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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (concluded)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): This afternoon the General Assembly will hear a statement by Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, Prime Minister of Mauritius. On behalf of the General Assembly, it gives me great pleasure to welcome him to the United Nations and to invite him to address the Assembly.

2. Sir SEEWOSAGUR RAMGOOLAM (Mauritius): May I first offer my sincere congratulations to you, Sir, on the assumption of the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. Your long experience in diplomacy and government makes you eminently suited to occupy this high office. Your election as President, when considered with the fact that the Republic of Iraq currently holds the chairmanship of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and will be the next chairman of the non-aligned movement, inspires confidence because of your understanding of the problems of the Middle East which will no doubt provide valuable guidance to the deliberations of the Assembly. The delegation of Mauritius assures you of its co-operation in the discharge of your onerous responsibilities.

3. I should also like your predecessor, Mr. von Wechmar, to know how much we appreciated his valuable contribution to the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly and the recently concluded eighth emergency special session on Namibia.

4. May I also express our esteem for the Secretary-General for his dedication and devotion to the work of the United Nations and his untiring and constant efforts to uphold the principles enshrined in its Charter.

5. On behalf of the Government and the people of Mauritius, I have great pleasure in welcoming the admission of Vanuatu and Belize to the great family of the United Nations.

6. We consider that Namibia should obtain its independence and that the world community should press for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). In this connection, we welcome the move of the United States to break the stalemate and bring about the reactivation of the contact group of five Western States, with the help of the Secretary-General. It is only the combined support of all the good will existing in the world that will bring about the solution of the question of Namibia.

7. We come from a multiracial country where people, irrespective of their religion, race, colour or sex, enjoy full freedom of conscience and equal rights, and it is only natural that we view with great concern the gross abuses of human rights in the world. South Africa should realize that any doctrine of superiority based on racial discrimination is scientifically false, morally condemnable, socially unjust and dangerous; there is no justification at all for racial discrimination.

8. My country welcomes the solemn commitment made at the last session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity by His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco to accept the organization of a referendum in the Territory of Western Sahara. We request the United Nations to provide the necessary facilities and help in ensuring peace and security during the organization and conduct of the referendum, so that the will of the people may be freely expressed, without threat or intimidation.

9. My delegation considers the realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people as indispensable for the solution of the Palestinian problem. We are glad that on the interminable question of the Middle East we note a constructive swing of the pendulum towards recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as a symbol of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and independence.

10. We reject the enactment by Israel which proclaims Jerusalem its capital as a violation of international law and consider such activities on the part of Israel as serious impediments in the peace process. We urge Israel to comply with Security Council resolution 465 (1980) and all resolutions relevant to the restoration of the historic character of the Holy City of Jerusalem.

11. Mauritius is particularly concerned with events in Africa, South-East Asia, the Middle East and Latin America and appeals to all countries directly involved to accept the good offices of the United Nations and other regional groups to negotiate with a view to finding an acceptable solution to the problems which are inflicting untold miseries upon the inhabitants of those countries.

12. We must admit that the present session is meeting at a time characterized by serious threats to détente and the beginning of yet another unbridled arms race. All the Member States seem to agree on the need for nuclear disarmament, limitation of strategic arms and establishment of nuclear-free and demilitarized zones, but, unfortunately, what is actually happening is that the world is spending \$500 billion yearly on armaments alone while 500 million people throughout the world are today starving because one tenth of that sum is not available. My delegation hopes that the major Powers will contribute significantly to making the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, scheduled for 1982, a success.

13. Ten years ago the General Assembly adopted a resolution to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace [resolution 2832 (XXVII)], but events in the region have converted the Ocean into a zone of fear and tensions. However, had it not been for the significant role of the United States in the Indian Ocean, social, economic and political stability would have been considerably affected in the countries bordering the Indian Ocean.

14. While political tensions and wars are endemic, economic crisis has today become pandemic. The main problems of the world today are mass unemployment, inflation and balance of payments deficits, which constitute a direct threat to social democracy in the third world. Such a situation is indicative of the insufficiency of the present world economic order. Almost all of the speakers who have preceded me are unanimous on this unfortunate state of affairs. If we do not act now I am afraid that a still larger number of developing countries will be pushed to the verge of economic and financial collapse. If the present slow-moving negotiations for the establishment of a new international economic order are not revamped and backed by the necessary political will, the world will witness unprecedented confrontations between the rich developed countries and the poor developing countries. Such a confrontation will be in the final instance detrimental to the whole of humanity.

15. In this context we thought that the Brandt Commission would have come to the help of the world. We welcome the forthcoming meeting of the North-South dialogue which is due to be held at Cancún. My Government is hopeful that some kind of Marshall Plan will evolve from this meeting which will contribute to helping the third world countries overcome their economic ills. We deeply appreciate the positive conclusions reached at the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries held recently in Paris.

16. In the face of mounting debts, high costs of borrowing and decreasing foreign aid, the more fortunate developed countries should search for more automatic ways of transferring and redistributing wealth from the rich north to the poor south. The opportunity, my Government feels, is produced by the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. The sea-bed, with its estimated \$24 trillion worth of nodules and other sources of wealth now lying in international waters, belongs to nobody, so perhaps to everybody. These immense resources are the common heritage of mankind, and they should be mined in accordance with international agreement and control. This

offers a chance to the nations which have already developed the necessary technologies for sea-bed mining to distribute the unexpected windfall of the ocean's wealth for the common good of mankind. Perhaps this is a unique opportunity dramatically and painlessly to narrow the hitherto growing gap between the rich and poor. My delegation therefore welcomes the proposed International Sea-Bed Authority with powers to exploit the mineral resources of the sea-bed and to distribute them under a well-defined international convention.

17. I wish to conclude on a human plane. Mauritius has a special interest in the plight of the disabled in our country and the disabled everywhere. No issue is more revealing of the humanism that has always been the hallmark of the United Nations. Much progress has been made with the proclamation of the year 1981 as the International Year of Disabled Persons, to the extent that the General Assembly decided [resolution 35/133] that the item should be considered in plenary meeting. The Advisory Committee for the International Year of Disabled Persons has examined the possibilities of continuing the activities of the International Institute for Rehabilitation of Disabled Persons in Developing Countries on the basis of the results achieved in 1981 [see A/36/471/Add.1, sect. III]. We hope that this further step of progress will be authorized.

18. Finally, I reiterate my faith in and dedication to the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

19. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of the General Assembly I wish to thank Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, Prime Minister of Mauritius, for the important statement he has just made.

20. Mr. OULD MINNIH (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): Sir, on behalf of the delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, it is my great pleasure to express to you our warmest congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. Beyond a shadow of a doubt, your election proves that you are a diplomat of great moral and intellectual qualities, one who has dedicated himself as the representative of his country and as an international civil servant to the ideals of the United Nations. It is also a tribute to our Arab nation for its irreplaceable contribution to the elaboration of the fundamental principles of justice and equality which govern mankind and for the role it played in the forefront of the struggle of peoples for their political independence and the role it will play in the struggle for their future economic independence.

21. I should also like to express to your predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar, our appreciation for the way in which he conducted the proceedings of the thirty-fifth session. We were very much impressed with the vision and moral integrity of this great diplomat who became a president representing all the currents that disturb the world.

22. Finally, I should like to thank the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts in difficult circumstances in the service of the Organization. We should like to express our great appreciation to him.

*Mr. Martynenko (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

23. Our delegation would like to join with all others in welcoming the new States of Vanuatu and Belize to the United Nations. Our country hopes that other countries which have been deprived of their sacred right to national sovereignty will soon be liberated, thereby bringing the Organization closer to its goal of universality and ensuring the full implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

24. We should have liked today to display optimism. We should in particular have liked to speak of spectacular progress or even of a few timid, tentative steps by the international community towards the strengthening of international security, the liberation of peoples and the start of a new, more just international economic order. Unfortunately, the net results since the thirty-fifth session have been disappointing. Indeed, we must note—with some bitterness—that there has definitely been retrogression in those areas, which are so vital for the future of mankind.

25. Today the general picture of international relations is very gloomy: there is violence and aggression in Africa, in the Middle East and in South-East Asia; negotiations on the law of the sea have been blocked in their final stage; and there are indications of failure in the global negotiations. The most typical example of this general deterioration in the international situation is to be found in economic relations. There the difficulties which the economies of the developed countries have had to grapple with for a number of years now have considerably increased the growth problems of the developing countries, thereby accentuating the world economic crisis, which was already very serious.

26. An even more disturbing phenomenon is that for the first year of the Third United Nations Development Decade, it is estimated that the growth in per capita income will be less than one third of the international community's goal.

27. If that situation weighs particularly heavily on the economies of the developing countries, it is simply disastrous for the poorest of those countries. Inflation, which strikes at the world economy as a whole, has made a negative contribution to this phenomenon and the consequences for the poorest countries have therefore been more severe. The decline in trade among the developed, market-economy countries has had harmful and immediate repercussions on the developing countries. Official United Nations statistics leave no room for doubt on that score.

28. One can easily imagine the consequences of this situation for the balance of payments of a large number of developing countries and for their ability to service their accumulated debts. Furthermore, the protectionist trends which have emerged over the past few years have accelerated to a degree without precedent in the history of North-South relations. If these trends are not reversed, it is to be feared that most of the developing countries not only will not achieve the objectives of the International Development Strategy but will be confronted by even more serious economic and social problems.

29. As a country that is both Sahelian and Saharan, essentially involved in agricultural and pastoral activities, from which 80 per cent of its population derive their living, my country pays special attention to developments in

agriculture, an essential part of the world economy. We therefore follow the work of various United Nations bodies dealing with matters in that field and take part in it on the occasion arises.

30. In an increasingly unfavourable international environment, we shall, no matter what, continue our efforts to establish a policy of self-sufficiency in agriculture by encouraging our people to produce more and by introducing procedures that can limit agricultural losses and modernize our means of production. Thus, over the past few months, missions made up of officials at the highest level have undertaken a campaign to increase the awareness of the need to increase agricultural production, in particular that of foodstuffs. The favourable reaction of the people augurs well for the results of that campaign, but the needs are still great, and the financial and technical means to satisfy them are practically non-existent.

31. We do not underestimate the importance or volume of the international assistance that has been given to us so far, and I wish to thank all those who at one time or another have helped us. But as FAO has stated—and I wish to thank its officials for their invaluable assistance—the food situation in the 26 African countries covered by the Global Information and Early Warning System for Food and Agriculture remains disturbing. The situation is particularly difficult in the Sahelian countries, where the after-effects of drought continue to mortgage heavily the economic and social future of the area.

32. The question of assistance to meet particular circumstances is still relegated to the background in favour of aid in the area of structural changes that must be made in the economies of those countries. The building of roads, ports and warehouses, the training of technicians and so forth are areas in which the needs are becoming particularly acute.

33. The current Chairman of the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel (CILSS), General Moussa Traoré, President of the sister Republic of Mali, eloquently analysed before the Assembly on 2 October [23rd meeting] the development problems of the countries of CILSS. We completely subscribe to that analysis. As an example of regional co-operation and a sincere expression of the will for the economic integration of the countries concerned, CILSS must continue to enjoy the international community's financial and technical support.

34. In this connection, a special debt of gratitude is owed to the Secretary-General and to the administration of UNDP, which is in charge of the United Nations Sudano-Sahelian Office. We welcome the relations we have had with that body, which we hope will be further strengthened as the years go by.

35. Furthermore, my country, whose delegation had the honour of introducing the draft resolution concerning the observance of World Food Day at the Assembly's thirty-fifth session,<sup>2</sup> welcomes the fact that the General Assembly will be devoting a special meeting to that subject this year. We trust that this event will lead to a greater awareness of the threats of hunger, undernourishment and malnutrition throughout the world.

36. In the area of industrialization, another driving force for economic growth, the performances of the developing countries do not encourage optimism. The Lima Plan of Action on Industrial Development and Co-operation,<sup>3</sup> modest as it is, seems unlikely to be attained. However, we hope that UNIDO, once it has become a specialized agency, will be able to make a greater contribution to the efforts of the developing countries in this area.

37. The energy problem has become even more acute since the crisis of 1973-1974. The threat of a general conflict looming over the international community has finally convinced it that any just and lasting solution must be accepted by all States, whether they are producers or consumers of energy.

38. The United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, held at Nairobi, has crystallized this approach by adopting the Nairobi Programme of Action.<sup>4</sup> Despite the momentum given to the action of the international community in its effort to work out a global solution to the energy problem, we regret that that meeting did not reach agreement on such fundamental points as the institutional machinery and the appropriate measures to ensure the additional transfer of the financial resources needed for full implementation of the Programme of Action.

39. Another conference, the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, was just held in Paris. Mauritania, with a full understanding of the difficulties being encountered by those countries—although not officially grouped with them—played an active part in the work of that Conference. In this connection, we welcome in particular the fact that the level of representation was high enough to make it possible for specific commitments to be entered into and action-oriented decisions to be adopted. We are confident that the representatives that attended the conference will, individually, see to it that the measures decided on are implemented, both those having to do with international support and those related to implementation, follow-up action and supervision.

40. As I have already stated, according to the criteria applied by the United Nations—which should, incidentally, be reviewed in the light of the increasingly difficult economic situation of many countries, my own included—Mauritania is not among the 31 least developed countries. Nevertheless, we continue to be faced with the same problems as those countries.

41. In spite of General Assembly resolution 3054 (XXVIII) associating the countries of the Sahelian region with the least developed countries because of the drought with which they were stricken, we believe that nothing contained in the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries adopted by the Paris Conference<sup>5</sup> should be interpreted as signifying that the assistance to be given to the 31 countries identified by the United Nations should be at the expense of other recipient countries.

42. This is an appropriate opportunity to congratulate the French Government for the praiseworthy intentions it voiced at that Conference. Such intentions reflect France's new and welcome general arrangements in approaching

the complex political and economic problems facing the Third World:

43. On the other hand, we wonder whether the Lagos Plan of Action,<sup>6</sup> which is a veritable manual for development for the African continent in the coming decade, can be implemented according to the proposed timetable, or whether it will remain merely an expression of pious hopes.

44. We must also wonder whether the Caracas Programme of Action [see A/36/339], the first specific attempt to institutionalize a true South-South co-operation, will be provided with the means necessary for its implementation.

45. Here again, everything will depend upon the political will of States. The launching of global negotiations and the conclusion of an agreement on the law of the sea have clearly shown that that cannot always be counted on. After a year of continuous efforts under the excellent guidance of the previous President, it has not been possible to reach a consensus on ways of launching such global negotiations.

46. A year ago, from this rostrum, we made an urgent appeal to certain countries—who have since then, admittedly, adopted a much more flexible position—to join in the international consensus in a spirit of solidarity, though with due regard to their own interests.

47. Now we are looking to Cancún, where in a few days a number of leaders from both developed and developing countries will meet. This is the last chance for the developed countries to regain the trust of the third world, and that meeting should open the way for solid and detailed negotiations within the framework of the United Nations.

48. With regard to negotiations on the law of the sea, we hope that the result of the great efforts made in that area over the past ten years will make it possible to demonstrate the good will of the technologically advanced countries. It is above all to be hoped that the fundamental elements of the draft convention will not be brought into question and that it can be signed next year as planned.

49. The frustrations of most of the nations of the third world over the outcome of various negotiations and the implementation of programmes designed to lead to more equitable world economic relations are clearly reflected in the political area. Here again, our community of nations is far from having fulfilled the promise contained in the Charter to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war".

50. In the Middle East, the Camp David accords have been seen in their true light. More than ever, they appear to be a way of strengthening the Zionist entity in its refusal to recognize the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine or to liberate the other occupied Arab territories.

51. There have been no positive developments with regard to the question of Palestine. What is worse, certain

negative developments have occurred because of Israel's increasingly warlike attitude, one that has dangerously and superfluously complicated an already highly explosive situation.

52. The Israeli acts of aggression—the Assembly is aware of them—have indeed increased against fraternal Lebanon and have extended to populated areas through reckless campaigns of collective reprisals that remind us unmistakably of the Nazi atrocities against the Warsaw ghetto and in other European cities during the Second World War.

53. In this connection, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania reaffirms its solidarity and sympathy with the fraternal people of Lebanon. We also reaffirm our country's attachment to the unity of the Lebanese people, the integrity of their national territory and their aspirations within the framework of the national objectives shared by the entire Arab nation.

54. In the same theatre of operations and with unparalleled arrogance, the Zionist entity, assuming its self-appointed role of policeman of the area, has begun a campaign of intimidation and preparations for aggression against Syria, threatening the world with a new and serious Israeli-Arab armed conflict.

55. However, beyond Palestine and its immediate neighbours, Israel has arrogantly and cynically bombed the atomic reactors at Tamuz, near Baghdad, which were for scientific purposes. We take this opportunity to express our indignant condemnation of that infamous act, the purpose of which has not escaped the attention of our community of nations. It was Israel's intention to hold back all scientific progress among the Arab peoples in a vain attempt to perpetuate its supremacy. We must emphasize that this action was taken in defiance of the rules laid down by IAEA for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy under international control.

56. Obviously, neither muscle-flexing nor racist aggression against the Arab history of Palestine and the aspirations of its people, much less furious attacks on the technological future of the Arab people, will move us forward towards peace. On the contrary, we believe, along with the majority of Member States, that Israel must respect the universal consensus recognizing the inalienable and imprescriptible rights of the Palestinian people and calling for the return of the other occupied Arab territories and an end to State terrorism if it really wants to create a climate conducive to détente, then to a genuine, just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East. We reiterate our position on this subject.

57. First, we call for Israel's total and unconditional withdrawal from all territories occupied as a result of the June 1967 aggression, particularly the Holy City of Al Quds.

58. Secondly, the international community must compel the usurper fully to restore to the Palestinian Arab people its inalienable rights, including its imprescriptible right to create its own independent State in the land of its ancestors.

59. Thirdly, there is an overriding obligation fully and completely to bring the P.L.O. sole representative of the Palestinian Arab people, into any genuine settlement. Here we reaffirm our opposition to all partial settlements, especially the Camp David agreements.

60. Fourthly, my country considers null and void all attempts by the occupying Power to modify the demographic composition, the environment and the Arab, Moslem and Christian nature of Palestinian lands and other occupied territories by the creation of settlements, the digging of a canal from the Dead Sea, or by other means.

61. Fifthly, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania vigorously condemns the excavations undertaken by the Zionist authorities in Al Quds. To our mind, this act of sacrilege is a provocation of the Islamic community in a place which is holy and dear to all revealed religions.

62. Having reaffirmed our position, we take this opportunity to salute the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and its chairman, our brother, Mr. Sarré, for their tireless efforts to bring about the triumph of the just cause of the Palestinians and of genuine peace in the Middle East.

63. Still on the subject of the Middle East, my delegation cannot but express its concern over the strategic alliance signed between the United States of America and Israel during Begin's last visit to Washington. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania sincerely hopes that the United States, which in spite of everything must remain a friend of the Arab world, will not take this stance, which has unpredictable consequences and which is in any event not in keeping with the many interests of a great nation which takes on world-wide responsibilities.

64. In another brother country, Namibia, a process similar to that which the peoples of the Arab East feel in body and soul is going on with the same arrogance and the same scorn for repeated United Nations resolutions.

65. The minority racist Government of South Africa, arrogating to itself a mandate that was revoked 15 years ago by the Organization, is perpetuating its political domination of Namibia, a country whose natural resources it abusively exploits, and is preparing to dismember it by inciting antagonism among its inhabitants.

66. We remind the Assembly of Africa's patience and the sense of responsibility and wisdom of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], to which South Africa replies with diversionary and other delaying tactics. My delegation will limit itself today to recalling its position on this subject, a position which is that of the whole of Africa, an Africa determined to ensure the final and unconditional liberation of Namibia.

67. First, we reaffirm the attachment of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania to Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We consider that it is the sole minimum basis for the success of a peaceful settlement process for the crisis. Along with united Africa, we accept no attempt to modify that resolution and no manoeuvre aimed at delaying its implementation. We reject in particular the specious argu-

ment for prolonging the Calvary of the majority of the Namibian people on the pretext of preserving the interests of the European minority.

68. While we have respect and consideration for all the inhabitants of Namibia, we believe that the best guarantee is the rapid implementation of the plan which has been proposed. We appeal again to the five Western countries of the contact group to join with us in bringing about the triumph of a just solution which would preserve calm relations between the communities and the ties of friendship that exist between the West and the whole of our continent.

69. This is the time for our delegation to congratulate the front-line States of Africa for their sense of solidarity among the peoples of our continent. We also salute the United Nations Council for Namibia and its president for helping to make clear the anarchistic situation in that country. Finally, we salute SWAPO and the Namibian people. SWAPO has unceasingly stood in the vanguard of that people's struggle and has been identified closely both with its suffering and with its great victories.

70. Just as in Palestine, where the occupation of the whole territory of the Mandate no longer satisfied Zionism in its warlike adventures, *apartheid* is expanding the field of its activities, which jeopardize the peace and security of the world. In the past Mozambique has been the favourite target of its criminal invasions, and it no doubt will continue to be so in the future. Today Angola is subjected to a series of violations of its sovereignty, with expeditions whose true aim is the destabilization of the country and the isolation of the Namibian people; these will no doubt continue in the future. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania reiterates its full and unswerving support for Angola.

71. But the minority racist régime of South Africa does not stop there in its general work of hatred and discrimination. Israel may have imposed a foreign exile on the Palestinians, but Pretoria is skilfully ensuring the internal exile of the indigenous peoples of South Africa. The iniquitous laws against blacks and other minorities are endless; racist violence and terrorism by the authorities has become part of the everyday lives of the peoples of South Africa, but racist violence and harassment are ever more frequently encountering, this year in particular, the organized opposition of South African patriots under the leadership of the African National Congress. We renew our expressions of fraternal solidarity with the peoples of South Africa and their vanguard.

72. Palestine and southern Africa have the unfortunate privilege of having been the battlefields of long and hard struggles by peoples against racist colonial settlers, but in many other regions of the world other men are suffering and dying.

73. The war between two brother countries, Iraq and Iran, has been going on for more than a year and continues, unfortunately, with its attendant woes. This cruel conflict goes on in spite of the long fraternal coexistence of two peoples which are united by so many bonds of history and religion. We once again urge our Iraqi and Iranian brethren to end their ruinous, deadly confrontation and to reach a just, peaceful and final solution to their territorial dispute. We call on them in particular to re-

spond more responsibly and with greater good will to the untiring efforts and good offices of both the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the non-aligned countries. In this connection we note Iraq's stated willingness to co-operate with these good offices.

74. The unjustified bombing of Kuwaiti economic installations, a consequence of the deplorable conflict in the Gulf region, is, to our mind, inadmissible. That extension of the hostilities to a third country, if it were to be repeated, could cause a serious deterioration in the relations among the countries of the region.

75. The fraternal people of Afghanistan are subjected to pointless trials which have gone on far too long. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania, without interfering in the internal affairs of the sister Afghan nation, which is bound to us by civilization and faith, believes that it is for that people alone to settle its national disputes, showing respect for its historic traditions, and without outside interference.

76. With respect to Kampuchea, our country has always adopted an unequivocal attitude on the situation that was created in that country in 1979. In particular, at the International Conference on Kampuchea last July we appealed to socialist Viet Nam, which so admirably symbolizes so many of our ideals and whose contribution to the liberation of peoples has been invaluable. We requested it to respond to the profound wishes of the peoples of Indo-China and of the world and to co-operate in the search for a negotiated political settlement of the crisis. We welcome the increased harmonization of the patriotic forces of Kampuchea and reaffirm our support for General Assembly resolutions 34/22 and 35/6.

77. As in the case of Afghanistan, our delegation firmly believes that the essential condition for the restoration of national sovereignty and the maintenance of the integrity and freedom of expression of the Khmer people is that there be no foreign intervention.

78. Generally speaking, and as we stated in the general debate at the thirty-fifth session of the Assembly [33rd meeting], we strongly condemn the right assumed by some States, large and small, to change by force the political system of any country they may unilaterally consider to be hostile.

79. In Western Sahara, the fratricidal war between the POLISARIO Front and Morocco has now entered, at the diplomatic level, a settlement process led by the Organization of African Unity (OAU). The settlement plan which the Implementation Committee outlined in broad terms at its recent meeting at Nairobi has the advantage of setting out the practical modalities for a referendum through which the Sahraoui people would determine its future, in accordance with the repeated resolutions of the United Nations and the OAU.

80. We hope that that referendum will take place smoothly, under international control and as soon as possible, so as to put an end to the many sacrifices of our Sahraoui and Moroccan brothers. We especially hope that both parties to the conflict, Morocco and the POLISARIO Front, can maintain contact so as to bring about a speedy cease-fire which is necessary for the restoration of mutual confidence.

81. We call on the United Nations to encourage the initiative by Africa and its Implementation Committee which, in our opinion, will speedily accomplish its difficult task and show firmness in ensuring that the consultation takes place in the best conditions of equity that will ensure the free expression of the will of the Saharoui people without military or administrative pressure from any quarter.

82. In particular, we appeal to the United Nations to put its experience and its human and material means at the disposal of the OAU in the preparation, organization and supervision of the referendum.

83. Our country is now definitely out of the conflict and is willing to co-operate fully with the Implementation Committee to bring about a just solution of the problem of Western Sahara and a return of the Arab Maghreb to fruitful co-operation and peaceful and brotherly coexistence among its peoples.

84. Alongside those conflicts which are certainly devastating but localized, we see at the international level an arms race which threatens all continents and all peoples. The conventional and nuclear arms race consumes incalculable sums which could be used to bring relief to millions of human beings whose means of existence are below the minimum acceptable level.

85. At the special session next spring our delegation will deal in detail with that important and delicate problem. Today I should merely like to make special mention of the build-up of nuclear arsenals and the steadily increasing sophistication in that area.

86. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania would like in particular to reaffirm its interest in the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in the whole of the African continent and in the Middle East. But in Africa and the Arab world we see that South Africa and Israel, which ignore international norms and principles, are building nuclear arsenals in order to intimidate their Arab and African neighbours.

87. With the entry of Vanuatu and Belize, whose admission to the United Nations I have just welcomed, the United Nations is approaching its goal of universality. The world is no longer that of 1945.

88. With the new political order, in which large and small nations now have the same rights of theoretical sovereignty, the realities of our contemporary world make necessary a new information order and, even more important, a new economic order.

89. That new information order will not put an end to some of the greatest achievements of mankind, that is, freedom of thought and the sacred right to express it. In our opinion, there cannot be happy societies when creativity, ingenuity and men's philosophical and political beliefs are subjected to constraints and taboos. But the conquests that permit man the full enjoyment of his wholeness as a person must extend to all his needs.

90. Acquired rights must not be sacrificed. We must not forget the concerns of man in advanced technological societies. But—and this is just as important in our eyes—some place must be given to the simple, absorbing, noble and beautiful preoccupations of that other man of the sec-

ond large and needy part of the great human family. That is the beginning of the reordering of the relations which govern mankind.

91. The aim of the United Nations in the minds of its eminent founders, would always be to establish the equality of nations, great and small. The information order will be the first step towards establishing a true new world order for civilization in which mankind will be inspired by all the moral values of all men. In that way we shall reject any exclusive monopoly of orientation or polarization concerning the problems and needs of one human family, and ethics alone will prevail.

92. For its part, the new economic order should, mainly through the global negotiations and those relating to the law of the sea, ensure the necessary rectification of the economic relations between the North and the South. Thus, the abnormalities of the colonial order and the structural imbalances which ensued as a result of the technological domination of a single continent will be corrected.

93. Peace and security in the world can only be achieved by a serious study and reform leading to more equity and realism in relations which should truly mirror the present-day world. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania will participate to the best of its ability in that reorganization within the framework of its devotion to its moral values and to its age-old civilization, of which it is deeply and legitimately proud. Our country will do this in keeping with its Arab and African national identity and with its objective solidarity with the peoples of the third world. But, at the same time, our country will fight that battle in full awareness of the fact that it is part of the human family, which, in spite of race, religion and continent, is one and must remain one.

94. Mr. AKAKPO-AHIANYO (Togo) (*interpretation from French*): In speaking at this time of great mourning which has stricken one of the Members of the Organization, namely Egypt, I should like first of all to offer to the Government and people of Egypt the sincere and profound condolences of the Government and the people of Togo. My condolences are addressed likewise to the whole of the bereaved family of the great President Anwar El Sadat, a leading figure in the fight for peace and justice in Egypt, in the Middle East, and throughout the world. In his permanent quest for peace, President El Sadat carried out an act of political courage, thereby giving rise to great hope among men of good will. May the work of peace thus started be continued and concluded for the happiness of the worthy people of Egypt.

95. The modern world in which we live is one of complementarities. No nation can live sufficient unto itself. All the countries of the world must lend a hand and help each other. But that mutual aid results from the freely expressed will of each people to join its efforts with those of the others in order to bring about the necessary means for the solution of major problems that confront the whole of the international community.

96. Indeed, in this last quarter of the twentieth century the world continues to live under the threat of scourges that modern science, in spite of its prestigious progress, has not been able to stop completely. Today hunger, malnutrition, illiteracy and disease still afflict more than half

of mankind, while a tiny proportion of the globe's population lives in opulence.

97. There is the impression that certain nations, placing their bets on their apparent power, believe that complementarity means the subjugation of the poorest to the richest of our planet. Then, in order to intimidate, they have recourse to arrogance and the demonstration of their strength; next, they violate the independence of other States, flout the freedoms of the weakest nations, attack peoples and read upon the integrity of sovereign countries. Independence and freedom must be the major preoccupation of this last quarter of the twentieth century: independence, so as to guarantee respect for the traditional civilizations of each people, making it possible for it to contribute within the limits of its means to universal civilization; freedom, so that the peoples of the world in mutual respect of their differences might decide, without any constraints, on the forms of association essential to the complementarity of both the material and human resources of the planet, the noble objective being to ensure to each the full enjoyment of the goods produced by the universal toil of all men.

98. This yearning for independence and freedom is one of the first expressions of human rights, a right of which all peoples are quite appropriately jealous. Thus the ancient traditions of independence and freedom of the peoples of Asia Minor, including Iraq, have been the admiration of all men, throughout all ideologies and all centuries. Mr. Kittani belongs to those traditions, and his election to preside over the work of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly augurs well. That is why I am pleased to congratulate him, and I am sure that under his presidency our work will be conducted in justice, the guarantee of independence and freedom.

99. I should also like to thank his predecessor, Mr. von Wechmar of the Federal Republic of Germany, and to congratulate him on the masterly way in which he conducted the work of the previous session.

100. I should like also to take this opportunity to thank, on behalf of the Government of Togo, the Secretary-General of the Organization for the tireless efforts that he has constantly been making in the service of peace and concord throughout the world.

101. Finally, to guarantee the independence and freedom so dear to us, the United Nations family can grow in strength only by expanding. That is why we hail the admission of Vanuatu as the one hundred fifty-fifth Member of the United Nations and, on behalf of the Government of Togo, address our hearty congratulations to the leaders of that country and wish them complete success in their task of building their country.

102. We also congratulate Belize on its admission as the one hundred fifty-sixth Member of the Organization.

103. This year again, in spite of the hopes born of political changes in a large number of countries by the expression of the will of the peoples concerned, the independence and freedom of peoples are once again sorely tested. Certain countries, because they are endowed by nature and history with more or less abundant resources, take upon themselves the right to dictate their economic conditions to the whole of mankind and thereby bring

about an imbalance among nations which is prejudicial to the harmony and stability of the rest of the world. Accordingly, the political and economic independence of certain young States is seriously imperiled as a result of the unilateral decisions taken by certain other States.

104. At its present session the General Assembly must, if the United Nations wishes genuinely to achieve the noble objectives that it has set for itself, deal seriously with those grave infringements on the independence and freedom of peoples and citizens. At the very hour when our work is in progress such violations of independence and freedom are still common currency, whether in respect of international economic relations or the policy of relations among States.

105. In terms of international economic relations, the situation has never been more serious. From year to year the poorest countries continue to become even poorer, and their external debt has attained unbearable proportions, given their low level of development. Indeed, the newly independent countries, in trying to raise the level of living of their peoples, set up schools and educate their citizens, develop public health and provide the communication infrastructures which are essential for every human community of our time, can rely only on their own natural resources. Any assistance from the international community, in one form or another, is in the last analysis always seen in terms of loans against the resources of the country concerned. Those resources are generally made up of raw materials the prices of which vary depending on the whims of the developed countries. Since the oil crisis of 1973, the prices for those raw materials have been constantly falling, while at the same time the prices for manufactured goods purchased from the rich countries have been rising constantly.

106. The height of irony is that the interest rates on loans granted by industrialized countries for the development projects of developing countries are shamelessly approaching usurious rates. These combined factors—the fall in the prices of raw materials, the swift rise in the prices of imported products from developed countries and the exorbitant increases in interest rates by industrialized countries—are upsetting the balance of the countries of the third world, sabotaging their stability and, in the last analysis, making peace precarious. As a result, the inequality in international economic relations, established and maintained essentially by the rich countries, is imperilling the already fragile independence of underdeveloped countries and whittling away their freedom of action. Thus, the independence acquired at the cost of great sacrifices is the object of the covetousness of the great Powers.

107. Freedom, cherished in the rich countries, is denied by those same countries to the poorest on this planet. While the rich countries are establishing within themselves all the conditions for stability and peace in the shadow of which they continue their peaceful development, they provoke because of their rivalries, conflicts in the third world in order to nip in the bud the development efforts of the young nations and to continue to keep them in a state of dependence. Numerous actions of interference and destabilization make it possible for them to get rid of their weapons arsenals, which, if not disposed of, would in the long run become dangerous to themselves.

108. By supporting *apartheid* in a covert way, in spite of verbal condemnations, certain great Powers are helping to deprive the peoples of southern Africa of independence and freedom and are thus perpetuating their subjugation. By condoning through silence South Africa's repeated acts of aggression against Angola, certain great Powers are giving proof of their intention to call into question the independence of the young States and thus to jeopardize their right to freedom.

109. In the sphere of international political relations, independence and freedom enjoy no greater guarantees than they do in international economic relations. The international situation at present is less stable than ever, is strained in many parts of the world and is everywhere loaded with conflict. The super-Powers, by competing to divide the world into zones of influence, are like arsonists who are the first to play the part of firemen as soon as they have finally succeeded in kindling the flames of war and conflict between States. Then they offer to the rest of the world interminable conferences on disarmament together with other idle chatter, while the whole world knows that all that the underdeveloped countries can disarm themselves of is their poverty.

110. From whatever angle one approaches international problems, one always and invariably is led to the same observation: the military arsenal of the rich countries is too important for them not to want to use it to disturb the peace in the world and thereby guarantee the satisfaction of their selfish interests.

111. Look at what is happening in the Middle East. The Government of Togo has always upheld Israel's right to a homeland. But the Government of my country upholds this same right for others—in other words, for the Palestinians, under the leadership of their sole legitimate representative, the PLO. However, for more than 30 years the fires of the Middle East have remained lit. The quantity of arms stockpiled in the region does not augur well for anything. Most countries of the region, if not all of them, have no arms factories. Their arms always come from the same sources. The most sophisticated weapons go to the first bidder. In the meantime, the rich countries grow richer while the underdeveloped countries each day grow more dependent on the rich, as they are obliged to order new weapons. And at the same time the afflicted Palestinian people remain in a state of the most cruel displacement.

112. Look at what is happening in southern Africa. The most elementary rights of a whole people are being trampled underfoot, but the most extensive campaigns for human rights led by the majority of the rich countries are not being directed against *apartheid*. On the contrary, more than extenuating circumstances are found in the case of Pretoria, as a policy of so-called persuasion is advocated to bring about domestic change. If only one millionth of what is taking place in South Africa took place in an underdeveloped country, it would already be the object of a plan carefully orchestrated and implemented to upset the régime in place.

113. Pretoria attacks Angola, destroys its economy, kills its innocent citizens by the hundreds, and what do you think happened? In a discordant chorus some crocodile tears were shed, but there was also a veto which pre-

vented the proclaiming to the world of the unanimous condemnation of this flagrant violation of the right of the Angolan people to independence, freedom and sovereignty. All the organizations which normally shout about human rights and amnesty keep a complacent silence.

114. This is the place to recall that the American people and the African peoples are bound by ties which have their roots in a centuries-old history. But there are situations which Africa as a whole does not understand. We dare hope that the present Administration and the great American people will join forces and associate themselves with the inevitable process of the independence of Namibia, as advocated in Security Council resolution 435 (1978). In so doing, the great America of President Reagan would strengthen the friendship between the United States and the whole of Africa, as the United Kingdom succeeded in doing under Margaret Thatcher's party at the time of Zimbabwe's accession to independence.

115. The underdeveloped countries, which are today euphemistically called the "least-developed countries", are precisely the poorest on earth, the countries whose peace and stability are increasingly threatened. Their independence itself is being put to a severe test. Confronted by serious attempts at destabilization, they are frequently the object of genuine external acts of aggression designed to accentuate the gravity of the difficulties which they have to face. At the same time, in the rich countries are to be found recruiters of mercenaries who go out and gather hordes of armed, paid killers, sow desolation and deprive the citizens of the fruits of independence and freedom which have been so dearly acquired.

116. Are we to believe that the good souls who shed tears over human rights are going to condemn the recruitment of mercenaries and then profit by the criminal behaviour of these mercenaries by casting anathema on these killers who come from the same society as they themselves come from? Not at all. Arrest mercenaries and their licensed recruiters and try them with all possible guarantees for their defence: you will be submerged with letters, declarations, articles in newspapers and other mendacious propaganda publications of associations for the rights of I don't know what people.

117. Through violence and crime, certain desperadoes have sought to jeopardize Egypt's independence by the cowardly assassination of President Anwar El Sadat, a great African leader of world stature whose constant struggle for peace justly earned him the Nobel Peace Prize a year ago. The whole world will remember the exceptional qualities of this great statesman, whose memory we hail and whose brutal death we greatly regret.

118. The violence institutionalized in a political system and used by some to govern the relations between States represents a great danger for peace. The occupation of Afghanistan and Kampuchea are part of this danger.

119. In this connection, we wish to recall Togo's constant position. We believe that peoples must have the freedom to express their political choice without any foreign interference. The occupation of a country by force goes against the Charter of the United Nations. We appeal to all the States concerned to apply without delay the resolu-

tions of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly and of the recent International Conference on Kampuchea.

120. In South Korea the persistence of a situation the precarious nature of which escapes no one is preventing the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. And yet all the great nations of the modern world know what the fruits of national unity are, because throughout their history they themselves have had to fight to achieve their own unity.

121. For Togo, the *fait accompli* has never created any rights. Interference in the internal affairs of States and the military occupation of countries by other countries disturb the peace and endanger the independence and freedom of the countries concerned.

122. With regard to the majority of the great problems of today, Togo shares the concern of other nations. The independence and freedom which we have wrested at the price of great sacrifices must be given to other peoples which continue to suffer.

123. As regards South Africa, as was recently stated by the President of the Togolese Republic, General of the Army Gnassingbe Eyadéma:

"Togo cannot accommodate itself to the situation of injustice and oppression which prevails at present in this region, where a régime unworthy of man and of our time and contrary to all morality is maintaining itself at a cost of unheard-of violence against people whose only wrong is the colour of their skin."

124. As far as Namibia is concerned, the Founding President of the Rassemblement du peuple togolaise and President of the Togolese Republic expressed Togo's position:

"In the case of Namibia, whose achievement of independence is inevitable, Togo, like the rest of the African countries, wishes this accession to independence to take place in peace, so necessary for all peoples, and with respect for the integrity of its territory."

Aggressive acts will not prevent Namibia's accession to independence under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole authentic representative.

125. The eyes of the whole world have turned with hope towards Western Sahara, where the Moroccan authorities have finally aligned themselves with the sacred principle of the self-determination of peoples, without which independence and freedom have no meaning. However, all the parties concerned, including the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic, must be associated in all phases of this peace process, so as to guarantee the free expression of the principle of self-determination.

126. Concerning the problem of Chad, my country's position and the initiatives which it has taken are well known. Togo has spared no efforts within the OAU and in connection with many missions of conciliation to bring the contending parties to the negotiating table in order to find lasting solutions to the internal conflict imposed on the fraternal people of Chad, which has suffered far too much from a fratricidal war. That war has ruined the economy of the country and, in the last analysis, has profited only imperialism and its weapons dealers.

127. Regarding Mayotte, Togo once again appeals to the French and Comorian authorities to engage in dialogue so that a definitive solution might be found for the reinstatement of the Comorian island of Mayotte as part of the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros.

128. To safeguard independence and freedom, the nations must work together for peace. As President Eyadéma has quite appropriately stated:

"The people of Togo ardently wishes peace and progress for itself and for all the nations. That peace must be real and must contribute to the effective emancipation of our different nations. That is why, faced with the disarray in our world which threatens the international equilibrium, Togo has always advocated recourse to fraternal dialogue and permanent consultation in seeking in peace just solutions for the tragic conflicts shaking our world, which every day result in the loss of human life."

It is in order to avoid such pointless loss of life and to consolidate the independence and freedom of States that nations large and small must join their efforts so that they may complement each other.

129. In western Africa such efforts have today made it possible to lay the foundation for the Economic Community of Western African States [ECOWAS]. That organization is comprised of 16 States that have decided to regroup in order to create a market of nearly 160 million consumers, thereby offering the greatest possible chances of guaranteeing the political independence and freedom they have attained since the 1960s. As was stated recently by President Eyadéma:

"Thus for the past 15 years the people of Togo, reconciled with itself, has been devoting its energies and its creativity to its development. It is that regained serenity that today makes it possible for our country to participate actively with 15 other States in the restructuring and definition of the goals of our common enterprise aimed at economic integration, ECOWAS. That Community is progressively developing its action in the interest of its populations, which are thus mobilized around consistent goals and invited to embark unreservedly upon a new life in a spirit of solidarity and progress."

130. In a world in which selfishness reigns, the independence and freedom of nations cannot be guaranteed unless they understand the urgent need for complementarity and join together to put an end to injustice and to provide the conditions necessary for peace throughout the world.

131. Without peace and stability the independence of States is but a vague expression. Without economic independence freedom is an illusion, for, as President Eyadéma has said, "In a world in disarray that is profoundly gripped by doubt, our action must be directed towards settling the essential problems confronting our various societies: famine, disease and ignorance".

132. That is the mission which the President of the Togolese Republic deeply believes should be undertaken by men of good will if they really wish to defend the independence of nations and to safeguard the freedom of peoples.

133. It is the sacred mission of the Organization to put into operation everything that can peacefully guarantee the independence and freedom of nations. May the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session establish the necessary landmarks for this historic struggle.
134. Mr. ROMERO ALVAREZ GARCÍA (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Bolivia congratulates Mr. Kitani on his election to the high post of the presidency of the thirty-sixth session. His personal qualities and his broad professional experience guarantee objective leadership and success for our debates.
135. We also wish to thank Mr. von Wechmar for his outstanding work and in particular for his contribution to the preparatory work for global negotiations, a central issue for the new expectations of the world.
136. We wish to express particular gratitude and appreciation to the Secretary-General for his efforts to bring about international peace and security.
137. Bolivia, a signatory of the Charter at San Francisco, offers a fraternal welcome to the two youngest Member States of the Organization, Vanuatu and Belize.
138. In the past year the world situation has visibly deteriorated. The number of victims of war, exodus, hunger, terrorism and fanatic violence is increasing day by day in the vast areas of the world in which there are conflicts. The tensions between the major blocs are becoming more acute and are making international security more precarious. Consequently in all its aspects the arms race is accelerating and is consuming resources that are needed for the economic, social and cultural development of peoples.
139. As is the case with endeavours to bring about peace, many efforts to bring about justice have been thwarted, and neither the will of the General Assembly nor the agreement of the Security Council, so often obstructed by vetoes, have managed to enforce the fundamental principles of the Charter. Contrary to the firm majority decision of the international community, there continue to exist certain unacceptable attitudes of racial discrimination, warlike aggression, domination and colonialist plunder, occupation of territories by force, and new and sinister forms of fanaticism.
140. Throughout its history Bolivia has learned the painful lessons of aggression and injustice, and we would once again repeat our adherence to the inviolable principles of sovereignty, independence, self-determination, non-intervention and the territorial integrity of States.
141. As part of this clear foreign policy of Bolivia we would express our support for the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, and in particular for the liberation of the occupied Arab territories. The inadmissibility of the acquisition of territories through force of arms is a substantive part of Bolivia's foreign policy.
142. We accept that Israel has the unquestionable right to live within secure and recognized boundaries.
143. We deplore the tragedy in Lebanon, and we feel that it is the duty of the States of the area to respect the neutrality and sovereignty of that nation.
144. We condemn the occupation of Afghanistan, the presence of invading troops in Kampuchea and the illegal colonial domination in Namibia.
145. We consider it indispensable for South Korea and North Korea to resolve their differences by means of direct dialogue, with the co-operation of the Secretary-General.
146. Finally, we reiterate Bolivia's unwavering position of support for Argentina's just demand regarding the Malvinas Islands.
147. In addition to these disruptions in the area of justice and peace, there exists a serious delay in efforts to bring about a new international economic order and, in particular, in initiating the global negotiations which might make it possible for us to co-ordinate international efforts in the areas of the economy and development, introducing the criterion of change. For change is essential and cannot be postponed, since hunger, ignorance and the frustration of the people only encourage subversion and violence. There is no need to stress the moral legitimacy of these goals, because underlying all conflicts in our time there may be found a growing dislocation: the prosperity and power of the wealthy communities and in contrast the stagnation, poverty and impotence of the third world.
148. We believe that the global negotiations, which have been held up by procedural details, must begin as soon as possible. South-South co-operation, which has been admirably planned and carried out by the Group of 77, must move towards the goal of self-sufficiency, which is complementary to North-South understanding. In this area we must also accept the need to conclude regional agreements to develop and market our natural resources in a just and rational manner, in order to bring us the legitimate profits that will make it possible for us to meet the needs of social development ourselves.
149. Let us say this once again: the existing international economic order is based on colonial and neo-colonial exploitation which has been condemned by history. There are still those who wish to perpetuate this, but it is clear that if peace is to be achieved in the world there must first be justice, and we consider that a new international economic order must preside over the relations among all States of the world. In this context protectionism must be eliminated, as well as the practices of "dumping", by which some developed countries use non-commercial reserves to bring about an artificial collapse in the prices of certain commodities. That happens periodically to Bolivia with regard to tin.
150. In this year when we are commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the non-aligned movement, Bolivia reaffirms its faith in the concept of non-alignment. We have a position of principle that requires independence of the great blocs of the world. We respect ideological pluralism and the requirements of economic interdependence. We stand with all developing

countries and we find in non-alignment a powerful, valid resource to pursue the third world's struggle for world peace and improved living conditions.

151. We regret that the long, prolific debates that were supposed to lead to an international agreement on the new law of the sea were paralysed precisely when they were about to be concluded. We hope that those who justify this by referring to passing difficulties will see that it is in their best interests to work in this direction, for this agreement is of universal value. The sea, like the other great bounties of nature and like freedom and well-being, is the common heritage of all people and of all mankind.

152. The Government of Bolivia is profoundly concerned over and protests against all forms of terrorism. No goal, no matter how noble it may be, justifies this crime in which repressed sectarian passions find almost daily expression. The Holy Father in Rome, even the President of the United States in the capital of this great country, and many other distinguished or anonymous human beings have been victims of reprehensible attempts on their lives. And now we must lament the passing of the illustrious President of Egypt, Anwar El Sadat, a real man of peace in the Middle East, the distinguished leader of his people, who has fallen under murderous bullets.

153. Bolivia feels that the struggle against terrorism must be confirmed and co-ordinated at a level as high as that for disarmament, for this is a kind of spiritual disarmament required by public order and by civilized society.

154. "For us, America is the homeland", as Bolívar the Liberator said. This has always been in the minds of the people who bear his name and has determined our complete support for the process of Latin American integration. Considering the common nature of our problems and our hopes, the vastness of our territory, the broad range and abundance of natural resources, the rapid growth of the population, and our need to overcome cultural, economic and social deficiencies which still beset us, integration will indubitably be a difficult undertaking. None of our nations, not even any of the greater ones, can carry out its complete development plan without inter-American co-operation.

155. Bolivia is situated geographically in the heart of South America and at the crossroads of the history of the continent. It has an important role to play in Latin American integration, and we have been playing this role in good faith because it is our calling.

156. Our country is in the watershed of the Amazon and the Plate and near to the South Pacific. Bolivia has therefore been a land of contacts and has had a decisive influence on the geopolitical balance of our continent.

157. In keeping with its integrationist tradition, Bolivia has actively participated in the Latin American Integration Association, the Andean Pact, the Treaty for Amazonian Co-operation, the Treaty of the River Plate Basin, the Convention signed by Uruguay, Paraguay and Bolivia and other agreements of the same kind. Obviously, agreements governing regional and sub-regional integration, negotiated in the light of the development needs of our peoples, must not be subject to ideological deviations which contradict the principles of pluralism and non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, so necessary to proper

international coexistence. Just as the conscience of the world is concerned about the protection of human rights, so is it necessary for the international community to pay attention to the rights of nations which have been violated by historic injustices.

158. In this lofty forum we would once again refer to Bolivia's land-locked status which has existed for more than a century. We appeal for international solidarity to encourage the peaceful solution of our problems, in keeping with the inalienable and imprescriptible right of the Republic of Bolivia to regain its coastline. This unjust situation continues with all the grave spiritual and material consequences for our people; it has perpetuated a state of tension in the area which one day could undermine peace and security in America.

159. Bolivia's demand to recover its outlet to the Pacific, with sovereignty and geographic continuity and without territorial compensation, has won considerable support, including the support of the General Assembly of the Organization of American States at its ninth regular session. I take this opportunity to express the appreciation of the Government and people of Bolivia of these permanent expressions of solidarity by Governments and international organizations with the maritime cause of our country.

160. We now wish to report to this Assembly on certain aspects of the problems which relate to Bolivia's internal situation. In the first place, Bolivians believe in the inherent values of freedom, dignity, solidarity and justice. We desire to organize a new society, with participation by all, a pluralist society where democracy is accepted not only in its formal political sense of elections, but also with its fundamental economic and social content and as a way of life.

161. The land-locked status of our country has hampered its process of development. For this main reason, and for other more incidental reasons, we have economic and financial problems which have caused social discontent, and this in turn has led to political unrest. More recently, we have witnessed certain institutional problems which, thanks to the calmness and patriotism of the armed forces and the proved maturity of our people, have been dealt with without bloodshed.

162. A firm and respected Government rules national life. Public order reigns in Bolivia, and work is guaranteed as a right. We consider the people, the Bolivian citizen, as a protagonist of history and of our national life. We believe that nothing is more precious than the human capital of a nation. Therefore, all the business of the State and its growth policy for the economy is directed to promoting the well-being of its people and to the full development of the human personality.

163. In the programme for this great political plan with its predominantly social content the Bolivian workers in the fields, the mines and the cities occupy the preferred place. Both public freedom and fundamental human rights are respected in Bolivia, where there are now no political prisoners. Soon a special envoy from the United Nations will visit our country at the spontaneous request of our Government to confirm that we have a climate of freedom, peace and security in which Bolivians can carry out

their activities. I wish to announce on behalf of my Government that within three years institutional democracy will be re-established in our country.

164. In defence of the morality of our people and in support of the universal desire to eliminate illicit drug traffic, our Government is now undertaking the difficult but irrevocable task of combating and eliminating the clandestine production of narcotics and the illicit traffic. In addition to adopting strict police and customs controls, the Government of Bolivia has adopted a number of other important provisions, including the creation of the National Council to Combat the Traffic in Narcotic Drugs, the establishment of a government monopoly to control the legal trade in coca leaves, the carrying out of a census of coca-leaf production with a view to crop replacement and a study of new legislation to suppress the production of, traffic in and consumption of the drug.

165. As we progress with this task the serious nature of the problem becomes clearer, and so does the impossibility of dealing with it without international co-operation. We have accordingly suggested to the United Nations the desirability of joint action and have succeeded in having an item included in the agenda of this session entitled "International campaign against traffic in drugs". We can give no clearer evidence of our intention to contribute to the elimination of this world problem and at the same time of the need to receive from the Organization and from Member States, through bilateral agreements, adequate and speedy financial and technical co-operation.

166. The Bolivian proposal is in the hands of the United Nations and its specialized agencies. We pledge our constant efforts, and we also suggest to the industrialized countries, where the major cities provide the demand for drugs and where society is most seriously affected by this vice, that there is an urgent need for a substantial contribution from them in support of the aims of this great effort of redemption.

167. It is in a spirit of truthfulness that we have enumerated some of the frustrations of the Organization, but we wish to draw from these negative comments the affirmative conclusion that, however complex the problems may be, it is our duty to persist in our search for solutions within the United Nations in keeping with the norms of the Charter.

168. Bolivia, a land-locked nation, reiterates its confidence in justice, its faith in the world Organization and its certainty that the evils of war, poverty and discrimination will one day be eradicated through the spiritual force that aids us: universal solidarity, the foundation of our hopes for progress and peace.

169. Mr. MROUDIAE (Comoros) (*interpretation from French*): It is with deep emotion that I come to this rostrum on the eve of the funeral ceremonies at which the fraternal Egyptian people and the whole world will mourn President Anwar El Sadat. May the peace of the Almighty be with him. We feel his death as a great loss, not only for Egypt, which loses one of its greatest sons, but also for mankind. We must condemn the ignoble deed which cost him his life and wounded many members of the diplomatic corps. I wish to ask the delegation of Egypt to be good enough to transmit to the family of the deceased

and to the Government of Egypt the sincere condolences of the Government and people of the Comoros.

170. I wish to congratulate Mr. Klitani on his election to the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. His qualities as a diplomat and the distinction with which he represents his country in the Organization are guarantees for the success of our work.

171. May I also be permitted to acknowledge the competence with which his predecessor, Mr. von Wechmar, fulfilled the mission we entrusted to him.

172. I should also like to extend a welcome to Vanuatu and Belize, which have now joined the ranks of the great family of nations. I wish to assure them of the readiness of my Government to co-operate with them.

173. On behalf of my delegation I should also like to express the admiration and respect which we have in the Comoros for the Secretary-General and the tireless efforts he is making in the service of peace throughout the world. In view of the tribulations and multiple dangers threatening mankind, the delicacy and difficulty inherent in the tasks with which we have entrusted him are more clearly seen.

174. Perhaps never before have the peoples and States which we govern felt so strongly the threat which daily weighs upon them and which may at any moment imperil their very existence. Hence, it is urgent to adopt measures to express in terms of action the principles of law and justice which are written into the Charter of the United Nations.

175. Millions upon millions of human beings are placing their hopes in the Organization. That is an enormous responsibility, but it is not too great for our nations. Throughout the whole of its existence the United Nations has stood for justice and peace, and this is not the least of its merits. Millions of men, yesterday reduced to exploitation and colonialism, are today upright, proud and determined to be recognized for what they are, namely, human beings. However, in order that the community of States may continue to be credible, a new structure based on mutual understanding must be given to international relations. We must demonstrate that the confidence that our peoples repose in it is not misplaced. We must prove, if only to ourselves, that we are capable of showing that we are equal to our great responsibilities and that we can fulfil them.

176. Thirty-one Members of the Organization, including my country, are suffering particularly acutely from the unfavourable economic situation which the world is experiencing at present, and therefore every day the circle of poverty, famine and disease closes in a little more on their peoples. Those countries, which we have decided to call the "least-developed", are faced with the most awesome structural problems, in terms of human as well as technical and financial resources, and are suffering from one or several geographic or climatic handicaps, such as the absence of a coastline, insularity, drought, cyclones, and so on. Thus each one of them lives with these difficulties in its own way in accordance with its specific configuration.

177. Such is the case with the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros, my country, which, because of its insularity, is seriously handicapped by the absence of a solid infrastructure in the air and maritime transport sectors and that of telecommunications. The development of those infrastructures, like the extension of the road network, is among the priorities of my Government. But launching that programme requires considerable assistance with financial resources, which at present we lack. An ambitious programme aimed notably at connecting the principal economic centres of my country to the agricultural regions has been launched, however, thanks in particular to the assistance of the Kuwaiti and Saudi Arabian Fund.

178. Yet such actions must be extended to all the other vital sectors of our economy, and this will be possible only through co-ordinated international action and with substantial technical and financial support, in particular from the developed countries, the organizations of the United Nations system and other developing countries that are in a position to provide it.

179. We can therefore only be pleased at the growing interest that the Organization is showing in this category of countries and, thus, at the initiative of the French Government in hosting in Paris last month the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries.

180. One of the merits of that Conference is that it has made it possible for us to take stock of our problems, to determine the priorities involved and to define a strategy for each one of our countries with considerable realism. Unfortunately, we must deplore the lack of readiness displayed at that Conference by certain developed countries to participate in a substantial way in the development of these poorest countries. It is those negative attitudes which underlie the impasse which the North-South dialogue has reached and which, in our opinion, are particularly dangerous because they can promote and multiply confrontations.

181. To be sure, we in the third world also have a not insignificant role in the success of the North-South dialogue. We cannot overcome underdevelopment by continuing to devote a large part of our meagre resources to armaments, which are all the more harmful in that they increase our dependence on the suppliers.

182. The great Powers must at last demonstrate moderation and realism and in particular stop giving the impression that their fundamental interests are constantly being threatened. Otherwise, a new form of cold war will emerge, giving priority to problems of security and defence to the detriment of the goals of co-operation and development contemplated for the new international economic order that we wish to establish.

183. The International Meeting on Co-operation and Development that is to take place at the end of this month at Cancún will give the principal Powers an exceptional opportunity to regain the confidence of the third world by showing that they will not go back to negative unilateral attitudes on the relevance of the North-South dialogue. We hope that this meeting will result in a clear commitment to contribute to the launching of global negotiations and that a basic consensus can be reached.

184. We are bound to observe that it is the rivalry between the great Powers that underlies the unacceptable situation that continues to prevail in Afghanistan. We continue to feel that that country must regain its status as an independent and non-aligned State and that therefore the presence of foreign troops on its territory is illegal. Such crises not only threaten international peace and security but can have unforeseeable consequences.

185. The unfortunate conflict which broke out more than a year ago between Iran and Iraq, on the subject of which we have on numerous occasions expressed our great concern, does not simply constitute a threat to peace in the region. The repercussions of that confrontation on the sale and price of a product of fundamental importance show to what extent the general well-being may be endangered by any disturbance or crisis of significant magnitude.

186. It is also the rivalry between the great Powers that underlies the explosive situation that today characterizes the region of the Indian Ocean and threatens to transform that area into an arena of permanent instability. In this connection we can only regret that because of the numerous obstacles produced by certain developed countries, the conference that the Organization expected to hold at Colombo this year to study the modalities for the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI)] cannot take place.

187. The industrialized world cannot invoke the great values of democracy, freedom and respect for human rights while at the same time trying to defend at all cost the most exorbitant elements of its interests and its most intolerable privileges, especially when we know that it is with the complicity of certain of those countries and the support of their multinational corporations that South Africa today succeeds in maintaining thousands of Africans in a situation of indescribable exploitation. It is thanks to their aid that Pretoria continues to defy with impunity the decisions of the Organization by illegally occupying Namibia while systematically persecuting the representative of its people, SWAPO.

188. We must also deplore the fact that because of the veto cast by certain permanent members, the Security Council has been unable so far fully to assume its responsibilities pursuant to the unanimous request of African and non-aligned countries. It was because of that impediment and the general impasse that faced the Organization that a special session of the General Assembly devoted to this important question was held right here last month. On that occasion, as every time that this problem has been debated by the international community, there was unanimous agreement that severe measures should be taken to force South Africa to comply with our decisions.

189. Unfortunately, it seems that neither our unanimous support for the struggle of the Namibian people nor successive condemnations have been sufficient. Only concerted and collective international action is likely to lead Pretoria to observe even its own commitments. For such action, my delegation believes Security Council resolution 435 (1978) must constitute our base of reference. We must not now attempt to re-examine it under the pretext of attempting to improve it, for any hesitancy and any delay

in its implementation will only serve to strengthen South Africa's intransigence.

190. The great Powers must agree to severe sanctions being imposed upon the *apartheid* régime and must change their complacent attitude with respect to it, just as they must stop supporting Israel by providing it with the means for its annexationist and expansionist policy.

191. The attack upon the Iraqi installation at Tamuz, which my country severely condemned at the time, clearly shows Israel's deliberate will to continue to resort to force, in violation of the Charter. The means put at its disposal make it possible for the Zionist forces to extend their grip by occupying Palestinian land, by shamelessly Judaizing the occupied territories and by high-handedly taking over Jerusalem, the Holy City, the sacred centre of all revealed religions.

192. Israel can no longer continue to ignore the Palestinian fact, the right of that people to self-determination and to found an independent State upon its own soil. I wish to take this opportunity to reaffirm once again the steadfast support of the Government of the Comoros for the just cause of the Palestinian people and for their sole representative, the PLO.

193. In the case of Kampuchea, the Organization has called for the urgent and immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops based in that territory so that the people of Kampuchea may choose their Government through democratic process.

194. With regard to the situation in Western Sahara, we have noted with satisfaction the position adopted by His Majesty the King of Morocco, Hassan II, at the recent session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity held at Nairobi, whereby he agreed to the organization of a referendum in that Territory. We hope that this new situation, as well as the atmosphere of frankness that prevailed during the recent meeting at Nairobi of the OAU Implementation Committee entrusted with following up this question, will make possible an early solution satisfactory to all the parties concerned in this tragic problem.

195. Before concluding this rapid examination of the international situation, I should like to refer once again to a question with which the Assembly is fully familiar and which, as far as we Comorians are concerned, remains a subject of constant concern: the question of the Comorian island of Mayotte.

196. As everyone knows, this problem arose upon the accession of the Comoros to independence. I shall not go into the historical background of this question here, since a specific debate will be devoted to it during the present session. For the time being I shall merely recall that each time this question has been debated by the international community there has been unanimity in affirming that Mayotte is an integral part of the Comoros and that, as such, it should be reintegrated into the Comorian entity.

197. Africa, supported in this respect by the General Assembly, the non-aligned movement, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and all peoples that cherish peace and justice, is increasing its endeavours to achieve this

end. An *ad hoc* committee especially instructed to follow the development of this question has been created by the OAU. It is to meet this year in the Comoros during the month of November in order to take stock of the situation.

198. On 5 October of this year, during an official visit to Paris, the President of the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros, Mr. Ahmed Abdallah Aberdermane, considered this matter with the President of France, Mr. François Mitterand. In particular, the President of the Comoros expressed the hope that the negotiations with regard to this question that had been begun with the previous Government of France would be continued.

199. The understanding attitude of the President of the French Republic and his readiness to do everything possible to break the existing deadlock, and the French Socialist Party's constant denunciation of the attempts made by certain colonialist factions to separate Mayotte from the Comorian entity, have led us to hope that a satisfactory solution in keeping with the relevant resolutions of the Organization can quickly be found to this unfortunate problem.

200. In conclusion, I should like to express the hope that the United Nations will fulfil its primary purpose and continue to provide a forum for an enlightened exchange of views on international questions. If we wish to have a new world in which peace, security and prosperity are assured to all, we must understand that this will not happen by itself. The Islamic Federal Republic of Comoros will continue to contribute, within the limits of its modest means, to the achievement of the noble goals written into the Charter.

201. Mr. WHITEMAN (Grenada): I take this opportunity to express my delegation's condolences to the widow and family of the late President of Egypt, Anwar El Sadat.

202. On behalf of the People's Revolutionary Government and the people of Grenada, I extend to Mr. Kittani our warmest felicitations on his election to the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. We are convinced that his outstanding qualities, together with the principles which he defends, eminently qualify him to hold that high office and to guide our deliberations here. The Government and people of Iraq have always been close friends and supporters of our revolution, and our Government and people have reciprocated this friendship and support. We eagerly look forward to returning to your historic and beautiful city of Baghdad for the seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries.

203. May I also at this juncture express my delegation's deep appreciation of the efficiency with which his predecessor, Mr. von Wechmar, carried out his particularly difficult task during the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly and the eighth emergency special session.

204. For us in the Caribbean, it is a source of deep joy to welcome to the United Nations the sister State of Belize. Our Prime Minister, who participated in the celebration of that country's independence, witnessed for himself the militant enthusiasm of the people of Belize for their

newly won independence. We call on all States Members of the United Nations to do their utmost to ensure the maintenance of Belize's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

205. Similarly, Grenada extends its greetings to the Republic of Vanuatu and welcomes it to this family of nations.

206. Grenada is now in its third year of national reconstruction, and some seem to be confused and to be bent on confusing others as to the true character of our revolution. From this rostrum we wish to reiterate that ours is a genuine national effort aimed at the transformation of the unacceptably poor quality and condition of life of our people. The broad objectives of our revolution are: to provide for the material and spiritual development of all our people; to ensure political, economic and social justice for the working people; to forge broad national unity based on patriotism and a deep commitment to nation-building; to ensure economic diversification; to develop scientific methods of planning and organization and urgently to develop our natural and human resources; and to build and strengthen alliances with the international forces struggling for peace and progress for mankind, particularly with those engaged world-wide in genuine national liberation struggles.

207. These noble and legitimate aspirations of our people are entirely consistent with the ideals enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

208. Regrettably, our efforts to alter our state of backwardness and to overcome the legacy of underdevelopment arising out of centuries of colonialism have been grossly misrepresented in some quarters. Indeed, a well-orchestrated and systematic campaign to smear, strangle and overthrow the Grenada revolution was launched.

209. In the first place, this campaign involved attempts at destabilization through propaganda. Sections of the international media have been engaged in a most vicious campaign of lies, disinformation, distortion and abuse, to vilify and malign the good name of Grenada. For instance, during June 1981, 144 articles were published, systematically attacking Grenada while consciously ignoring Grenada's point of view. Further, the widely-circulated documentary entitled *Attack on the Americas*, released in January 1981 by the American Security Council Foundation and the Coalition for Peace through Strength, and another named *The Prisoner and the Police State*, a five-part series broadcast by CBS television in May 1981, project a most warped and deliberately distorted image of Grenada.

210. Quite significantly, this well-planned attack on our country and revolution was escalated shortly after a conference of newspaper editors from the English-speaking Caribbean, to which Grenada was not invited. This took place in Washington, D.C., from 22 to 24 June, under the aegis of the United States International Communications Agency and the United States Department of State.

211. The plan for the destabilization of Grenada has now gone beyond the campaign of lies. We are the victims of economic sabotage, designed by the Reagan Administration to strangle our revolution. In April 1981, the Reagan Administration launched a massive diplomatic of-

ensive to prevent Grenada obtaining \$30 million from a co-financing conference sponsored by the European Community and staged at Brussels on 14 and 15 April. That money was to have been used to help construct our first international airport, with a runway of a mere 9,000 feet, the normal length for our region. That airport represents the biggest project ever undertaken by our country, and it is indispensable to Grenada's economic development, particularly for tourism and for the marketing of fresh fruits and vegetables.

212. In fact, only a few weeks earlier, the Reagan Administration, through its Alternate Executive Director on the Executive Board of IMF, attempted to block Grenada's legitimate application for an IMF loan of \$8.17 million. In addition, the Reagan Administration used its influence in the World Bank to block Grenada's effort to secure some \$3 million in IDA concessional funds. Then in June 1981, the Reagan Administration offered the Caribbean Development Bank \$4 million for basic human needs on the express condition, however, that Grenada be excluded. This vulgar attempt to undermine the integrity of one of our regional institutions was categorically rejected by that Bank's Board of Governors.

213. In its continuing attempts to overthrow the Grenada revolution, the United States Administration is preparing to escalate its campaign against Grenada to the level of military intervention. This impending stage is the most dangerous of all. In August 1981, the United States, as part of military manoeuvres code-named "Ocean Venture '81", staged a mock invasion on Vieques Island off Puerto Rico of a country code-named "Amber and the Amberines". Based on an abundance of evidence, we are convinced that this operation was a rehearsal for the invasion of Grenada and its sister islands of the Grenadines. In addition, the recruitment and training of mercenaries in the United States, particularly in Florida, for use against Grenada continues openly and unashamedly.

214. We know that the United States has denied having any plans to invade Grenada. However the fact is that the United States has a well-known and established pattern of initiating aggressive action against other States while at the same time denying such actions and plans for them.

215. Grenada has been done a grave injustice by the Reagan Administration. Nevertheless, consistent with our policy of good-neighbourliness, Prime Minister Maurice Bishop has on two separate occasions written to President Ronald Reagan, expressing Grenada's preparedness to engage in a dialogue at a high level in order to normalize and stabilize our relations. In his letter dated 26 March 1981, the Prime Minister wrote:

"My Government has always wanted good relations with your Government and people . . . [and] I would like to suggest that our two Governments hold bilateral discussions at the highest possible level to discuss developments and to clear up possible misunderstandings."

216. This and a subsequent letter of August 1981 have both gone unacknowledged. We shall continue to make every effort to normalize our relations with the United States, because Grenada follows an established foreign policy which seeks normal and friendly relations with all our neighbours.

217. The world is at present in the throes of an economic crisis of grave proportions. Today, for millions of poor people the world over, survival has literally become a daily challenge. In the industrial Western nations, unprecedented levels of inflation, high interest rates, rising unemployment and the mounting fears and insecurity among people are shaking the very economic and institutional foundations.

218. The present crisis in the Western industrialized countries is placing an even greater burden on the peoples of the developing world who have been struggling to alleviate the ravages of centuries of colonial and imperialist domination.

219. We have supported and will continue to support the struggle for a new international economic order. In his address to the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, Prime Minister Bishop stated:

"The present distribution of world economic power, wealth and living standards is manifestly unjust. It derives from the long history of imperialist expansion and control of the third world. We seek to change this order and to substitute for it a new international economic order . . ." (27th meeting, para. 36).

220. That remains an urgent, realistic and attainable objective, and we must redouble our efforts to ensure the early achievement of those goals.

221. Grenada calls also for the early launching of the global negotiations. We believe that the totality of issues that are central to a healthy, just and equitable world order must be discussed in one forum. In that context, Grenada is prepared to offer and endorse proposals that would genuinely advance economic justice for the exploited peoples of the world. The task is urgent. The time for rhetoric has passed. We see the world as one world, a world of interdependence. There must be a more equitable distribution of the world's wealth.

222. We therefore warmly welcome the upcoming Cancún meeting and applaud the leaders of Mexico and Austria for that helpful, creative and bold initiative. Mention must also be made of the tireless efforts of Mr. Brandt, Chairman of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues and a true world statesman in this search for global justice. In this regard, we are very heartened by the more positive reception now being shown by developed countries like Canada and France towards the question of the North-South dialogue and the need for a restructured world order. The success of Cancún rests upon the just, honest and principled attitude of nations. The world expects a more positive approach from those whose intransigence has blocked progress on those issues in the past.

223. Once again Grenada feels obliged to address the world, and especially the wealthy industrialized world, on the question of the plight of small island developing States. A sizeable portion of the membership of this family of nations, in fact some 30 members, belong to this category. They are sovereign national entities with no frontiers but the sea, with land areas of 1,000 square kilometres or less and a population of 500,000 or less.

224. Two years ago, the Prime Minister of my country, Maurice Bishop, declared from this rostrum that those is-

lands constitute another category of specially disadvantaged States with disabilities of a peculiar nature. Smallness, he said, must be explicitly recognized as a new dimension in economic relations. He warned that the economic reality of such States demands a new awareness of their problems and requires a genuine attempt to design a special programme of assistance.

225. The response has been far from encouraging. Each day the disadvantages we suffer become more glaring, whilst very little momentum, if any at all, has been developed towards overcoming our handicaps.

226. In addition to the problems of small size, small population and small internal market, very often some suffer the added disadvantage of remoteness. Remoteness describes a country's peripheral situation vis-à-vis the world economic system, its inaccessibility due to the infrequency and unreliability of transport and communication links, or simply its geographical location far away, relatively, from a more developed centre.

227. The elements of smallness and physical remoteness do not in themselves constitute the real handicaps, however. At any rate, those are constant. What we are concerned about and what can surely be remedied are the economic and social consequences of those physical situations, which consequences frustrate our efforts as Governments and peoples in those small islands, or at best severely restrict the level of positive results our efforts bring.

228. The economic and social consequences of smallness in the present world economic system include the following: first, limited resources; secondly, an almost total dependence, on external markets due to the very limited internal market; thirdly, lack of an adequate number of trained personnel—those who receive an appreciable level of training soon go off to better living standards and more attractive salaries in metropolitan centres; fourthly, lack of institutions and organizations designed for modern production; fifthly, a low level of scientific and technological know-how; sixthly, the high level of imports in the economy; seventhly, propensity to natural disasters—hurricanes, earthquakes, freak storms, which, because of the small size of the country, devastate the entire country when they strike, not just one region or province; and eighthly, single-product economies.

229. What then are our special needs and what are the areas in which the more fortunate can lend their assistance? First, financial assistance to help small island economies to acquire, industrial plants and the relevant technological process to enable them to obtain the maximum benefits from their most available resource—the sea; secondly, relocation of labour intensive industries in small developing economies with competitive labour costs; thirdly, special emphasis on assisting small island States in developing locally available sources of energy—wind, geothermal, solar and so on; fourthly, assistance in processing locally a great proportion of their agricultural produce; fifthly, better terms of trade; sixthly, an increase in the flow of development aid in the form of external assistance; and seventhly, the creation of a special emergency fund for natural disasters.

230. Many listening to me today have the means to assist with all those and more. They must now acquire the

political will to translate their words into deeds. In that regard, we welcome the Energy Co-operation Program for Central American and Caribbean Countries, concluded at San José on 3 August 1980 by the Presidents of Mexico and Venezuela. Of course those plans must necessarily relate to the priorities established by the various Governments, and, in any event, such programmes must exclude any military content, contain no political or ideological discrimination and be applicable to all countries in the region.

231. At this point permit me to express my delegation's deep distress at the sudden death of the President of Ecuador, Jaime Roldós, and the former Chief of State of Panama, General Omar Torrijos, and the sad passing of the former President of Venezuela, Rómulo Betancourt. All were outstanding in their countries in their time. Permit me to pay a special tribute to Omar Torrijos, the symbol of Panamanian dignity, the leader and catalyst of the Panamanian revolutionary process, a leader in the Central American and Caribbean region, a world statesman. We will always remember the General who marched in the forefront of the anti-imperialist struggle. The peoples of the world which struggle for justice and freedom will not forget Torrijos's fight to restore Panama's territorial integrity and for the achievement of its complete independence and sovereignty.

232. For centuries the Latin American and Caribbean peoples have been subjected to some of the most barbarous tyranny that has beset the world. The oligarchies have enriched themselves at the expense of the people. This is the age of change. The people will no longer tolerate that exploitation. Those who innocently or otherwise suggest that the popular processes of our region are orchestrated from outside are simply poor students of history, for the people who know their history cannot be fooled.

233. Grenada continues to be outraged by the atrocities against the people of El Salvador committed by the Junta. The patriots of that suffering country long ago earned our solidarity, our brotherhood and our everlasting respect. We therefore hail the Mexican-French initiative as an act of statesmanship. We are proud to associate ourselves with the views expressed in the recent joint declaration.<sup>8</sup> We support without reservation the view that the alliance between the Farabundo Martí Front for National Liberation and the Democratic Revolutionary Front constitutes a representative political force, ready to undertake responsibilities and obligations and with a legitimate right to participate in negotiations on a political settlement.

234. Peace and justice have as their necessary prerequisite and unconditional acceptance of ideological pluralism and respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity. No one has the right to dictate to another, and we deplore the arrogant attitude adopted by some who seek to isolate those with whom they disagree. We specifically condemn all efforts to blockade Cuba or to put pressure on Nicaragua by political, economic or military means.

235. All these points of conflict and confrontation create the conditions for instability. In order to avoid the Caribbean's becoming a permanent zone of confrontation and tension, we have consistently called upon the United Nations and the Organization of American States (OAS) to

declare the Caribbean a zone of peace. This proposal was accepted by the OAS General Assembly at its meeting at La Paz in 1979. At the sixth meeting of the Standing Committee of Foreign Ministers of the Caribbean Community, held in Grenada in June 1981, a working committee was set up with the responsibility of elaborating general proposals to give effect to the declaration.

236. Another factor constituting a threat to peace and security in the Caribbean is the activities of mercenaries. This is a matter critical not only to Grenada but also to many countries of Africa, especially since the assassination of the great patriot and hero Patrice Lumumba. The Caribbean region is the latest theatre of action for those international murderers—in this case, paid, programmed and equipped to kill by that notorious racist element the Ku Klux Klan, as well as murderous Cuban and Nicaraguan exile groups operating in the United States. Three Caribbean countries, including Grenada, have been threatened by those dogs of war.

237. We therefore express our support for the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against the Recruitment, Use, Financing and Training of Mercenaries, established during the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly [resolution 35/48]. However, we are concerned about the slow progress of the work of this Committee and strongly urge that firm and effective measures be adopted in the near future to curb and prohibit the recruitment, training, assembly, transit, financing and use of mercenaries.

238. Once again the debate on the question of Namibia reverberates through the halls of the United Nations. We had hoped that this thirty-sixth session would be presented with a concrete report on the progress of the implementation of the plan for Namibia's independence. We greatly regret that this is not the case, and we attribute this failure to the racist, *apartheid* and expansionist régime in Pretoria, which sabotaged and scuttled the Geneva pre-implementation talks held last January.

239. It is regrettable that when the overwhelming majority of the Member States of the Organization, in the light of South Africa's intransigence, demanded the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa, three Western countries, permanent members of the Security Council, vetoed the proposed resolution, thus shielding South Africa and condoning its flagrant flouting of the high authority of this highly-reputed Organization.

240. Indignant as we were at this triple veto, today we are even more indignant and outraged at the efforts being made by certain Western Governments of the contact group of five to modify and alter the plan endorsed in Security Council resolution 435 (1978). As it is, that resolution was a product of compromise. SWAPO, the sole authentic and legitimate representative of the Namibian people, has made several heroic concessions to make that plan acceptable to all. Thus, Grenada adds its voice to the many already raised to demand the early implementation of resolution 435 (1978), unmodified and unqualified.

241. We understand that the scheme to "strengthen" resolution 435 (1978) involves allowing South Africa to write a constitution for Namibia. It is our unwavering

conviction that South Africa possesses neither the moral nor legal right to engage in any such exercise. The articulation of the basic law of the land is the inalienable right of the people of Namibia, led by its sole representative, SWAPO.

242. Furthermore, those manoeuvres to attain more concessions for the racist régime serve only to bolster that discredited clique. Those manoeuvres encourage South Africa to flout world public opinion, to persist in its illegal occupation of Namibia and to increase its aggression against the neighbouring States, especially Angola, Mozambique and Zambia. This reality was brought home sharply when South Africa, in a show of profound and open contempt for this Organization, staged a massive invasion of the People's Republic of Angola on the eve of the emergency special session on Namibia. The Pretoria régime continues to occupy Angolan territory even now.

243. Grenada expresses its full solidarity with the Government and people of the People's Republic of Angola as they confront the military might of the racist forces of South Africa, which have grossly violated Angola's sovereignty and territorial integrity. We further express our absolute disgust at the United States veto in the Security Council on 31 August 1981 of a draft resolution condemning the South African invasion of Angola and calling for the withdrawal of the racist forces from Angolan territory.<sup>9</sup> That veto by the United States constitutes a veritable shield for South Africa and an endorsement of the illegal action of that outlaw State. It also indicates the growing unholy alliance between Pretoria and Washington.

244. Grenada recognizes that the objective of South Africa's aggressive policy and actions in southern Africa is to perpetuate its Fascist system of *apartheid* and racism in South Africa and to overthrow the legitimate Government of Angola. However, Grenada also recognizes that the day is not far off when the foundations of racism will crumble and the legitimate representatives of the South African people will assume their rightful and historic role.

245. Grenada reiterates its solidarity with the POLISARIO Front and the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic and with the people of Western Sahara as they struggle to attain self-determination. Grenada welcomes and will give every support to the recent initiatives of the OAU to formulate a comprehensive peace plan for Western Sahara. We urge all parties concerned to maintain an attitude of good will and genuine commitment in order to effect a final and just solution to that conflict.

246. Regarding the situation in Cyprus, we welcome the resumption of the inter-communal talks. It is our earnest hope that the talks will lead to the restoration of unity and the strengthening of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of that country.

247. Once more, we issue a call for the peaceful reunification of Korea. We believe that the proposals put forward by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea provide a reasonable basis for negotiations.

248. We wish to issue a firm call for self-determination for the people of East Timor.

249. Grenada supports the legitimate aspirations of the Argentinian people to see the Malvinas Islands under their national sovereignty,

250. The situation in the Middle East remains tense, and recent events there have actually aggravated the conditions of instability which prevail. This is manifested in Israel's increased aggression against the Palestinian and Arab people, in its bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor, violating Iraq's sovereignty and displaying utter disregard for international law, and also in its vicious and lethal raids on Beirut and southern Lebanon.

251. Also contributing to the heightened tension in the region was the shooting down of two Libyan planes by the United States Navy over the Gulf of Sidra last August. We wish to register our profound indignation and strong condemnation of that premeditated act of aggression against the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. Grenada calls upon those forces of aggression and domination to cease their illegal military acts so that the people of the Middle East can enjoy their independence and construct their processes free from outside interference.

252. We also take this opportunity to reiterate our firm condemnation of any partial approach to, or agreement on, resolving the untenable situation in the Middle East. We reaffirm our recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and express our irrevocable conviction that the PLO must be a party to any full and comprehensive plan for a just solution to the Middle East conflict. Such a solution must allow for a fully sovereign Palestinian State and for the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to their homeland.

253. The real agent of destabilization, aggression and tension in the Middle East is Israel's zionism armed by United States imperialism. Zionism is an indisputable form of racism which, like its twin brother, South Africa's *apartheid*, has been nurtured on aggression and expansion. Thus Grenada, in unhesitatingly denouncing zionism as a form of racism, denounces at the same time the parties that equip Israel with the deadly, sophisticated weapons it utilizes to maintain the racist system of zionism and to perpetrate vicious acts of aggression against the Palestinian people and the sovereign independent States of the Middle East.

254. We call for the ratification of SALT II agreement and for an end to the reckless pursuit of new arms of mass destruction in the illusory quest for military superiority. How can we continue to justify the expenditure of such huge sums on arms in a world characterized by large oceans of poverty?

*The President resumed the Chair.*

255. In conclusion, let us reflect on the following. While there are dangerous signs in the world—so dangerous that one is reminded of the 1930s—the truth of the matter is that mankind is not a hostage unto itself. Over the long sweep of history, mankind has displayed a high degree of innovativeness, creativity and resilience. Man does have the capacity to emerge triumphant out of this

present crisis. What is needed is the will, the determination and the courage to face squarely these monumental problems. Above all, we need a renewed spirit of mutual co-operation, tolerance among States and the realization of a healthier climate for peaceful coexistence.

256. Let us all rededicate ourselves to a more just and brighter world for all humanity.

257. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call upon those representatives that have expressed the wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply. May I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and to five minutes for the second and should be made by representatives from their seats.

258. Mr. ADELMAN (United States of America): In the space of just a few minutes it is scarcely possible even to outline an adequate, factual response to the vicious diatribe, to the tissue of lies, delivered in this assembly of nations two days ago by the representative of Al-Qadhafi's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya [29th meeting]. I speak for my delegation and my Government, of course; but, more than that, I speak for the American people and indeed for the tens of millions everywhere in the world who today are mourning the death of an authentic Arab hero, Anwar El Sadat of Egypt, whose nobility and boundless courage in the great cause of peace will stand forever in such stark and devastating contrast to the violence, the destruction, the terrorism that are the hallmarks of Al-Qadhafi's Libya.

259. It was, of course, Al-Qadhafi who made a standing offer of \$1 million for anyone able and willing to murder Anwar El Sadat—an unprincipled incitement to vile criminality quite rare in the world aside from the acts by the likes of Ghengis Khan, Hitler or Stalin. Yet it is the appropriate mark of one who has chosen to spearhead violence, aggression and terrorism in every corner of the world.

260. That record is plain. It is grim. And it is documented many times over. The technique used by Libya is that of Orwellian inversion of the truth: the attribution to my Government of the very crimes against peace and justice and human rights of which Libya, on the record, is guilty beyond question.

261. The Libyan representative spoke of the "terrorist nature" of my Government, its practice of "physical liquidation". The claim is outrageous. The source makes it more so.

262. No reasonable person in this Hall can any longer doubt that Libya is a major source of the funding of international terrorism. This funding is impossible to estimate accurately, but most accounts place it at hundreds of millions of dollars annually. More than a dozen training camps are reportedly located in Libya for the training of expatriates, mostly Africans and Asians, in terrorist practices. According to the scholar Claire Sterling in *The Terror Network*, a work laden with specifics, Al-Qadhafi made his first investment in Palestinian terrorism abroad by providing the funds, the arms and the training for the Munich Olympic massacre in 1972.

263. The list goes on. He funded the Italy-Libya Association until it was outlawed by the Italian Government as a terrorist front. In charge of that Association was Claudio Mutti, one of Italy's known nazi terrorists, who was gaoled in 1980 for his alleged role in the Bologna railroad station bombing. Mutti's close associate, now serving a life sentence for terrorism, had picked up a 100,000-lire pay-off from the Libyan Embassy in Rome just before gunning down two policemen in 1975. Mutti's heroes are Hitler and Mussolini and Al-Qadhafi. The Libyans also funded the fascist Avanguardia Nazionale, whose posters spoke for themselves, saying: "We are with you heroic Arab-Palestinian people, and not with the dirty, fat Jews".

264. Today this terror network extends from Argentina to virtually all of Western Europe, to Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand. The work is often conducted through Libyan diplomatic missions. The terrorists are heralded and welcomed home. Members of Black September and the Japanese Red Army have been given safe haven in Libya after conducting successful terrorist operations abroad. Al-Qadhafi's attempts to unseat other Arab leaders—notably in Egypt and Sudan, but not limited to these two—make a mockery of his pan-Arab rhetoric: Al-Qadhafi's use of diplomatic facilities as support bases for terrorist operations and of his intelligence services as international terrorist instruments make a mockery of diplomatic immunity. Al-Qadhafi's claim of the right to murder Libyan dissidents on foreign soil—such as the February attack in a Rome airport on anti-Qadhafi Libyans, and possibly even in the United States—makes a mockery of the Libyan speech of Wednesday. Strangely, Al-Qadhafi himself is more forthright than his representative. I quote from his speech of 2 March of this year: "It is the duty of the Libyan people constantly to liquidate their opponents . . . the physical and final liquidation of the opponents of popular authority"—meaning his dictatorial authority—"must continue at home and abroad, everywhere."

265. The announcement made at Tripoli in August last of the desire to undertake the physical liquidation of hostile individuals, beginning with Ronald Reagan, begs either response or comment.

266. A second and related Libyan charge was of America's "ambitious designs for hegemony . . . which constitute a flagrant threat to international peace and security"—this coming from a leader who maintains an expeditionary force of 7,000 troops in neighbouring Chad. Libya's announcement last December of a merger with Chad was an expression of Al-Qadhafi's aggressive intention to absorb his African neighbours in a Libya-dominated State.

267. Just two days ago press reports indicated that Al-Qadhafi was escalating the conflict in Chad by dispatching columns of reinforcements and Soviet-built bombers to strengthen his troops fighting in that tragic battle. Shortly after his initial invasion Al-Qadhafi himself said, "We consider Niger second in line to Chad".

268. This is no bilateral issue between the United States and Libya. It is, rather, an issue between Libya and its neighbours. I can do no better than to cite African outrage over this Libyan expansionism. In February of this

year an *ad hoc* committee of the OAU issued a communiqué condemning the proposed merger and calling for the immediate withdrawal of Libyan troops. Senegal, Equatorial Guinea and Gambia broke diplomatic relations with Libya in 1980. Mauritania, Mali, Nigeria, Ghana and Niger strongly objected to the transformation of Libyan embassies into "people's bureaus" last year and reacted by expelling the Libyan diplomats from their countries. Kenya and Upper Volta refused to allow the establishment of "people's bureaus" at all. Sudan has long considered Libya responsible for a series of unsuccessful *coup* attempts and aggressions, including in recent times. On 25 June 1981, accusing the Libyans of involvement in an explosion at the embassy of Chad in Khartoum, Sudan expelled all Libyan diplomats.

269. This is just the beginning. The President of Niger, the President of Mali and the President of Sudan have charged the Libyans with attempts to overthrow their Governments. The Governments of Senegal and Gambia have charged the Libyans with imprisoning their nationals and putting them into military training against their will. The civilian, democratically elected Government of Ghana charged Libya with internal subversion when it expelled Libyan diplomats. The universally respected former President of Senegal, Leopold Senghor, has stated that Libyan forces are designed to destroy Africa south of the Sahara and create a vast Libyan empire.

270. Despite his love of revolution and violence for their own sake, Al-Qadhafi has given assistance to some Governments in countering dissidents. Characteristically, he has done so with the most savage of Governments—those of the Central African Empire under Bokassa and Uganda under Amin. According to Claire Sterling there were 200 Libyan soldiers in Bokassa's army when he was overthrown in 1979, and Al-Qadhafi dispatched 2,500 Libyan soldiers to help the bloodthirsty Amin in his last stand in 1979. Both assistance programmes, fortunately for the Central African and Ugandan people, were failures.

271. Thirdly, the Libyan representative charged that "the goal of the United States today is to militarize the world" while Libya stands for total disarmament and the end of the arms race. This is indeed Orwellian inversion in its extreme form. The regional arms race in northern Africa has been spurred precisely by Libya. This country with its small population of under 3 million persons purchased \$5 billion worth of arms between 1974 and 1978, of which \$3.6 billion originated in the Soviet Union.

272. The PRESIDENT: I am sorry that I have to interrupt the speaker, but the 10-minute period is up. May I therefore ask him to be kind enough to conclude his statement.

273. Mr. ADELMAN (United States of America): I am concluding now.

274. Fourthly, the Libyans claim that the United States "aims at pressuring" Libya "into abandoning its non-alignment". No such pressuring has taken place. None indeed is needed. Colonel Qadhafi himself feigns no substantive non-alignment. In an interview in December 1979, he stated that "the Soviets are our friends" and "those who side with America will be our enemies".

275. Last September, Libya signed yet another arms agreement with the Soviet Union.

276. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, on a point of order.

277. Mr. MUNTASSER (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya): I think that the representative of the United States has already spoken for more than 14 minutes, and that is why I raised a point of order.

278. The PRESIDENT: Once again, I appeal to the United States representative to conclude his statement.

279. Mr. ADELMAN (United States of America): I am concluding, and I recognize that this is very difficult medicine for the representative of Libya to swallow. The truth often hurts. My statement will be available in full to any representative willing to read the truth.

280. I would end by saying that I am delivering this response today because the chief of our delegation, Mrs. Jeane Kirkpatrick, is in Cairo, attending the funeral services of President Anwar El Sadat, a towering figure, as she observed last Tuesday in this Hall. His extraordinary career as a statesman and peacemaker proves that heroism still lives in the contemporary age. The obscene celebrations in Libya of this hero's tragic murder must go without extended comment. They offend the sensibilities of our delegation in this Hall, of the American people and, I can say with real confidence, of civilized people everywhere.

281. The PRESIDENT: Before I call on the next speaker to exercise his right of reply, may I just explain for the benefit of all delegations that we have here a very accurate timepiece which, I assure everyone, does not discriminate between speakers. When the 10 minutes are up, the President will immediately draw the attention of the speaker to this fact. Thereupon, the tradition has been to ask him to conclude and to reset the clock for exactly two minutes more and to interrupt him again if he exceeds two minutes. Please leave this in the hands of the President. I understand that on a previous occasion the President was interrupted when he was about to interrupt the speaker because of the expiration of the allotted time.

282. Mr. BLUM (Israel): The general debate which has just concluded has been overshadowed by the tragic news from Cairo regarding the assassination of President Anwar El Sadat. If there is a lesson to be learned from this calamity, it is that violence and terrorism will solve nothing and that the peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israel conflict—just as of any other conflict—is through direct negotiations among the States involved.

283. During the general debate we have witnessed yet another spate of the customary anti-Israel rhetorical violence in the Assembly. True to their consistent pattern, our enemies have used this forum as a rostrum for the propagation of hatred and fanaticism and have once more turned the General Assembly into an instrument of anti-Israel incitement. But such rhetorical exercises can scarcely mean much, for the anti-Israel obsession displayed in the United Nations is too well known to be taken seriously any longer by people living in the real world, that is, in the world outside the Organization.

284. In the course of these anti-Israel diatribes, many speakers feigned concern for the Palestinian Arabs and spoke of the alleged need for a homeland for the allegedly homeless Palestinian Arabs. Slogans of this kind fit in well with the design of Arab States to draw attention away from the real cause of the Arab-Israel conflict. For the conflict is not, and never has been, between Israel and a stateless people.

285. The Palestinian Arabs have achieved their self-determination in Jordan, which is the Palestinian Arab State by virtue of its history, geography, demography, religion, language, culture and all aspects of its national life.

286. The real cause of the Arab-Israel conflict is, and always has been, the refusal of Arab States to accept the existence of an independent and secure State of Israel and their avowed commitment to its destruction. There is no better illustration of this point than in the support by these Arab States for the terrorist PLO.

287. It should be recalled that in 1964, at a time when Jordan occupied Judea and Samaria, and Egypt occupied the Gaza district, the PLO was established by the Arab League as an instrument for pursuing its goal to eliminate the State of Israel. It was then that the terrorist PLO proclaimed its so-called Palestinian National Covenant, aiming at the total repudiation of the existence of Israel. That criminal objective of the PLO has since been regularly reiterated and remains unaltered.

288. As long as our rejectionist neighbours continue to support the PLO and what it stands for, it is a sure sign that they are not interested in reconciliation and are continuing to aim at Israel's demise.

289. The national rights of the Palestinian Arabs were fully realized more than three decades ago when the Palestinian Arab State of Jordan was established on 80 per cent of the territory of Palestine.

290. Between 1948 and 1967, Israel did not control Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district, yet strangely enough there was no demand then for the establishment of a "Palestinian State" in those areas, for the entire world, including the Arab States, knew that Jordan was the Palestinian Arab State. The Arab countries which now so sanctimoniously preach about the necessity for a second Palestinian Arab State did nothing at the time to establish such a State in Judea and Samaria.

291. The Arab leaders themselves never attempted to conceal the fact that Palestine and Jordan are indeed one. The same Crown Prince of Jordan who addressed the Assembly two weeks ago, on 28 September [15th meeting], will obviously recall his statement in the Jordanian National Assembly on 2 February 1970: "Palestine is Jordan and Jordan is Palestine. The nation is one and the land is one."

292. It is also well known that the Arab residents of Judea and Samaria are citizens of Jordan. Today, Palestinian Arabs from these areas occupy leading positions in Jordan too numerous to mention. The Palestinian Arabs constitute Jordan's economic, administrative and intellectual mainstay. It is therefore an irrefutable fact that Jordan is the Palestinian Arab State, just as Israel is the Palestinian Jewish State.

293. Once it is clearly understood that Jordan is indeed the Palestinian Arab State the Arab-Israel conflict is reduced to a conflict of manageable proportions. The Camp David framework for peace in the Middle East, which constitutes the first major breakthrough in the Arab-Israel conflict in three decades, represents an attempt to reconcile the legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arab residents of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district with the equally legitimate rights of Israel.

294. The Camp David framework for peace in the Middle East is the first practical proposal to be advanced to provide a dignified solution for the needs of the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district, while at the same time taking account also of Israel's needs. It has been and remains the only feasible path to peace in the Middle East. No other viable solution appears on the horizon.

295. Rather than encourage the annual sterile, obscene anti-Israel ritual, the Assembly should support those efforts in the Middle East which, together with the Israel-Egypt peace treaty, constitute the first steps towards a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israel conflict.

296. Mr. EL SHRIKH (Sudan) (*Interpretation from Arabic*): The delegation of the Sudan finds itself compelled to exercise its right of reply to the statement of Mr. Aycl Ahmet Aghbach, the representative of Chad, before the Assembly on Wednesday, 7 October [30th meeting], concerning allegations which have no relationship whatsoever to reality.

297. He is very well aware of the positive role that has always been played by the Sudan in its attempt to reach a peaceful political settlement of the problem in Chad. The Sudan, which is linked to Chad by ties of religion, culture and history, is one of the African countries that best understands the nature and dimensions of the problem in Chad. It is not by accident that we direct our statement to the representative of Chad, who will fully remember the initiative taken by the Sudan to unify the different parts of Chad. He will also remember the motto of national unity advocated by the Sudan to the parties concerned, because Sudan had the honour to preside over the meetings which were held at Sebha, Benghazi, Khartoum, Kano and, finally, Lagos. The sum total of these efforts was presented in the Lagos Agreement on National Reconciliation in Chad, whereby the Transitional National Union Government of Chad was established. We hope that the representative of Chad will have sufficient courage and honesty to speak about the flagrant violations of the provisions of that Agreement.

298. The delegation of the Sudan completely rejects his statement, which included allegations against our country, and would like to make the real situation clear.

299. First, the representative of Chad has alleged that the presence of the Libyan forces is linked to the fact that Chad had been exposed to external threats. It is clear that he was referring to the Sudan. That allegation is completely untrue. The Sudan has never had ambitious designs on Chad. The contrary is true, as evidenced by all the attempts made by the Sudan in relation to the internal conflict to help the warring factions in Chad to arrive at a peaceful and political settlement in order to guarantee the unity and independence of Chad. The efforts of the Sudan

to reconcile the various parties and the initiatives taken with the agreement and approval of those parties—and the representative of Chad knows this very well—and were based on our full conviction that the best way of settling the internal problem in Chad was for the various forces in Chad to arrive at a political solution, which would be the only way of preventing foreign intervention.

300. Secondly, the allegation by the representative of Chad about the presence of foreign forces in the Sudan is totally groundless. The Sudan has rejected this on numerous occasions and has denied that there are any foreign forces on its territory. It has also challenged those who have made such accusations to subject their territory and the Sudan's to inspection by regional and international organizations, whether within the framework of the OAU, the League of Arab States or the United Nations.

301. It is our belief that all this is intended to justify the Libyan military presence in Chad. On numerous occasions we have rejected and denounced that intervention, and we should like to reiterate that the presence of such forces in Chad constitutes a direct threat to the security and sovereignty of the Sudan and of the whole region. That was confirmed last month when the Libyan forces stationed in Chad violated Sudanese territory, which led us to address a message to the President of the Security Council on 16 September in which we asked the Council to take appropriate measures to ensure that the actions being carried out by the Libyan forces stationed in Chad cease.<sup>10</sup>

302. Thirdly, the allegation by Chad that the Sudan is helping dissidents from Chad and giving them refuge is groundless. The Sudan, as the representative of Chad fully knows, has been playing host to increasing numbers of refugees from Chad since the civil war. The Sudan is unable to close its borders against these people, in spite of the insufficiency of its own resources. We are sorry that the representative of Chad should describe such humane actions as sheltering dissidents who are carrying out subversive activities.

303. Lastly, the representative of Chad has even told some lies about the Chairman of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, who, he claimed, had sent emissaries to the Sudan to ask it to stop its interference in the internal affairs of Chad. This is a lie and a distortion of the facts. Everyone, including the representative of Chad, knows very well who is interfering in the affairs of others and maintaining a military presence in Chad.

304. The Sudan, whose Foreign Minister has reaffirmed before the Assembly that the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States is one of the cornerstones of our country's foreign policy, cannot interfere in the affairs of other States. This stems from our belief in good-neighbourly relations which link us with six out of our eight neighbouring countries.

305. In conclusion, the Sudan would like to reaffirm its full commitment to the solution of the problem of Chad, in accordance with the provisions of the Lagos Agreement on National Reconciliation, which provides the necessary foundation for a peaceful political solution to the Chad

problem in all its dimensions, and in accordance with the resolutions of the OAU.

306. Mr. IBRAHIM (Indonesia): My delegation has asked to be allowed to speak to exercise its right of reply to the unfounded accusations regarding East Timor made by certain delegations during the general debate. Their efforts to distort the facts concerning the integration of East Timor into the Republic of Indonesia are undoubtedly a futile attempt to reverse the course of history and to deceive international public opinion. These accusations have been refuted in the past, therefore, I will not indulge those who turn a deaf ear and close their eyes to the realities in East Timor.

307. East Timor has been an integral part of the Republic of Indonesia since 17 July 1976, and, as the Assembly is aware, the East Timorese people made every effort to keep the United Nations fully informed on and involved in the process of decolonization, as reflected in the relevant reports contained in documents A/AC.109/526 and 527 of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and in Security Council document S/12104.<sup>11</sup> By their action the people of East Timor have irrevocably decided, in exercise of their right to self-determination, to become independent through integration with the Republic of Indonesia, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), 1541 (XV) and 2625 (XXV). Indeed, it is ironic that the decision of the people of East Timor to integrate with Indonesia and the acceptance of this reality by the countries in the region as well as by many others from other regions continue to be ignored by some delegations during the course of the general debate.

308. It should also be noted that since integration the people of East Timor, together with the rest of the Indonesian people, have been dedicating themselves to the development of the province by improving the infrastructure in the educational, agricultural, health, transportation and other sectors in the implementation of the over-all development plan. Much indeed remains to be done to overcome the backwardness resulting from hundreds of years of colonial domination and negligence.

309. This is the reality in East Timor, and Indonesia will oppose any effort to turn the clock back to the time of colonial exploitation and civil war. No amount of baseless charges can change that reality. My delegation categorically rejects the unfounded allegations concerning East Timor made by certain delegations in their statements before the Assembly.

310. Mr. LESLIE (Belize): The delegation of Belize intervenes at this point to place on record our delegation's categorical rejection of the statements made concerning Belize by the Foreign Minister of Guatemala when he addressed the General Assembly on 5 October [26th meeting].

311. The Government and people of Belize have no doubt that the independence of Belize, attained on 21 September 1981, was a genuine act of self-determination after many years of struggle. The people of Belize have repeatedly voted in free, fair and democratic elections for a na-

tional Government, whose platform and manifesto called for the secure independence of Belize with all its territory. This fact is recognized by the Belizean people, by our neighbours in the Caribbean Community and Latin America; by the non-aligned movement, by the Commonwealth and by the United Nations, which have welcomed us in their midst as a free, sovereign and independent nation. It is regrettable that the Government of Guatemala has not yet found it possible to share this view.

312. The delegation of Belize does not intend to enter into a debate with the delegation of Guatemala on its interpretation of Belize's independence. We wish merely to repeat our Government's willingness to join with the Government of the United Kingdom to help find a solution of the controversy with Guatemala on the basis of the Heads of Agreement. At the same time, we are ready to pursue a programme of friendship and economic co-operation with Guatemala for our mutual benefit.

313. Mr. ADAN (Somalia): In the 30th meeting, on 7 October, the representative of the Ethiopian empire State made the ridiculous claim before the Assembly that Ogaden was an integral part of Ethiopia and that the decision on this matter taken by the OAU meeting at Nairobi was the final verdict of Africa. It is clear that that assertion was a propagandistic move aimed at confusing his listeners and distorting the deliberations of the OAU, which were clearly in favour of continuing the search for a peaceful settlement of the dispute between Somalia and Ethiopia over the rights of the people of Ogaden.

314. As I pointed out in my statement on 2 October [24th meeting], the Good Offices Committee, whose recommendations were adopted at Nairobi, was not by its terms of reference empowered to arbitrate on or adjudicate the dispute, but was authorized merely to use its good offices to bring about a permanent peace between these two countries. Its recommendations could therefore not be, nor do they purport to be, a final verdict on the dispute. It is self-evident that any final solution should be one that is mutually acceptable to all parties to the dispute, in particular the people of Ogaden, whose destiny is at stake.

315. The Ethiopian representative attempted to play down the terms of reference of the Good Offices Committee in stating that this was "neither the time nor the place to raise such extraneous issues" and accused me of trying "to take Africa seven years back" by raising the issue of the mandate of the Committee. But if the mandate of the Committee is an extraneous issue, one may wonder what the formation of the Committee itself was all about. Indeed, how can these terms of reference be regarded as extraneous or irrelevant issues even after a lapse of seven years? Clearly, such an argument is insupportable except in the strange and convoluted logic of the Ethiopian representative.

316. Much is made by the representative of the empire-State of Ethiopia about the sanctity of the boundaries inherited from colonialism on the accession of modern African States to independence. But I fail to see how this could be applied to present-day colonialist Ethiopia, whose lawful frontiers should be those of the ancient State of Abyssinia before that State, under its Emperor Menelik II, joined the European Powers' scramble for the colonization of Africa and itself became a colonial Power.

317. As I stated in my statement on 2 October, Somalia, as a signatory of both the Charter of the United Nations and that of the OAU, abides by the principles enshrined in those documents, including those regarding respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and non-interference in their internal affairs, as well as the equally important principle of the right of peoples to self-determination, which is so violently flouted where Ethiopia's subject peoples are concerned. To assert that such territories as Ogaden and Eritrea are an integral part of Ethiopia is to use the same logic resorted to in the past by certain European Powers in their ridiculous claim that their African possessions were an integral part of their respective metropolises. In the case of those European Powers, history has forced their hand, and by the same logic Ethiopia's persistent colonialism will inevitably meet the same fate. If the principles being relied upon by colonialist Ethiopia to perpetuate its domination of those peoples had been used by other colonialist Powers to extinguish the right to self-determination, millions of African peoples now enjoying independence would still be suffering under colonial bondage. Clearly, therefore, the OAU's position of respect for the borders inherited from colonialism in relation to Ethiopia will become meaningful only when the Government of that country, like other colonial Powers, finds the courage to carry out the decolonization of its colonial possessions, such as Ogaden and Eritrea.

318. The representative of Ethiopia slanderously accused my country of "wars of aggression . . . against Ethiopia". That accusation, which I categorically reject, cannot be sustained, even by simple logic, considering the fact that Somalia with its population of 5 million is not in a position to commit aggression, even if it so desired, against Ethiopia, which boasts a population of 30 million.

319. It is true that wars are being waged within the empire-State of Ethiopia, but they are wars of liberation and of resistance by the oppressed peoples of Ogaden and Eritrea, as well as those of Ethiopian nationality. It is also true that Somali military units intervened briefly in 1977 to help protect the population of the Ogaden from mass extermination by the Ethiopian army, supported by surrogate forces, but these were subsequently withdrawn by the Somali Government. In point of fact, it is the Government of Ethiopia that can be rightly accused of waging wars of aggression against my country to this day and that is guilty of the most cruel violations of human rights, not only in its colonized territories but also in respect of the suffering people of Ethiopia itself. The Ethiopian representative therefore has no moral standing on the basis of which to accuse Somalia of crimes which his own Government continues to perpetrate against innocent civilian life and for the consequences of which it is held fully responsible.

320. Mr. MONCADA ZAPATA (Nicaragua) (*Interpretation from Spanish*): Yesterday [31st meeting], a representative of the United States claimed, by denying the true history of Latin America, Central America and Nicaragua, to refute the facts and concrete realities set before the international community with great responsibility by the Co-ordinator of the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction, Commander Daniel Ortega Saavedra [29th meeting]. Far from refuting those words, the United States representative demonstrated the open hostility of the Reagan Administration towards the Nic-

araguan revolution and his Government's displeasure at the idea of the dialogue and political solution necessary for the peace and stability of the explosive Central American region. In an attempt to defend the indefensible and justify what cannot be justified, that representative, employing a series of concepts and terms that we can only describe as cynical and irresponsible, stated that his Government had sought to establish a dialogue with Nicaragua and continued to hope for success. The American representative appeared to ignore the various occasions upon which our Government has sought to establish a dialogue at the highest level in a serious and dignified manner.

321. Can it be that on the scale of values of the present American Administration, "dialogue" means seeking the political and economic isolation of those countries which, like Nicaragua, aspire to genuine independence? Can it be that we should understand dialogue to mean the policies of economic destabilization, including the use of food as a weapon of political pressure? Can dialogue, according to the Reagan Administration, mean allowing the United States, specifically in Florida, to train counterrevolutionaries who belonged for the most part to the criminal Somoza militia engendered and created by past American Administrations? Can it mean accusing our country of intervening in the internal affairs of other States by allowing, according to the Reagan Administration, traffic in weapons with El Salvador—according to its so-called White Paper, which even the American press refuted completely and proved false? Is dialogue sponsoring through political manoeuvres the recent ratification of the Saccio-Vázquez Carrizosa Treaty, which jeopardizes the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Nicaragua? Is dialogue the sending of special missions to exercise political pressures and to distort Central American reality for some Latin American and European countries which are seeking to damage the prestige of our revolution throughout the world? Is it dialogue when high-ranking representatives of the American Government, such as the Permanent Representative to this Organization, express their affection for the genocidal Somoza régime with such grotesque statements that the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva had to deny them?

322. With what we can only call great ingenuousness, the American delegation wonders who is really being threatened in Central America and immediately goes into a digression about our military capability to invade our neighbours. Let us be serious. Let us demand that within this community of the united Nations of the world respect be shown to those to whom it is due and that our representatives not be mocked, as they so frequently are by the American delegation. How is it possible that military advisers can still be sent to a country at war, with more than 20,000 of its citizens dead this year, a country that is armed to the teeth, and the claim still be made that this is not intervention? How is it possible that in an explosive situation such as the one prevailing in the region, arms sales to Guatemala have been resumed, as they have been to Honduras, with which military manoeuvres are taking place close to our coast, and that arms are offered to Costa Rica, as stated by the representative of the United States—a statement that gave rise to an eloquent reply from President Rodrigo Carazo, who stated that that was

not the kind of aid that Costa Rica either wanted or needed?

323. How is it possible if the United States has the instruments and the ability to detect the supposed arms transfers from Nicaragua to El Salvador, with which we have no common border, that it cannot also detect the Somoza bands that continually carry out incursions from Honduran territory and have caused the death of 200 Nicaraguan teachers, peasants, militia and members of our army? Have they no interest in detecting them, as they would if they truly desired peace in the area? Are they themselves arousing or arming them in order to prevent the consolidation of a Government that is not to their liking for the simple fact that it demands respect and equal and just treatment in its mutual relations?

324. We must act responsibly. If we wish to have peace, let us not promote war in Central America, as the United States has historically done and is doing again today without care or regard for the dead, the tortured, the hungry and the homeless. If we want peace, let us not introduce new elements to disturb the peace of the area, such as the "Halcon Vista" manoeuvres which are being carried out for the first time with Honduras a few kilometres off our shores. To our official protests the Reagan Administration has sarcastically indicated that if the Nicaraguan Government wishes to participate as an observer the United States will consider that possibility.

325. Likewise, the representative of the United States in his statement questioned a series of events that, according to him, have occurred in our country. This does not surprise us, since we are used to distortions of our internal reality and to the open interference of the United States in our domestic affairs. For our part, we are surprised at the sudden concern on the part of the United States for human rights and elections in Nicaragua, a concern never seriously felt during the 45-year reign of the Somoza dynasty, which it itself engendered. Nicaragua, true to its policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, will refrain from mentioning the situation of the minorities in the United States that are treated as second-class citizens. Nor shall we refer to the effects of military escalation by the new Administration on social programmes, which is harming millions of workers. Nor shall we speak of the almost military measures taken against the air traffic controllers, which have left thousands of people jobless, or of the undeclared war against the labour movement in this country.

326. In his statement, Commander Daniel Ortega Saavedra, with a high sense of responsibility, relayed the decision of the Salvadorian revolutionary patriots to contribute to the search for peace in the region, and today we endorse that wise attitude and appeal to the United States, which is involved in the dispute, to give this serious thought. If it does not do so, if it attempts to achieve solutions that will lead to elections carried out in blood-baths, it will not be long before the war will spread to all of Central America, for it is difficult to contain the peoples' desire for liberty.

327. As a great Power the United States cannot deceive itself. Revolutions are not exported but come into being and develop according to the internal conditions of exploitation and injustice in each country. Nor should the

United States seek to deceive the international community by presenting us as a destabilizing factor in the area. Historically exploited by imperialism, Nicaragua is being compelled to prepare to defend itself because of the continued aggression and threats of invasion of which we are constantly the victim. This is hampering our efforts for economic development by diverting human resources to the defence of our sovereignty and territorial integrity, which are today seriously threatened. Nicaragua has no army, only armed citizens who are prepared to fight to the end to preserve the freedom they won at so heavy a price.

328. The PRESIDENT: Before calling upon the next speaker, I should like to remind members of General Assembly decision 34/401, which provides that the number of interventions in the exercise of the right of reply for any delegation at a given meeting should be limited to two per item, and that the second intervention should be limited to five minutes.

329. Mr. LICHENSTEIN (United States of America): I should like to make just a couple of very brief comments in reaction to the statement that we have just heard by the representative of Nicaragua.

330. The United States has always been prepared to enter into dialogue with the Government of Nicaragua and, indeed, with all Governments on the basis of reason and truth and a genuine desire to achieve together that which none of us can achieve independently and alone. He made reference to the "White Paper" on El Salvador. The allegations, charges and facts included in that White Paper were true, are true and remain true. We have not repudiated it, will not repudiate it and do, indeed, stand behind it.

331. The United States engages in bilateral relations, both military and economic, with many other nations, including those in Central and South America. The purpose of our bilateral relationships is, without exception, to assist those nations in the maintenance of their own freedom and independence.

332. I want to speak also very briefly to an allegation made earlier today by the Foreign Minister of Grenada. It has to do with a military exercise known as "Ocean Venture '81", which the Foreign Minister of Grenada alleged was the planning stage of a military invasion by the United States of his country. The representative of the United States, Mrs. Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, in a letter dated 22 September 1981 to the President of the Security Council, Mr. Carlos R. Rómulo, answered this totally unfounded allegation. The principal paragraph of her letter read as follows:

"The substance of the letter of the Government of Grenada consists of totally unfounded allegations about the United States/NATO military manoeuvres 'Ocean Venture '81' which were recently conducted in the waters of the South Atlantic, the Caribbean and other locations. Similar exercises have been conducted regularly since World War II, and have contributed to the peace and stability of the area. The exercises have had nothing whatever to do with Grenada, and pose no threat to Grenada, and are of no concern to the Government and people of Grenada."

333. Mr. ROSALES-RIVERA (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): El Salvador wishes to reply to several

paragraphs of the statement made by Mr. Daniel Ortega Saavedra who, as Co-ordinator of the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua, spoke before the Assembly [29th meeting], as well as to the representative of Nicaragua who spoke a short time ago.

334. Yesterday, Mr. José Napoleón Duarte, President of the Revolutionary Junta of the Government of El Salvador, addressed a message to the Salvadorian people in which he referred to the coarse, abusive and clearly interventionist manner in which Mr. Ortega Saavedra approached the internal situation in El Salvador. Among other things, President Duarte said,

"In my messages delivered to the Organization of American States and the United Nations, I reiterated the proposal for a political and democratic solution which was made on 15 September in the National Stadium. I can say with satisfaction that that proposal was greeted very favourably. On both occasions I received many expressions of solidarity from representatives of Governments which genuinely respect the principle of non-intervention and which truly desire a rapid solution to our problems. It was clear to me that, on their part, there was a receptive attitude to our invitation to come and observe the efforts we are making to implement that proposal.

"Without question, our appeal has met with the expected response and has also provoked an opposite reaction from those unable to agree to the final decision being left in the hands of the people.

"In his statement before the United Nations, the representative of the Government of Nicaragua supported the stance of the Salvadorian terrorist groups of the extreme left. Thus, the Revolutionary Junta of the Government of El Salvador has decided to reply to the views of the Nicaraguan Government. It replies to them in the United Nations, the very forum in which the Nicaraguan representative appeared to be more the spokesman of an armed group—whose main activity in El Salvador has been to wage a campaign of terrorism, sabotage, destruction and death, whose victim is not some enemy they try in vain to create, but rather the whole Salvadorian people—than the representative of his country's Government.

"It is a surprise to no one that the Sandinist Government was the only one inclined to fulfil so dishonourable a mission, for from the beginning it has been the chosen instrument, with its territory serving as the base for arms supply, refuge and support for the armed groups and as a sounding board for their campaigns of false propaganda. Thus, in the tragic Salvadorian conflict, the Nicaraguan Government can hardly be considered as a spokesman communicating a peace proposal in good faith.

"Our Government has repeatedly stated that at no time will it negotiate behind the backs of its people with armed groups or, even less, accept the negotiation of a new social order or the ridiculous notion of restructuring the armed forces to incorporate into them terrorist groups which are responsible for innumerable crimes.

"It is a true offence to the conscience of civilized, peace-loving peoples when a Government which is de-

terminated to create a military force disproportionate to its human and material resources, and with it to gain an equally disproportionate military advantage with respect to the countries of the area and to promote a belligerent psychosis among its own people, tries to turn itself into the arbiter of another country's pacification, especially when the internal political situation in Nicaragua is deteriorating before the advance of a totalitarian system which not only strangles freedom and threatens the very existence of democratic institutions, but also, under the pretext of the need to defend itself against imperialist aggression, is becoming a potential base for more aggressive and expansionist forces, foreboding greater difficulties for the Central American region.

"The present Government of Nicaragua has nothing to teach the Salvadorians with regard to the solution of economic and social problems; on the contrary, Nicaraguan citizens who have observed our process of structural changes are the first to recognize the depth and authenticity of those changes as compared with the fraud of which the Nicaraguan people has been a victim on moving from a family dictatorship only to topple into a régime that is also, oppressive and alien to its true aspirations.

"Thus, while in Nicaragua the democratic sectors are estranged from the political process, in El Salvador we are moving towards an electoral process in which the people will be able freely to decide its own future, participating not only in a free election, but also in the building of a new society which will be in accord with the aspirations of the majority.

"The action of the Government of Nicaragua is nothing more than a new interventionist manoeuvre, and we must respond with total rejection, since it is only Salvadorians who can decide the formulas that should be applied for the solution of our national problems. Therefore, we deny the Sandinist Government the right to change a proposal for a political solution which the Government of El Salvador has placed before the world with the full support of its people.

"The electoral process is under way. The Central Elections Council will hand over to the political parties the draft electoral law which has been prepared so that all political organizations may have an opportunity to participate in the final drafting and to submit their comments and suggestions. In that way, the people themselves have been focusing their attention on a peaceful alternative, which a majority has supported, joining in an event that will strike the final blow against those who have irrationally insisted on prolonging a useless struggle, thereby aggravating without reason the sufferings of our fellow citizens.

"Once again I appeal for greater emphasis on unity for a political and democratic solution and that we should redouble our efforts to prove to the world that that is the only course which is accepted by the people of El Salvador."

335. The delegation of Nicaragua can include as a member of its delegation anyone it wishes whatever his nationality. What it cannot do without violating the rules of the General Assembly is to point out publicly from this rostrum that a person who is active in the opposition of another country is physically seated in the seats assigned

to the delegation of Nicaragua. Such action introduces disorder and shows a lack of respect. If every delegation were to follow that underhand procedure, the Assembly would become a chaotic forum or a political circus. The responsibility would lie with that delegation.

336. Finally, El Salvador categorically rejects the terms used and the views expressed about my country by the representative of Grenada. They were no surprise to us. We already know who manages and manipulates the strings of their policies. At any rate, the Government of Grenada is in no moral position to judge the national situation in El Salvador. If they are confused in their own policies, what can be expected of their judgements about Central America? Let us remind the representative of Grenada that the communiqué to which he referred has been repudiated by the vast majority of Latin American countries.

337. Mr. AL-ZAHAWI (Iraq): The statement we just heard from the Israeli representative brings to mind a passage recorded by General von Horn in his autobiography. General von Horn was Chief of Staff of UNTSO in Palestine from 1958 until 1963. In his book entitled *Soldiering for Peace*,<sup>1</sup> he wrote the following in connection with an Israeli investigation of a truce incident:

"... we were amazed at the ingenuity of the falsehoods which distorted the true picture. The highly skilled Israeli Information Service and the entire press combined to manufacture a warped, distorted version which was disseminated with professional expertise through every available channel to their own people and their sympathizers and supporters in America and the rest of the world. Never in all my life had I believed the truth could be so cynically, expertly bent."

338. That description applies word for word to the distortion of the facts of the Palestine question by the Zionist representatives here and outside. Unfortunately, it seems that they have new support now. They have a newly found strategic ally in the United States.

339. In the *International Herald Tribune* of 3 August 1981, an article appeared entitled "Sadat's Consciousness-Raising Task in U.S.". The writer stated:

"... it was not too long ago that a European foreign minister raised, with Mr. Reagan the question of the 'policy of the Palestinian problem' and was plunged into despair by his response:

"There is no 'Palestinian problem', the President is said to have replied—it's a matter of 'Arab refugees' who ought to have been assimilated by the Arab world years ago."

340. Members of the Assembly will remember that those are almost exactly the words that were uttered by Golda Meir in 1969. As reported in *The Sunday Times* of London on 15 June 1969, she had this to say: "It was not as though there was a Palestinian people in Palestine considering itself as a Palestinian people and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them. They did not exist."

341. I have had occasion to refer to the credentials of Mr. Shamir as a man of peace at the 22nd meeting, on 1 October, and I shall not repeat what I said then. My remarks are contained in the verbatim record. However, I should like to refer to some other Zionist leaders to see what kind of peacemakers they are. Mr. Begin, notwith-

standing what his representative here says, said "I deeply believe in launching a preventive war against the Arab States without further hesitation. By doing so we will achieve two targets: Firstly, the annihilation of Arab power; and secondly, the extension of our territory . . .". That statement was made to the Israeli Parliament and was quoted in *The New York Times* of 26 April 1956.

342. A spokesman for the Herut Party, which is now the Likud, declared in New York in 1956, according to *The New York Times* of 25 January 1956:

"Peace with the Arab countries is impossible with the present boundaries of Israel, which leave Israel open to attack. Israel should take the offensive immediately and capture strategic points along its border, including the Gaza Strip, and then should take over the British-backed Kingdom of Jordan."

343. There has been a lot of talk here again of Camp David. It is significant that now the Israelis can speak openly of taking over the whole of the West Bank, dumping the Palestinians in Jordan and perhaps expanding into Jordan at a later stage. But let us look at the record.

344. Since the Camp David accords, Israel has intensified the establishment of Jewish colonies—the so-called settlements—in the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories. Israel, in the face of universal objection and condemnation, has illegally annexed Arab Jerusalem. Israel has escalated its aggressions against Lebanon in the Zionist efforts to dismember that country. Israel has expanded the area of its aggression by staging the unprecedented attack on the nuclear installations near Baghdad. Last but not least, Israel has escalated its genocidal war against the Palestinian people in what may be a drive for a "final solution" to the whole Palestinian question.

345. Perhaps it would be appropriate here to cite the words of the eminent British historian, the late Arnold J. Toynbee, who said in *A Study of History*:<sup>13</sup>

"If the heinousness of sin is to be measured by the degree to which the sinner is sinning against the light that God has vouchsafed to him, the Jews had even less excuse in A.D. 1948 for evicting Palestinian Arabs from their homes than Nebuchadnezzar and Titus and Hadrian and the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisition had had for uprooting, persecuting and exterminating Jews in Palestine and elsewhere at divers times in the past. In A.D. 1948 the Jews knew, from personal experience, what they were doing; and it was their supreme tragedy that the lesson learnt by them from their encounter with the Nazi German Gentiles should have been not to eschew but to imitate some of the evil deeds that the Nazis had committed against the Jews."

346. Mr. JUMA (Jordan): Many Palestinian people who were forcibly evicted from their historical homeland came to Jordan in 1948 and 1967. They lost almost everything except their longing to return to their original homeland, a longing and vision that remain strong and determined in the face of all attempts made by Israel to stifle Palestinian rights and Palestinian nationalism, as well as Israel's futile desire to liquidate the distinct Jordanian and Palestinian identities. To say that Jordan is a Palestinian State or homeland is an affront and an insult to the intelligence of the whole international community.

347. Mr. BARMA (Chad) (*interpretation from French*): The representative of the Sudan in his statement attempted

to have the Assembly believe his country had in no way intervened in the conflict in Chad and that it has always sought to work for national reconciliation. He supported his allegation by saying that the Sudan welcomed refugees from Chad who had fled their country because of the current insecurity, and he deplored the ingratitude of the Government of Chad to his country.

348. My delegation expresses its surprise at such a diversionary manoeuvre by the representative of the Sudan which is intended only to divert the Assembly's attention from the destabilizing role played by his country for some time in Chad. The participation of Sudanese troops in the events which took place on the eastern frontier of our country at the beginning of last month shows quite clearly that country's involvement in our internal affairs.

349. Since the events of March 1980, the Sudanese Government, violating all the rules of international law, has transformed our embassy in Khartoum into a centre for harbouring dissidents of Chad. Moreover, that Government continues to keep our former ambassador in Khartoum, according him all diplomatic privileges, although the Transitional National Union Government has relieved him of his functions. The Sudanese authorities have either expelled or arrested those diplomats of Chad who wished to remain loyal to the Government. As I speak to the Assembly, more than 200 citizens of Chad, including the First Secretary of our embassy, are suffering in Sudanese goals, because they refuse to involve themselves in the rebellion.

350. What the Sudanese representative called refugees from Chad in Sudan are no more nor less than a band of rebels who have escaped. I should like to ask him to what end does his Government welcome outlaws of Chad, finance, arm and train them with the clear assistance of certain Powers.

351. The Sudan shares a common border with the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, and it is therefore possible for it to settle its problems with that country. The reality is that the Khartoum régime encounters internal difficulties of such gravity that it has to sidetrack its people's attention from them, particularly its army's attention. It has found nothing better than to use Chad as a scapegoat by imposing on it a war that has destroyed its economic and human potential. The whole world knows that the Sudanese Government has more people opposing it than does the Government of Chad. If Chad did not want its territory to be used by those opponents against the Sudan, it was not because of its weakness; it was out of respect for the sacrosanct principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States. If our neighbour and brother, the Sudan, wishes this important principle in the Charter to be trampled underfoot, we are prepared for that. However, we have to recognize that this would not be in the interest of our two fraternal peoples, nor would it be in the interest of international peace and security, one of the fundamental aims of the Organization. Let us remind ourselves of the *coup d'état* of Hachim el Atta in 1973, which was almost consummated and thwarted only thanks to foreign intervention—not to say that of a neighbouring country.

352. After the undeniable support given by the OAU to the Government and people of Chad at the eighteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, held at Nairobi, we in Chad thought that our relations

with the sister republic of the Sudan were going to be normalized in the higher interests of our two peoples. With that in mind, contacts were made between the two countries with a view to organizing a meeting of our leaders at the highest level. The meeting did not occur, and that was the fault of the Sudanese side which, having decided openly to fight the Government of Chad, felt it was inopportune to have such normalization.

353. That hostile attitude on the Sudan's part towards Chad is all the more incomprehensible because the ties of all kinds binding our two countries would urge us to act as good neighbours and to co-operate, for that would be mutually beneficial to us.

354. As was stated by our Foreign Minister at the 30th meeting, if we refer to the Sudan, a neighbour and brother, this is not to get into sterile polemics, but these are, unfortunately, true and stubborn facts which the representative of the Sudan cannot deny.

355. Before I conclude I should like to say a word to remind the representative of the United States that, if the military contingent is to be found on our soil, it is at the express request of the Government of Chad. It is absolutely not a question of any kind of invasion, as was claimed by that representative.

356. As for the draft for a merger to which he referred, we would refer the United States representative to the official communiqué published by the Government of Chad on 11 January 1981, which makes everything about this whole affair perfectly clear. The Government of Chad courageously faced up to an armed rebellion which was powerfully supported from abroad. We are not the only one to request aid of this nature. There are dozens of cases to which we could refer.

357. Mr. MUNTASSER (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My delegation was surprised to hear allegations and attacks against my country and against the leader of its revolution, Colonel Muammar Al-Qadhafi. Those allegations were made by the United States representative on the last day of the general debate of this session of the General Assembly. His personal attacks on the head of State represent a new phenomenon in international relations and are completely incompatible with the practices followed—at least in this Organization. If we wished to speak about individuals and presidents, we could say many things, but our moral sense and our adherence to diplomatic practice prevent us from doing so.

358. I should like first of all to deny all the allegations made by the representative of the United States against my country. I strongly denounce all his attempts to sow the seeds of dissension between the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and its sister countries. The representative of the United States has quoted from statements by African leaders for whom we have great respect. His misrepresentations were very clear, for since 15 September in this Hall we have heard from more than 100 representatives from Africa, Asia and other continents, and I myself, who have attended these meetings regularly, have not heard a single representative level accusations against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, particularly those brothers and leaders whom we hold in great esteem and respect.

359. On the other hand, every representative that has spoken here has spoken against the United States in one

way or another. There were those who criticized the United States because of the assistance and support it provides to the racist régime of South Africa. Others have criticized the United States for its position on the issue of Namibia. Still others have criticized its use of the veto to prevent the denunciation of the aggressive acts carried out by the racist régime of South Africa against Angola. And yet others have spoken of the obstacles placed in the way of the disarmament talks and the obstacles raised at the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. Moreover, it is the United States which is trying to impede the North-South dialogue. If we attempt to analyze each problem facing the world, we shall probably find that the United States and its new Administration is the underlying cause.

360. The United States criticizes us because we are helping and supporting liberation movements and because we are seeking to protect their economic and political independence from American influence. If this is so, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya is proud of being able to help liberation movements to liberate their countries, and we declare openly from this rostrum that we help liberation movements in Africa. This fact was acknowledged by a great leader, Robert Mugabe, who recognized the help which we gave him in his struggle in Zimbabwe. It is an honour for us to aid the liberation movements.

361. We have had the honour of helping other liberation movements, such as SWAPO in its struggle to liberate its country, Namibia. We have denied none of this. We are also helping the PLO to liberate its country. This is not something that we are trying to hide. This is not terrorism, but rather assistance given to liberation movements.

362. The representative of the United States has spoken about terrorism. If we are to speak of terrorism, who helped to assassinate President Allende, and who assassinated or helped to assassinate Patrice Lumumba? Who has helped to assassinate numerous leaders with the help of the United States Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]? Who has used biological warfare against Cuba? Who burned the lands of Viet Nam? Who bombed Cambodia? Who dropped the first atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki? There are numerous examples of the terrorism practised by America, but I shall limit myself to those examples which I have cited.

363. I should like, however, to refer to terrorism practiced against my country recently which was reported by the American press itself. The aggressive act carried out by the United States over the Gulf of Sidra represents its latest attempt at terrorism, which was denounced all over the world. That act of aggression was denounced by many international organizations, including the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the non-aligned movement, the League of Arab States and numerous others, and many speakers referred to it in this Assembly. Some of them have even officially denounced that act of aggression, and this is recorded in the verbatim records.

364. This aggression is supposed not to have been planned but I have a simple document here from which I should like to quote. It is an extract from the 24 August 1981 issue of *Newsweek*, which states:

"After months of debating how to neutralize Muammar Qadhafi, the Reagan Administration this week will offer its first direct challenge to the Libyan strongman.

On instructions from President Reagan, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger has ordered the Sixth Fleet to conduct manoeuvres off the Libyan coast in the Gulf of Sidra".\*

365. You see, the United States wanted to see Al-Qadhafi's reactions to its staging of war games inside the Gulf.

366. I should also like to refer in particular to the latest American attempt, namely, the new strategic agreement between the United States of America and the Zionist entity. *The New York Times* has today published facts about this and about the intentions of Israel in the Middle East. According to that paper:

"The Israeli Air Force would provide cover for United States transports flying units of the Rapid Deployment Force to the Middle East. Israeli fighters, the sources said, could exert air superiority over the eastern Mediterranean, in cooperation with aircraft of the United States Sixth Fleet.

"Tanks and other equipment for an armored division would be taken out of Israeli service and stored for use by the United States Army in a crisis. The tanks would be T-60s, the main battle tank of the American Army for the last decade."

367. I do not wish to take too much of the Assembly's time, but the whole world really knows exactly who the aggressor is and what policy the United States pursues, and is aware of the fact that it is seeking military bases and sending its fleets to countries which are thousands of miles away in order to impose its hegemony and domination on them.

368. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia): The representative of Somalia has engaged in his usual diatribe, and therefore I am duty-bound to answer some of the falsehoods he raised here.

369. The Good Offices Committee of the OAU was established in 1973, with a clear mandate given to it by the OAU heads of State. It met at Mogadishu in 1974, at Libreville in 1975, at Khartoum in 1978, at Lagos in 1980 and, finally, at Nairobi in June of this year. The recommendations of the Committee and the decision taken at Nairobi based on them have been in perfect harmony with the Charter and principles of the United Nations, the OAU and the non-aligned movement, namely, the recognition and reaffirmation of the respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and non-interference in their internal affairs.

370. Just as Ethiopia has from the outset always accepted those decisions, Somalia has consistently rejected them. This is further proof, if any proof were required, of its expansionist ambitions and of its desire not to live in peace and harmony with its neighbours.

371. There are no double rules and double standards in the application of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and that of the OAU. Somalia should therefore desist from the grave and dangerous path it has chosen. Any State which refuses to recognize the sovereignty of other States should not expect others to respect its own, since it will by virtue of its lawlessness forfeit the rights and privileges accorded by the Charter.

372. The representative of Somalia also spoke of self-determination. The principle of self-determination has been most eloquently elaborated in the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, to the issuance of which Ethiopia contributed no small share. It was proclaimed to speed up the decolonization process, not to advance the cause of some irredentists. In point of fact the Declaration also emphasizes the principles of national unity, territorial integrity, sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of States and therefore does not lend itself to any ambiguity on that score. It cannot be perverted and twisted at will to satisfy the whims of every expansionist State.

373. The principle of self-determination gives no license to commit aggression against another State, because aggression is the antithesis of self-determination. It does not allow a State to convert its regular army into what it conveniently calls a liberation front. The principle of self-determination does not maintain that, because 90 per cent of the population of Somalia is nomadic and seasonally treks across international frontiers in search of pastures and grazing facilities, all the land on which Somalia's cows, goats and camels graze should be annexed to Somalia. It does not sanction Somalia's abuse of Ethiopia's generosity in sharing its natural resources with its neighbours.

374. Nor do the Ethiopian people need lectures from anyone on the virtues of freedom and self-determination. It may be recalled that someone, the so-called prince of a decadent monarchy in the Middle East, a few days ago tried to lecture us on self-determination, as has the representative of Somalia today. The people of my country have not only exercised their right to self-determination, but they have also reasserted that right several times by fighting against the forces of colonialism and imperialism over the centuries, and, more to the point, by resisting foreign aggression, including that of Somalia, an aggression which was planned, inspired and financed by international imperialism and Middle Eastern reaction with a view to destabilizing the progressive Government in Ethiopia.

375. That is not all. The broad masses of Ethiopia have taken their right to self-determination a step forward through the popular revolution of 1974, which effectively abolished the age-old feudal system of oppression and exploitation.

376. As the saying goes, charity begins at home. Somalia should therefore practice what it constantly preaches by granting self-determination to Jubaland and Kismayu, which were forcibly snatched from its neighbours by Britain and incorporated into Somalia only in 1924. The people of former British Somaliland, and more particularly the Issaques, have taken up arms to achieve their liberation. Similarly, the Majerten, the Gedebersie, the Haberauwels and other oppressed nationalities in Somalia are fighting to liberate themselves from the tyranny and merciless exploitation and persecution of the ruling Merchan Clan, which constitutes less than 2 per cent of the population of Somalia and which represents no one but a régime of 78 families—brothers, sisters, cousins, nephews and in-laws. I submit that unless and until the authorities who have usurped power in Mogadishu practise what they profusely preach, their view on self-determination is—and I will put it in the words of Shake-

\* Quoted in English by the speaker.

spare—"a tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing".

377. I would also refer to the question of human rights, which the representative of Somalia raised. A régime which is responsible for the uprooting and displacement of millions of peasants in my country and which deliberately burned clinics, hospitals, schools, libraries, farms, churches—and even mosques were not spared desecration and destruction by the invading army of Somalia, despite that régime's apparent commitment to Islam and its ostentations in the Organization of the Islamic Conference—a régime that has summarily executed dozens of religious leaders of the Islamic faith is not qualified to lecture us on human rights.

378. The representative of Somalia all along contended that the OAU was wrong, that its decisions were unfair, that they were one-sided and incomplete—I am borrowing those words from him. He has questioned the mandate of the Good Offices Committee, a committee to which his Government willingly submitted its case, a committee whose deliberations it attended at the ambassadorial, ministerial and head-of-State levels. He has rejected the decisions which, on the basis of the recommendations of that Committee, 49 African heads of State in their wisdom adopted at Nairobi. This, indeed, is a serious affront to Africa. This undermines the prestige of the leaders of Africa and the credibility of our organization. This indeed is an affront of the most preposterous magnitude of which the OAU, as an observer in this Assembly, must take note very seriously. No one else in our continent except the racist régime of South Africa has ever so seriously challenged the wisdom of African heads of State.

379. In conclusion I would try to give the sort of argument which the representative of Somalia was trying to present. The representative of Somalia is an expert in syllogism, but in this case I am afraid that his power of reasoning has totally failed him. What are the premises upon which he bases his contention in rejecting the decision of the OAU? To follow his own method of argument, this is what I surmise. He is saying that the OAU invoked the principle of the inviolability of State frontiers. Somalia wants to expand at the expense of its neighbours. Therefore the OAU is wrong. I shall sum up.

380. The PRESIDENT: I would ask the representative of Ethiopia please to conclude his statement.

381. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia): I have almost finished. As I was saying, this is a very ridiculous way of reasoning.

382. I reserve my right to speak again if I deem it necessary.

383. Mr. WHITEMAN (Grenada): In response to the representative of the United States, let me clear up any possible misunderstandings.

384. First, we made reference to one aspect of "Ocean Venture '81"—the one code-named "Amber and the Amberines"—not to the entire concept of "Ocean Venture '81". His response did not address the question raised.

385. Secondly, NATO is an organization of the North Atlantic. Our understanding of geography is that the Caribbean is not in the North Atlantic. In fact I know of at least one NATO Government which specifically refused to participate in the military exercises in the Caribbean on the precise ground that the Caribbean is not in the North

Atlantic and that it is therefore provocative to the people of our region to hold these military adventures there.

386. Thirdly, as I mentioned in my speech, the Governments of our region have passed resolutions calling for the region to be respected as a zone of peace, free of aggressive military manoeuvres. I might also add that the United States, belatedly and at the very last moment, under pressure, participated in the unanimous decision of the OAS General Assembly meeting at La Paz which designated our region as a zone of peace. Let me stress that any military exercises in the Caribbean are a legitimate concern of our people in our region.

387. Finally, as I said in my speech, the United States has a chronic history of invading countries of our region while treacherously and hypocritically denying such actions. One could mention the Bay of Pigs in Cuba, one could mention Chile, one could mention Guatemala in 1954 under Arbenz. The list is endless. The United States representatives should refresh their memory of their own history which is in fact quite aggressive and bloody.

388. In response to the representative of the junta of El Salvador, our delegation is surprised to hear El Salvador speak of morality and moral rights. Their junta is killing its own citizens by the hundreds, by the thousands. They are engaged in the systematic murder of their own people. This is nothing short of genocide. Should the perpetrators of genocide lecture us on morality?

389. Grenada repeats its support for the joint Mexican-French initiative,<sup>6</sup> which is being supported by more and more nations of the world.

390. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Nicaragua and remind him that his statement must be limited to five minutes.

391. Mr. BENDAÑA RODRÍGUEZ (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation is pleased with the readiness for dialogue shown by the representative of the United States. We hope that readiness will be noted in Washington, where on many occasions we have indicated our own readiness for dialogue at the ministerial level and at the level of heads of State.

392. As regards the White Paper, I would simply refer the American delegation to the articles published in the *Washington Post* and the *Wall Street Journal*, as well as the admission by United States officers that, while there is a lack of evidence in the White Paper, the argument has to be accepted. This is unacceptable.

393. As regards the representative of the present Government of El Salvador, we understand the feeling of despair reflected in the statements made throughout the world by the representatives of the present régime, and what we have heard here. This is now becoming familiar. We understand what they say, because the arguments are the same as those we heard some years ago from the Somoza dictatorship. But, as in the Somoza case, all the desperate rhetoric in the world will not blind the international community to the dimensions of the massacre being carried out in El Salvador. Nicaragua, having suffered such repression in its own flesh and blood, cannot and will not remain indifferent to the assassinations of nuns, peasants and civilians, whose only crime is to be potential sympathizers with revolutionary change. We shall speak clearly in this forum, recalling the well-known principle that peoples subjected to any form of repression or

domination have a right to resist that repression or domination and should be supported politically by the international community.

394. This international community has not closed its eyes, either, to the Central American reality, and it has rejected as absurd the claims of the present Salvadorian régime that it is the victim of an international conspiracy and that the popular forces in the country are not representative, forces which despite the massive United States military assistance continue to be a major political and military factor recognized as such not only by Nicaragua but also by a large number of Western countries and organizations.

395. We reiterate what Commander Ortega Saavedra and the Salvadorian patriots have said, calling for the international community including the Government of El Salvador itself to reflect and try to find a genuinely democratic solution. If it is not genuine, there will be no end to the suffering of the people of El Salvador, and this will not contribute to peace and stability in the region.

396. Mr. ELSHEIKH (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The delegation of the Sudan does not wish to enter into polemics with the representative of Chad, out of its respect for the Assembly, but it may be useful for me to reaffirm once more that we consider that the appropriate forum for the Chad problem is the OAU. The current President of the OAU Assembly informed this Assembly on 24 September [11th meeting] of the efforts made by that organization to bring about a political and peaceful settlement of the Chad issue.

397. Fully in keeping with this desire, the statement made by the Foreign Minister of the Sudan on 1 October [22nd meeting], in dealing with Chad, referred only to the efforts made by the OAU in this respect.

398. My delegation would like to say once more that the Sudan rejects foreign intervention in the internal affairs of countries, in whatever form, and would like to reiterate the fact that the Sudan has no territorial designs and does not seek to expand at the expense of others, nor is it trying to establish an empire. It would have been more appropriate for the representative of Chad to level his accusations at those who are occupying part of the territory of Chad and whose forces are still stationed there.

399. The pretext that the Sudan is helping some forces in Chad is not true. If the Sudan really wished to do so, it would have openly tried to help those forces at a time when they were fighting inside Chad and at a time when the Libyan forces had not yet settled the dispute to their advantage. But the Sudan refrained from doing so because it believes in the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

400. We should like to deny all the allegations made by the representative of Chad about the presence of Chad detainees in the Sudan.

401. In conclusion, it may be considered surprising that the representative of Chad should speak about internal opposition to the Sudanese régime at a time when the present régime in Chad could not hold out for one day without the protection of foreign forces, which he himself has admitted and recognized.

402. Mr. ADAN (Somalia): Like a broken record, there was nothing new or original in the intervention of the

Ethiopian representative. He merely rehashed his previous statements made in various forums, and there is no need for me to respond to him, except on the question of human rights, although towards the end of his statement he began putting words into my mouth. However, my statement is on record, and I have nothing to fear from his misrepresentation and misinterpretation of the position of my Government on the deliberations of the Good Offices Committee. Whatever the Ethiopian representative may wish for, the final verdict on the future of the Ogaden will belong to its own people.

403. On the question of human rights, no Government's record is worse than the human rights record of the Addis Ababa régime. The atrocities which have been and are being perpetrated by that régime against Ethiopians, as well as against the subject nationalities, have been and are being widely reported by the media and by such organizations as Amnesty International. I shall not therefore take up the time of the Assembly by going, for instance, into the mysterious circumstances under which Emperor Haile Selassie met his death, except to say that he was left dying, unattended and uncared for, following a deliberately bungled operation on the prostrate gland.

404. I need not recall the brutal killing of two other heads of State, namely, Brigadier General Aman Andom and Brigadier General Teferi Bante, the latter at a cabinet meeting ambush in which six others also died.

405. I shall not speak of the savage manner in which 59 Ethiopian notables and leading dignitaries, including former Prime Ministers Akllou, Hapte Wolde and Endalkachew Makonnen, were murdered.

406. I shall spare the Assembly the revolting details of the corpses left rotting in the main streets of Addis Ababa and other towns with slips attached giving the reason for their cold-blooded murder as "revolutionary justice". Nor shall I speak of the sale to relatives for money of dead bodies for burial following the brutal killing by the notorious kebele gangs.

407. There is no need for me even to mention the bayonetting of children in the presence of their parents, nor the raping of women in the presence of their husbands. This is true depravity and I shall spare the Assembly the sordid details. Indeed, I shall spare the Assembly the sordid story of the physical elimination of a whole generation of Western-educated Ethiopian intellectuals and their replacement by half-baked political agitators and riff-raff.

408. Nor shall I dwell on the massacres, flogging and torture in prisons which have become commonplace in present-day Ethiopia, all in defiance of the international conventions on human rights, of which Ethiopia has refused to become a signatory to this day, although curiously enough it serves as a member of the Commission on Human Rights.

409. I shall spare the Assembly all that and much else which is sordid in the blood-stained practices of the Addis Ababa régime. My only concern is to point out that the representative of Ethiopia is ill-advised to speak on the question of human rights, since he represents a régime which has officially proclaimed red terror as its official policy and whose savagery and systematic violation of human rights go far beyond the atrocities committed by the former self-styled Emperor Bokassa and by former dictator Masias of Equatorial Guinea.

410. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Ethiopia for a statement limited to five minutes.

411. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia): I shall be very brief since the representative of Somalia has not said anything new. He has merely repeated the same slanderous accusations against my country. The representative of Somalia adheres to the age-old saying that if one throws enough mud anywhere and everywhere some of it will stick. That is what he was trying to do.

412. Sincerity makes sense in relation to a standard conduct of truth and in relation to a system of established ethics. Both are lacking in the case of the representative of Somalia. My delegation does not, therefore, expect much from the representative of a State that has been actually described by a Western politician as follows: "Somalia is a State with an incredible record of international treachery and a high potential for creating conflict".

413. Constant repetition of ritualistic phrases is no substitute for practising what one profusely preaches. One who respects human rights does not violate the rights of others. What the Somalia régime has stood for during the last 20 years in our region is the violation of the rights of the people of the countries neighbouring it.

414. The PRESIDENT: The Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization has asked to be allowed to reply to a statement made by one of the speakers in the general debate. I intend to call on him on the basis of General Assembly resolution 3237 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974.

415. I call on the Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

416. Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization): The representative of the Reagan Administration seems to forget, or more likely he is trying to find some cover for, the criminal acts of the Washington Administration, which has provided and continues to provide shelter and protection for scores of Nazi criminals thriving in this beautiful country of hope for men of goodwill. Absconded war criminals still move at leisure in the streets of the United States. Neo-Nazi criminal groups are flourishing under the protection of the so-called democratic system. Racist and hate campaigns are almost a daily occurrence on television programmes and in other parts of the media.

417. What is still more grave is the fact that the Government of the United States continues to support and finance terrorists in different parts of the world. In particular, I wish to refer to the terrorist acts committed by Israel, acts of State terrorism aimed at the elimination of the Palestinian people, acts of genocide as the final solution to the Palestinian refugee problem. These terrorist acts are committed through the use of American-financed and trained terrorists using American-donated F-15 and F-16 aircraft, cluster bombs and other weapons to eliminate the Palestinians and terrorize and kill our brothers in Lebanon. Billions of United States dollars finance these acts of State terrorism committed by the strategic ally of the United States of America, racist Israel: The Government of the United States is no longer a mere accomplice; it is an ally.

418. A few days ago a criminal, one of the terrorists who, in one way or another, participated in the assassination of an envoy of peace, a mediator entrusted with a mission by the United Nations—Count Folke Bernadotte—spoke before the Assembly. That criminal is

none other than Shamir, who was a leader of the notorious Stern Gang.

419. Concerning the efforts for peace, I recall that the Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 465 (1980). Among other things, the Council:

"Affirming once more that the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, is applicable to the Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem,

"5. Determines that all measures taken by Israel to change the physical character demographic composition, institutional structure or status of the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, or any part thereof have no legal validity and that Israel's policy and practices of settling parts of its population and new immigrants in those territories constitute a flagrant violation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War and also constitute a serious obstruction to achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East."

420. That resolution was adopted unanimously, including the vote of the United States. It expresses the unanimous opinion that Israel is illegally occupying Palestinian territory and that Israel's policies and practices constitute a serious obstruction to achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

421. If the representative of the racist junta in Tel Aviv does not agree with the unanimous opinion of the Security Council and the international community, that is his business, but, after all, he represents a minority of one. To both of the representatives of the new strategic alliance for aggression, that is, the United States and Israel, I would say: Do not daydream; the rest of the world has come out clearly in its assertion that your policy is an obstacle to peace.

422. Finally, I wonder this: Is it really the fault of the mirror that the image of the witch is reflected in such a monstrous way?

423. Mr. ANDINO-SALAZAR (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation categorically repudiates the already customary rhetoric of the representatives of Nicaragua and Grenada regarding the internal affairs of my country. We consider them to be false, tendentious and clearly interventionist. Therefore we most energetically and categorically repudiate those statements.

424. The delegation of Nicaragua in exercise of its right of reply sought to distract attention by trying to present the peace proposal of Mr. Ortega Saavedra as the panacea for the situation in El Salvador. It is ridiculous for a peace proposal to have for its background music the beating of war drums and the visual effect of being accompanied by military accoutrements. There is nothing new in the proposal. It has been rejected as unrealistic and tendentious, as a manoeuvre for gaining time, as was stated in the memorandum by those members who instructed him to come to the Assembly and try to confuse delegations. There is no political viability for this proposal; it exudes bad faith.

425. The representative of Nicaragua tried to play the role of a victim so as to hide the real economic and social situation frustrating the people of Nicaragua and to excuse the fact that his country arms itself to the teeth so as to play the role of a super-Power in Central America.

426. The Government of El Salvador has been tolerant and patient in light of the international violations by the Government of Nicaragua, but tolerance, like patience, runs out.

427. Mr. Ortega Saavedra and his cohorts are mistaken if they think that by insulting us the situation in El Salvador will change. We who enjoy the respect of many delegations here in this forum will not use the same reprehensible methods, since all it does is undermine the United Nations system. This, of course, does not matter to the delegation of Nicaragua, which is learning to violate the norms and rules of the Assembly so as to remove from political limbo those who are wandering around with intrigues fruitlessly trying to alter a situation that can be decided only by the people of El Salvador itself, the sole irreplaceable actor in its own destiny.

428. The PRESIDENT: We have just concluded the general debate, which began on Monday, 21 September, and took up 29 meetings. We were privileged to listen to seven heads of State, one Crown Prince, four Vice-Presidents, four Prime Ministers, five Deputy Prime Ministers, 108 Foreign Ministers, three Deputy Foreign Ministers and 13 chairmen of delegations—a total of 145 speakers. The debate has once again demonstrated that this annual event is the most comprehensive and best presentation of the views, positions, preoccupations and aspirations of the peoples of the world as articulated through their Government representatives. Nowhere else is such an exercise possible.

429. This large number of eminent statesmen and diplomats have by their presence here, their interventions and through specific references in their speeches demonstrated their faith in the Organization and their determination to strengthen its role as the paramount international organization for the achievement of the objectives of the Charter. Is it too much to hope that some of that interest and faith will be translated into political will in support of the decisions of the United Nations and in ensuring that decisions once taken will be implemented? I appeal to all representatives to be particularly conscious of this as we begin the longer and more detailed phase of the Assembly's work, that of dealing with the individual items on our agenda. The debate has, I am glad to note, been conducted on the whole with the utmost dignity and decorum and in a constructive and hopeful manner. For this I am deeply grateful to all those who have participated in it.

430. I hope I may be forgiven if I refer to one particular item on our agenda that was handed to us by the thirty-fifth session, namely, item 37, entitled "Launching of global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development". This has been one of the items in which Member States have shown the widest interest and consensus. A very large number of those countries that have participated in the debate have referred specifically to it and expressed their aspirations and hope that it would be possible during the current session to adopt a decision on the launching of these negotiations. I wish to associate myself, like my predecessor, with these aspira-

tions and to express my sincere hope that this objective will be realized.

431. The debate has provided a clear and useful overview of the issues before the Assembly and a good framework for the consideration of the various items. In view of the fact that almost all Members have presented their views, specially on matters of direct and major concern to them during the general debate, I hope it will lead to restraint and shorter statements and interventions as we begin consideration of individual items. Is it absolutely necessary, I ask, to have a general debate on each item which quite often repeats and in some cases amplifies what has already been stated repeatedly in the past and most recently during the general debate? Would it not serve our collective purpose better to confine our interventions to the greatest extent possible by addressing ourselves directly to the proposals before the Assembly and the Committees in each case? I sincerely hope that delegations will exercise maximum discipline and restraint in this regard.

432. The shortest statement in the general debate was delivered by the Foreign Minister of Sao Tome and Principe. It took up only 10 minutes of the Assembly's time. The Prime Minister of Mauritius, who spoke at the beginning of this meeting, was a close second. For that they deserve the President's and, I am sure, the Assembly's commendation. They have set an example for all of us to emulate, if at all possible. Perhaps there should be an annual award for the shortest statement made in the general debate.

433. I am sure delegations noticed that during the debate I refrained from expressing my gratitude to each speaker for his or her kind words about my election and about my country. This is the time and the place for me to thank you all, and most warmly, on behalf of my Government and on my own behalf, and to assure you that my motive for not doing so individually during the debate was to save the time of the Assembly and perhaps some expense for the United Nations.

*The meeting rose at 8.20 p.m.*

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Independent Commission on International Development Issues, under the chairmanship of Willy Brandt.

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth session, Annexes*, agenda item 61, document A/35/592/Add.3, para. 33.

<sup>3</sup> See A/10112, chap. IV.

<sup>4</sup> See *Report of the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.1.24), chap. I, sect. A.

<sup>5</sup> See *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.1.8), part one, sect. A.

<sup>6</sup> A/S-11/14, annex I.

<sup>7</sup> Frente Popular para la Liberación de Sagua el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

<sup>8</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1981*, document S/14659, annex.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, document S/14664/Rev.2.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, document S/14693.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, *Thirty-first Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1976*.

<sup>12</sup> New York, David McKay Company, Inc., 1967, p. 95.

<sup>13</sup> London, Oxford University Press, 1954, vol. VIII, p. 290.