northern parts of the Somali Democratic Republic in order to disrupt a major lifeline of our country. The town of Galdogob and the village of Blamballe have been captured and Galdogob, the regional capital of Mudug, has been subjected to several aerial attacks by MIG-23s.

248. Somalia has opposed this invasion of its sovereignty and territorial integrity in conformity with its right to self-defence under Article 51 of the Charter and has so far repelled further incursions into its territory. Unfortunately, both sides have suffered

heavy casualties and considerable damage has been caused to property in those areas of my country which have been attacked.

249. Ethiopia has attempted to spread the fiction that its forces are not responsible for this naked act of aggression against Somali territory. However, the recorded statements of deserters and prisoners, along with captured documents in Russian and Amharic, substantiate beyond any shadow of doubt that it is the Ethiopian army which has undertaken the large-scale aggression mounted against my country.

250. The use of T-55 tanks, MIG-23s, armoured personnel carriers and heavy artillery, much of them new and complete with Soviet operation manuals dated 1982 and bearing Ethiopian military insignia, is indisputable evidence of Ethiopia's direct responsibility for its invasion.

251. It is ironic that the major Ethiopian air base at Gode in occupied Ogaden, from which Ethiopian planes make their murderous attacks on the Somali population, is the same airport which the Ethiopian régime requested the United Nations, through a report of the Secretary-General of 12 September 1980,⁸ to finance and reconstruct, supposedly as a centre for humanitarian missions in the area.

252. The international community has strongly condemned Ethiopia for its invasion of my country—its shameless denials notwithstanding. By way of example, the 69th Inter-Parliamentary Conference, which was held in Rome in September, strongly condemned Ethiopia's invasion and called for, among other things, the immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign forces from the territory of the Somali Democratic Republic [*see A/37/578, annex*]. Similarly, the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference held at Fez in September, also strongly condemned Ethiopia for its invasion and called for the strict observance of Somalia's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

253. The Somali people are united in their determination to stand firm against Ethiopian aggression, and the Somali armed forces will continue to repel the attacks against our country. However, it is not my Government's wish that the Horn of Africa should become a permanent trouble spot threatening regional and international peace and security. Colonialist Ethiopia must therefore be forced by the international community to evacuate its forces from Somali territory and to desist from committing further aggression against our soil. For our part we remain ready to co-operate in the search for effective political solutions to the problems of the area. What is certain is that these problems will not be solved by oppressive measures and premeditated aggression. Peace and stability can be achieved only if historical wrongs are redressed and legitimate national aspirations are recognized and respected.

254. My Government is deeply disappointed by the failure of the second special session on disarmament to draw up a comprehensive programme of disarmament. We deplore also the continued spiralling of the arms race in nuclear weapons, the setback to negotiations for a test-ban treaty and the stalemate on the establishment of a convention prohibiting the use of chemical weapons.

255. It is clear therefore that there must be redoubled efforts on the part of the nuclear Powers and militarily significant States to translate the goals of the tenth special session into practical terms.

256. Bold new initiatives and higher levels of statesmanship will be required if the nuclear Powers are to break out of the vicious circle of mutual suspicion in which they are caught and if they are to remove the threat of nuclear annihilation that hangs over the world. In this regard the start of talks between the United States and the Soviet Union on the reduction of strategic weapons and the high level of public interest and involvement in disarmament issues are grounds for some optimism.

257. It has been repeated so often that the nuclear-arms race and the search for new weapons of mass destruction endanger mankind's survival, that this very real threat is unfortunately in danger of losing its persuasive power to bring about progress towards nuclear disarmament. One pressing reality which cannot be denied or ignored is that the astronomical sums spent each year on nuclear and sophisticated conventional weapons fuel world inflation and obstruct the establishment of a more just international economic order.

258. World inflation of course affects all States, but its effects on developing countries have been particularly cruel. Where in developed countries inflation means the curtailment of luxuries, in the least developed it often means deprivation of the necessities of life. For the least developed, many of which, like Somalia, suffer from natural and man-made disasters, the enormous debt problems caused by inflation, the worsened conditions of trade and the drop in development assistance have been catastrophic.

259. It is no doubt true that, except in the case of a few relatively prosperous developed countries, the development goals to which the United Nations membership is committed have never been so far from achievement as at the present time, when we have already entered the Third United Nations Development Decade.

260. My Government joins in calling on the developed countries to co-operate in the launching of global negotiations—an initiative which could give new impetus to the implementing of established development goals. The steadily increasing gap between rich and poor countries cannot be in the interest of peace with progress. We hope it will be understood that the economic arrangement of the past cannot justly serve the needs of an interdependent world, that the peace and stability so desperately needed today go hand in hand with economic growth and, finally, that it will be for the benefit of all if the poorer countries are helped to develop their resources to the point where they in turn can contribute to a prosperous world economy.

261. In conclusion I should like to observe that, while there is undoubted cause for deep concern over the inability of the United Nations to solve international political problems, it is important that the blame for this situation be ascribed not to the Organization and the Charter but to those who treat the obligations of membership with indifference, neglect or contempt and who are prepared to support the world

body only when its decisions conform to their interest. As the Secretary-General points out in his report, in the context of the peaceful settlement of disputes, we still lack a binding sense of international community. I believe, however, that a sense of international community has developed through the wide-ranging achievements of the United Nations in social, economic and humanitarian fields.

262. As the agenda shows, the responsibilities undertaken by the international community under the aegis of the United Nations range from the sea-bed to outer space. The nexus of relationships and responsibilities established in less political fields will not easily be broken. In the last resort the United Nations remains an unparalleled centre for international diplomacy and mankind's best hope for peace.

263. Mr. DONT SOP (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): My first words will be words of congratulation to Mr. Hollai on his unanimous election to the presidency of this thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. It is a choice which does honour to his outstanding qualities as a person and an experienced diplomat and is also a tribute to his country, the People's Republic of Hungary, whose positive contribution to the work of the Organization is well known. It is a pleasure for me to assure him of my delegation's complete co-operation as he carries out the difficult but exalted task of guiding our work during this period of disarray, instability and violence in the affairs of the world. I take this opportunity also to pay a tribute to his outstanding predecessor in this post, Mr. Kittani of Iraq, for the competence and patience—not without firmness—which he demonstrated as he carried out the lofty functions entrusted to him during the thirty-sixth session and the special sessions of the General Assembly held this year. Finally I should like to express my admiration for the Secretary-General for the clarity, courage and competence with which he has been fulfilling for almost a year now the prestigious functions vested in him by the Organization. We find stunning proof of these qualities in his report on the work of the Organization and which raises the vital question for the international community—the future of the United Nations.

264. It cannot be disputed that the erosion of the authority of the Organization has for several years now been a source of major concern to the international community. Never indeed has the feeling of such a collapse been so keenly felt in the world. Without respect for the principles of the Charter, there could be no international society that would be peaceful, harmonious and balanced, yet they have been systematically flouted. Instead of those principles, the threat or use of force is often resorted to in the settlement of disputes. The revival of the cold war, the hegemonistic rivalries of the major Powers and the self-centred attitude of Member States bring about a situation in which the United Nations is usually bypassed in the search for solutions to the problems which the world faces.

265. When it happens that countries turn to the United Nations, it is often for the reason of giving free rein to ideological confrontations for propaganda purposes, or as an alibi, so that only their own point of view prevails. If they do not succeed, they do not

hesitate to block the functioning of the Security Council by abusing the right of veto. Nevertheless, this right was established in order to serve as an instrument to safeguard the priceless common good of peace and security in the world; it was not meant to be a shield against sanctions that the Organization can apply when there are flagrant violations of the principles of the Charter.

266. Moreover, we must feel alarmed at the serious financial difficulties, resulting from the parsimonious contributions of Member States, particularly the most wealthy, in the operations of the specialized agencies, which were established with the noble purpose of promoting the harmonious and unified development of our countries.

267. Regardless of what idea one might have of the role of the United Nations, it is the conviction of Cameroon, a former ward of the Organization, that the Organization must remain the single preferred instrument for maintaining international peace and security, the irreplaceable forum for international negotiations and the tribune of the conscience of mankind.

268. That is why we have constantly deplored the paralysis and the crumbling of the credibility of the United Nations as a place for the settlement of international disputes during this period of tension and confusion, when it should enjoy authority commensurate with the scope and the complexity of the burning issues of our time.

269. Unfortunately, the inclusion in the agenda of this session of numerous questions that have faced the world community for decades testifies to the growing weakening of our institution. Among them we must cite, above all, the question of disarmament. It was a matter of concern for all States even before the establishment of the United Nations, and that concern has been revived by the acute psychosis aroused by the threat of a nuclear holocaust that looms over mankind.

270. In spite of long years of negotiation, of recommendations of the General Assembly, and vehement protest on the part of the public, the situation remains explosive because of the absence of the political will among the major Powers, all of which have increased their military expenditures and are continuing to manufacture the most sophisticated and increasingly deadly weapons.

271. At the second special session devoted to disarmament, which was held in June in New York, the Assembly did not even manage to adopt a consensus text as it did at the first special session on disarmament in 1978. The sole achievement of that session was the granting of a few disarmament fellowships. That surely proves that the major Powers and their antagonistic military alliances fighting for domination of the world are not yet ready to join in a substantive dialogue that could lead us resolutely towards the general and complete disarmament advocated in numerous resolutions of the United Nations.

272. The question of the Middle East, which has been before us since 1947, has undergone more and more tragic developments, which have horrified and alarmed the international community, since the

invasion of Lebanon on 6 June of this year. We vigorously condemn the hideous massacres of women, children and old people in the Palestinian camps in west Beirut. It is deplorable that the resolutions and decisions adopted by the Security Council on the question of the Middle East, particularly with regard to Palestine, have remained a dead letter.

273. As we have never ceased to state, the solution of the Palestinian problem is the key to any just and lasting overall settlement of the question of the Middle East. This implies that Israel, which, like the other States in the region, has the right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries, must withdraw from the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and must recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people represented by the PLO, including the right to have an Arab Palestinian homeland.

274. The time has certainly come for the intensive efforts at present under way to end the long tragedy being played out in the Middle East to take into account these fundamental facts; otherwise international peace and security will remain threatened in that particularly sensitive region of the world, which could serve as the detonator for a world-wide catastrophe.

275. The Namibian crisis and the base policy of *apartheid* of the racist South African régime constitute in Africa two examples of typical situations whose worsening over the period of three decades constitutes a humiliating defiance of the international community. In spite of the various means set forth in the Charter for ending these anachronistic and universally condemned situations, South Africa has not yielded an inch of ground, in spite of the numerous statements and the pretences of negotiation repeatedly launched in order to give the impression that it is prepared to co-operate with the United Nations in settling these questions.

276. Even though it is a decolonization question, and even though it is so clearly defined that there can be no doubt about it, the question of Namibia, which has been under examination since the first session of the Assembly, in 1946, is still on the agenda 36 years later.

277. Nevertheless, it is important to recall that the patient and laborious efforts of the international community have finally made it possible to come up with a broad consensus, with which South Africa has associated itself, to bring about a solution of the problem within the framework of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). While that resolution remains the basis for any peaceful solution to bring about authentic independence for Namibia, the delays and turnabouts to which South Africa has accustomed us raise some doubts about the real willingness of the racist minority of Pretoria to release its grip on that international territory.

278. The same is true for the inhumane policy of *apartheid*, which has been unanimously condemned by the General Assembly as a crime against humanity and which has been recognized by the Security Council as being a threat to international peace and security. Nevertheless, having been outlawed and banished from the international community, South Africa continues to evade the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of

the Charter, and continues to strengthen its repressive machinery against the black majority, which is still denied the most elementary human rights.

279. The criminal obstinacy of the racist régime of Pretoria can be explained only by the powerful support it has been enjoying even within the Organization, which it uses to carry out with impunity acts of aggression against neighbouring African States. We condemn those acts, which create and maintain in southern Africa a climate of instability and dangerous tension. We reaffirm our solidarity with the Namibian people in their struggle to regain their independence and to enjoy all their rights under the aegis of SWAPO, their sole authentic representative. We also stand shoulder to shoulder with the front-line African States, which have willingly been making heavy sacrifices so that the liberty and dignity of the black man in southern Africa may triumph.

280. All of us are well aware of the many very clear and firm resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council on other important questions which have not yet been resolved and which give rise to instability, tension and confusion, all of which are disturbing the international climate.

281. First there is the question of Cyprus. In this regard we have on many occasions asked for the withdrawal of the foreign troops from that country as a basis for a settlement of this question, and we have reaffirmed the necessity to respect the territorial integrity, the unity and the non-alignment of that State. It is high time the resolutions adopted on that matter were implemented.

282. With regard to Kampuchea, again we must emphasize that the solution can only be a political one and it must not be interfered with from outside in any way. Therefore we wish to reaffirm that the Kampuchean people itself has the right to decide its own future and its political, economic and social options. Everything should be done to promote the achievement of those objectives.

283. The same is true of Afghanistan, where the situation still threatens the peace and security of the whole of the region of South-West Asia. Here again, the withdrawal of foreign troops and total respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of that country are in our view of fundamental importance to the settlement of the question.

284. We are deeply troubled by the alarming development of these problems, which are of fundamental concern to the international community.

285. The difficulties experienced by the United Nations in playing its decisive role in the safeguarding of international peace and security have also prevented it from effectively fulfilling another part of its lofty mission—to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic and social character. In this regard the delay in the launching of the global negotiations envisaged in General Assembly resolution 34/138 is an obvious example.

286. Despite the major concessions that have been made by the Group of 77 and the political will that

was evident in that Group throughout the consultations that took place during the thirty-sixth session, that resolution remains unimplemented because of the intransigence of some industrialized countries. This blockage cannot but have negative and destabilizing effects upon the fragile economies of the developing countries, because some of the essential objectives of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade, such as increased official development aid or the mobilization of resources in favour of the least-developed countries, have not been achieved within the envisaged timetable.

287. The balance-sheet of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea demonstrates that with regained and increased solidarity and political will it is possible to attain results that safeguard the basic interests of all States and enhance the prestige of the Organization. Indeed, after eight years of intensive and thorny discussions the negotiations on the law of the sea led to the adoption last summer of a new Convention dealing with all aspects of this problem. How can one not regret the reluctance of some countries to associate themselves with that result? We urgently appeal to them to join in the general consensus.

288. The state of the world economy, which is dominated by recession, unemployment, widespread inflation and monetary instability, gives us another reason for deep concern because it affects all sectors of activity in all countries, particularly the countries of the third world, which indeed are the major victims, as is indicated in the reports of all specialized agencies, particularly the World Bank, as well as IMF.

289. Indeed, the situation of the developing countries, and particularly the least developed, is extremely critical. Their current account deficits are growing because of the continuous deterioration in the terms of trade and rising interest rates, whereas increased recourse to capital markets and reserves to finance these deficits burdens their external debt further and reduces their development opportunities.

290. In the view of my delegation this crisis can be resolved only through implementation of measures on which there has been common agreement within the framework of the new international economic order.

291. We should be wrong if we did not begin to face this problem with a sense of solidarity. It would be useless for us to continue to resort to self-interested measures such as restrictive policies exemplified by increased protectionism and some essentially monetarist choices. Indeed the world economy as a whole is taking a dangerous turn, and the aftermath may be socio-political problems that may threaten the very existence of young nations.

292. Responsibility for this state of affairs rests basically with the developed countries, not all of which, apparently, are yet convinced that solution of the current economic crisis requires an increasingly global approach rather than simple domestic readjustments that in the final analysis are merely temporary palliatives. This approach deliberately disregards the true interdependence of all the actors on the world

economic stage that has so often been demonstrated by experience.

293. So far as Cameroon is concerned, as has frequently been stated by its head of State, there can be no doubt that at this time the launching of global negotiations in the framework of the United Nations is the best way to promote among States the development of just and equitable economic relations. World economic turmoil can be alleviated only within a climate of co-operation, joint effort and dialogue between States and the peoples of all nations. This means that international relations must be organized democratically and it presupposes a real desire equitably to readjust relations between industrialized and third-world countries, in the context of world-wide solidarity.

294. The United Nations was created to safeguard certain ideals and principles that would guarantee international peace and security and promote the progress and united development of Member States while respecting a code of conduct whose principles are clearly defined by the Charter. For that reason in the Charter the founding fathers of the Organization formally enjoined us to practise tolerance, to live in peace in a spirit of good-neighbourliness, to reject the use of force in the settlement of conflicts and to have recourse to international institutions to promote the economic and social progress of all peoples.

295. A single generation separates us from the solemn proclamation of that commitment. In view of some of the painful, indeed intolerable, situations we have just mentioned, we feel we have largely lost sight of that commitment, which was freely entered into. The discrepancy between the ideals of the Charter to which Member States subscribed and the actual conduct of those States is a fundamental cause of the crisis besetting the Organization, which, need it be reiterated, is no more than a mirror of our society.

296. The expansion of the United Nations with the emergence of young nations has enhanced its universalist vocation and that means that all Member States must reaffirm their loyalty to the Organization so that it can play its full role. This increased universalization, which the law of the majority has legitimized, must be the foundation of international legal order. However, in our view this development has led the great Powers to feel disappointment—so much so that the Organization is largely left to one side in the settlement of the major problems affecting the fate of all peoples. We certainly recognize the particular responsibilities of those Powers in the conduct of world affairs. But, in a world in which the progress of science and technology has accentuated the interdependence of nations, we shall continue to reiterate that no State or group of States, however powerful, can in and of itself solve mankind's problems.

297. It is therefore a matter of urgency that we return to what inspired the creation of the Organization and strongly support the wise proposal of the Secretary-General that a special series of Security Council meetings be convened at the highest level to seek ways and means to reimburse that essential organ with

the effectiveness and authority it needs to discharge the special responsibilities conferred upon it by the Charter.

298. We are gratified that the Secretary-General has unambiguously raised the question of the very usefulness of the United Nations. What is involved is whether we, the Member States, are ready to let the Organization die a death similar to that of the League of Nations or whether we are determined to revitalize it by ensuring that our conduct accords with the principles and ideals of the Charter.

299. For Cameroon, the answer is clear. As Mr. Ahmadou Ahidjo said from this same rostrum more than 10 years ago:

“The unity of man's destiny is today more concrete and more evident than ever before. For the first time in history, mankind is consciously becoming a unified whole. For the first time, man has at his disposal the means of shaping his own destiny, allaying poverty and triumphing over violence.

“Is it utopian to ask the United Nations, which, we repeat, embodies our hopes for a better world, to deploy all its resources so as to ensure that our era, which sees a universal civilization taking shape, is the beginning of a reign of genuine brotherhood in the world?”⁹

300. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call on representatives who have asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply. May I remind them that, in accordance with decision 34/401 of the General Assembly, statements in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes.

301. Mr. BENHIMA (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): In his statement at the 16th meeting the representative of Angola mentioned the matter of Western Sahara in a deliberately confused and equivocal way. His statement on that subject contained many untruths and contradictions. He said nothing on the objective facts of this matter, the development of a solution to which has unfortunately been hampered by the shameless manoeuvres of a tiny group of States whose ambitions have been disappointed.

302. My delegation is not particularly surprised by this, since the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Angola is one of the zealous artisans of the grotesque masquerade mounted in Addis Ababa last February, in defiance of the OAU Charter and decisions adopted at the OAU Assembly at Nairobi, to which his Government had, however, subscribed.

303. The representative of Angola knows full well that the show of force in Addis Ababa was vigorously denounced by the overwhelming majority of African States because it constituted a flagrant violation of legality. That show of force not only failed to achieve its authors' purpose but precipitated a serious crisis within the OAU, which threatens the very existence of that organization.

304. It is unfortunate that Angola, which in its years of struggle benefited from the support of the OAU, allowed itself to become involved in a risky venture. It must today bear its share of the responsibility for a crisis which is shaking the whole of Africa.

305. The Kingdom of Morocco, through its Minister for Foreign Affairs, has explained its position with regard to this matter and reiterated its readiness to honour its commitments within the framework of legality and in accordance with the resolution of the eighteenth ordinary session of the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government.¹⁰

306. The OAU has definitively refused to admit a so-called Sahraoui Republic, which does not meet any of the criteria that define a State. We find it difficult to see how the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Angola can invite Morocco to open negotiations with a State which exists only in his dreams.

307. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia): With an eminent son of Africa such as you, Sir, the representative of the Upper Volta, in the Chair of the Assembly at this time, and in the presence of so many of my African brothers as well as other diplomats from all over the world, in whose sense of history I have full confidence, I need not attempt to refute Foreign Minister Jama Barre's version of Ethiopian history. The Foreign Minister of Somalia had the privilege of reading history at the University of Bologna. What he dished out to the Assembly was not history but a *minestrone bolognese*—a miserable soup concocted in Mogadishu.

308. Successive régimes in Somalia have displayed a facile agility in the pursuit of their policy of territorial aggrandizement and expansion at the expense of their neighbours. In the past they presented a territorial claim and they have tried endlessly to make that claim good by force of arms when they thought they could get their way. At other times they have innocently pleaded for the application of the principle of self-determination for parts of sovereign States.

309. Today the Foreign Minister of Somalia has reverted to the second option. After the debacle of Somalia's aggression of 1977, which ended in a humiliating defeat, we can understand that this was his only choice.

310. But let me inform him here and now that the lofty principle of self-determination has never been evoked for the purpose of dismembering a sovereign country to suit Somalia's ambitions. Nor is an oppressive régime that has allowed parts of its territory to become imperialist bases best suited to plead the right to self-determination for free peoples elsewhere.

311. The Foreign Minister of Somalia should understand once and for all that Ethiopia is resolved to preserve its historic unity, and that Somalia would be best advised to respect the cardinal principles and the basic documents of the United Nations—which, in fact, created Somalia as an independent country in 1960—as well as basic decisions on African boundaries.

312. What the Foreign Minister of Somalia just told the Assembly amounts to the following: reduced to its bare essentials, the statement represents an all-out effort to distract attention from the realities of the condition in which Somalia finds itself today. No amount of falsification and misrepresentation can conceal the popular uprising which has defeated and defied all organized attempts at crushing it. The fact

of the situation is that today a civil war is raging in Somalia.

313. My delegation therefore categorically rejects the mendacious accusations which the authorities in Mogadishu have invented in order to make Ethiopia a convenient scapegoat for their domestic problems. Indeed, this futile propaganda campaign, which is based on a massive falsification and misinterpretation of facts, is, to say the least, a grotesque lie concocted by a régime whose capacity for mischief, deceit, double-talk and blackmail is a matter of record.

314. The constructive policy of Ethiopia, the policy of co-operation and good-neighbourliness which Ethiopia pursues, Ethiopia's commitment to respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all its neighbours, including Somalia, are also a matter of record.

315. Even in 1978, when Ethiopia was a victim of Somalia's unprovoked aggression, its defence forces did not cross the border in hot pursuit of the invaders; although it had every legitimate right to do so in self-defence.

316. As far as Ethiopia is concerned, the conflict within Somalia is entirely its domestic affair. In point of fact, when Somalia's head of State declared a state of emergency in October 1980, he said: "When I consider the robbery, theft, favouritism, tribalism, misappropriation of funds and blackmailing, when I take into account all the talk and rumours being circulated among the Somali people, the squandering of the national wealth, corruption, lies, tribalism, and other evils, I declare a state of emergency". That was the President of Somalia speaking.

317. It is that confession by its President which the Foreign Minister of Somalia tried to question in his statement this afternoon. But that statement was also confirmed in a recent article in *The New York Times*, and *The New York Times* is not known for its unfriendly attitude towards Somalia. The article read:

"Corruption has become a way of life in Somalia. Nepotism and tribalism have reached enormous dimensions. Almost all key positions are held by the President's clan and his in-laws. More than 60 per cent of the officers are clan members. Even more alarming is the imprisonment of thousands of professionals. Late last year, 30 young professionals were rounded up and imprisoned for 'subversion'. Their only crime was that they cleaned up long-forgotten filthy hospitals and schools on their own. These professionals are now being held incommunicado and tortured."

318. Ethiopia cannot conceivably be blamed for all this. Nor can Ethiopia be held responsible for the upheavals and spontaneous uprisings and mass demonstrations by Somali nationals against the régime in Somalia—or, for that matter, those in many other parts of the world.

319. We cannot be accused of committing aggression against a neighbouring people for which we only wish freedom, justice, peace and prosperity.

320. The Minister should, therefore, concern himself with these problems, and address himself to the parties directly involved. Those struggling against

the régime in Mogadishu have gone on record and claimed full responsibility for opposing what they call "the most tyrannical, corrupt and despotic clan-based oligarchy which Somalia has witnessed in its long history, a Government of 78 relatives, brothers, cousins, nephews and in-laws, where 98 per cent of important jobs are occupied by the Merehan clan, comprising less than 2 per cent of the population of Somalia, and a régime where membership in the clan through marriage or other links is the only qualification for high office". More to the point, the *Guardian* of 15 July 1982 has recorded that the Somali National Movement and the Somali Salvation Democratic Front "have been strengthened... by defections from the Somali army—defections that have included many experienced high-ranking military officers with an excellent knowledge of the terrain and the strength and disposition of the troops that remain loyal to Mr. Barre". In this connection, the Somali head of State personally informed the press on 16 July 1982 that "Laws must be applied on the basis of justice, and the criminals punished in accordance with due process of the law".

321. Those are the facts of the situation. That remark of the President is, in itself, an acknowledgement of the internal nature of the conflict. The people whom the Somali head of State referred to as "criminals" are the Merehan, the Mejerlein, the Issaq, the Gedebursie, and other oppressed nationalities of Somalia, who have taken up arms to liberate themselves from the tyranny, humiliation and exploitation of a clan-based oligarchy that consistently invents external threats to get military hardware and financial aid to keep itself in power.

322. We have also seen that the Mogadishu régime is not alone in this scheme of fabrication. As the principal patron has used the pretext of a phantom aggression for speeding up the delivery of military hardware, other client States have joined in the chorus of Somalia's flimsy allegations against my country.

323. In their statements in the general debate, the representatives of Kuwait, Jordan and other Arab countries chose to refer to an issue which falls exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of Ethiopia. Inasmuch as Ethiopia does not interfere in the internal affairs of other States, we would have thought that they would also refrain from meddling in our internal affairs—

324. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I would draw the attention of the representative of Ethiopia to the fact that he has now spoken longer than the 10 minutes allowed for statements in exercise of the right of reply. I again call upon him, but would ask him to be very brief.

325. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia): I shall be very brief, Mr. President.

326. Considering that all those States have not even managed to put their own respective houses in order and are pathetically ignorant of elementary facts, theirs cannot, of course, be a genuine concern for the peoples of the Horn of Africa. If any proof is needed in this regard their disgraceful oscillation bordering on acquiescence in the genocidal massacre of their Arab brethren—the Palestinian people—is writ large on the wall for the whole world to see and reflect on.

327. This misplaced and transparent "concern" can only be ascribed to their strategic, if elusive, goal of destabilizing revolutionary Governments of the area. In this context, it is interesting to note that all three countries are governed by tyrannical régimes, which have very little love for revolutionary developments anywhere in the world—and especially in the region that is close to them.

328. Mr. ADAN (Somalia): The representative of Ethiopia, speaking in a state of rage, made disparaging remarks about my Minister and his University. I wonder if he has been to any university at all himself. He also chose to attack my Government in a statement which clearly was not a reply to the remarks made earlier by my Minister, but which was obviously prepared in detail over some time. It could not be regarded as a statement in exercise of the right of reply. But the representative of the régime of red terror, of the empire State of Ethiopia, cannot, in fairness, accuse my Government of the deeds which he has enumerated here. We shall have occasion to reply to his allegations in detail in due course.

329. The point is that Ethiopia has attacked my Government and has invaded the territory of the Somali Democratic Republic. That is known to the entire international community. My Minister mentioned earlier that the 69th Inter-Parliamentary Conference—which is very widely represented throughout the world—meeting in Rome recently, strongly condemned Ethiopia for its invasion of Somalia, and called for the withdrawal of all foreign forces immediately and unconditionally from my country.

330. That is the point to which the representative of Ethiopia should address himself. He should not try to hide the invasion of my country by levelling accusations against it and digressing from the subject. My Minister mentioned that heavily armed Ethiopian infantry brigades, supported by foreign forces, have crossed the *de facto* border, at one point as deep as 32 kilometres—and they are still there—in an effort to cut the important arterial road which links the southern and northern parts of the Somali Democratic Republic and thereby disrupt a major lifeline of our country. He also stated that the recorded statements of deserters and prisoners, along with captured documents in Russian and Amharic, substantiate beyond any shadow of doubt that it is the Ethiopian army which has mounted large-scale aggression against my country. The use of T-55 tanks, MIG-23s, armoured personnel carriers and heavy artillery—much of all this new and complete with Soviet operation manuals of 1981, or even 1982, and bearing Ethiopian military insignia—is indisputable evidence of Ethiopia's direct responsibility for the invasion.

331. That is what Ethiopia, whose representative now claims that his Government is respecting the territorial integrity of other countries, has done to my country.

332. The Twelfth Arab Summit Conference in Fez only a month ago also condemned Ethiopia and called on it to withdraw its forces from Somali territory.

333. This is the point to which the Assembly should address itself: Ethiopia has violated international peace and security, and no amount of shouting and

accusing Somalia of terrible things can alter that fact. The fact remains that Ethiopian forces are now on the territory of Somalia. They have captured the town of Galdogob and the village of Blamballe and they remain there. We are quite willing to show this to anybody who wishes to go there and verify the facts for himself. This is the fact to which the representative of Ethiopia should address himself to.

334. Ethiopia is an aggressor and it should be told so by the Assembly.

335. The Ethiopian representative had prepared a detailed statement. Clearly he was not replying to the statement of my Minister but had come here with a statement, and I reserve the right to reply to that statement in due course.

336. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I again call upon the representative of Ethiopia, and I remind him that he has only five minutes to make his second statement in exercise of the right of reply.

337. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia): By trying to respond to three countries that had attacked my country in the Assembly I was hoping to save the Assembly's time.

338. With reference to the outrageous remarks just made by the representative of Somalia, I would say the following.

339. It is cynical of the Mogadishu régime to have the audacity to accuse Ethiopia of committing aggression against Somalia. My delegation once again rejects that unfounded allegation. An unscrupulous régime which has no respect for any of the norms of international conduct governing inter-State relations has no right whatsoever to lecture others on the virtues of sovereignty, peace and international security.

340. The allegations of a notorious régime which only four years ago deployed 23,000 regular troops, 15,500 militia, 250 tanks, 70 combat aircraft and 300 armoured personnel carriers to commit an unprovoked aggression against Ethiopia, while maintaining the ridiculous fiction of non-involvement, cannot be taken seriously. It is surely having another of its habitual lapses.

341. I repeat: Ethiopia has mobilized no army, dispatched no troops, invaded no country and occupied no territory.

342. The truth of the matter is that the people of Somalia as a whole are battling against the corrupt and bankrupt régime of President Siad Barre. After having pitted region against region, clan against clan, tribe against tribe, the régime has clearly lost the confidence of its people. Having pursued a callous policy of a series of adventurous wars against neighbouring countries for the advancement of a grand illusion of territorial expansion, the régime is today the object of popular wrath.

343. Somalia is in total turmoil: the economy mismanaged, the administration in disarray, the army in mutiny, with desperate and widespread defection and confusion.

344. The state of affairs in Somalia is unmistakably one of civil war, wherein the long-tormented people

of that country seem to have resolutely risen in armed rebellion against injustice, mismanagement and a senseless policy of aggression against neighbouring countries and peoples.

345. Those are the realities in Somalia, over which Ethiopia has no control and which the representative of Somalia is at pains to conceal.

346. Mr. ADAN (Somalia): It is very clear that the representative of Ethiopia has again read from a well-prepared statement which was meant for this meeting and that his intervention is not really in exercise of his right of reply. I shall not reply to his statement at this point. I have said that I shall have the opportunity in due course to take it up and reply to it point by point.

347. I can only say that the representative of the empire State of Ethiopia, a régime which killed the venerated Emperor Haile Selassie and three ex-Presidents of Ethiopia and which massacred hundreds of thousands of people in its campaign of red terror—which is its own term—cannot mislead the Assembly.

348. There is not a shadow of doubt that Ethiopia has committed aggression against Somalia, which is continuing to this day. It is occupying some of the villages and towns of Somalia and that fact is there for the whole of the international community to see.

349. I said a little while ago that Somalia was prepared to allow anybody or any organization which wanted to verify this fact to inspect the situation on the ground. There is no point in denying these things here in the Assembly. Let us send a committee to see what is happening there. The Ethiopian representative cannot insult the intelligence of the international community. As I have already said, the Inter-Parliamentary Union, which is widely representative of the whole international community, has categorically condemned Ethiopia's aggression, as has the Arab League. Those are the facts.

The meeting rose at 7.15 p.m.

NOTES

¹ Panama Canal Treaty and Treaty concerning the Permanent Neutrality and Operation of the Panama Canal, signed in Washington on 7 September 1977. See *Panama Canal Treaties: Message from the President of the United States* (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977), pp. 3-38.

² United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 21, No. 324.

³ See A/10044.

⁴ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, No. 9068.

⁵ Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa. See A/S-11/14, annex I.

⁶ *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. XVII, document A/CONF.62/122.

⁷ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 45 and corrigendum*, para. 33.

⁸ See A/35/360 and Corr.1-3, annex.

⁹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1780th meeting, paras. 31 and 32.

¹⁰ See A/36/534, annex II.