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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. MWALE (Zambia): Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation, I wish to congratulate you on your election to the high office of President of the thirty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly. The Zambian delegation warmly welcomes your election for two important reasons: First, you are a familiar and respected personality around the United Nations. During your successful tour of duty as Permanent Representative of Yugoslavia to the United Nations, you distinguished yourself as a dedicated and highly competent diplomat with an abiding faith in and commitment to the principles and purposes of the United Nations. Secondly, you represent a great nation and people who have made a tremendous contribution to world peace and security under the visionary leadership of President Tito. We acknowledge, in particular, the contribution of Yugoslavia to the birth and growth of the non-aligned movement, which today is a dominant force in international relations. In addition, Mr. President, we recognize the warm relations that exist between our two countries and peoples. My delegation is certain that your eminent qualities, coupled with the prestige of your occupation of the high post of Deputy Foreign Minister, will be an invaluable contribution to the success of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly.

2. This is also a propitious moment for me to pay a tribute, Sir, to your predecessor, Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka, who presided over the thirty-first session of the General Assembly with distinction. Both your own presidency and his bear testimony to the contribution of the non-aligned countries to the achievement of the objectives of justice, peace and development.

3. The Zambian delegation warmly welcomes the admission into the United Nations of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of Djibouti. We have long held that Viet Nam was qualified for United Nations membership and, together with other non-aligned countries, we

have defended its right to belong to this world Organization.

4. The independence of Djibouti, a sister African country and a member of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], situated in a sensitive part of Africa, has particular significance. The victory of its people, which relentlessly strove for the independence of their country and for the preservation of its territorial integrity, cannot fail to inspire their brothers and sisters in southern Africa who still have to rid themselves of the shackles of white minority racist and Fascist domination and exploitation. It is imperative that we rededicate ourselves to the liberation of the territories still under colonial and white racist minority domination, so that with their independence we shall have moved still closer towards the goal of universality of membership of the United Nations.

5. Once again we are called upon to assess the contemporary international situation. One naturally wishes that the balance-sheet could indicate that we have moved closer to the objectives we have all undertaken to promote under the United Nations Charter. But, alas, the international situation has not become appreciably better in the last year. In many cases the situation has even worsened; in others a false sense of hope and expectation may have been created, with the concomitant potential of giving way to despair, bitterness and even generalized war. The international economic situation still remains a source of grave concern: the arms race continues unabated; the questions of southern Africa, the Middle East, Cyprus and Korea still await a solution; and new flash-points of conflict have appeared on the horizon.

6. I propose to deal first with the grave issues of development and international economic co-operation.

7. The growing uncertainty of the present economic situation is a source of great concern to my delegation. Despite a few encouraging signs of better economic performance during the past year, the total picture remains gloomy; and, unless vigorous action is taken, the forecast for the remainder of the Second United Nations Development Decade is equally discouraging. Meanwhile, inflation, unemployment, external trade deficits and the revival of certain protectionist tendencies dominate the present economic scene.

8. The people in developing countries continue to suffer from the ominous consequences of a system designed essentially to support and promote the economic and social progress of the industrialized world. They still remain virtually powerless to influence the existing international system and its effects, including the decisions affecting their well-being and destiny.

9. The logical result of historical deprivation and neglect, including unfulfilled commitments during two Development Decades, is the ever-widening gap between the rich and poor countries. The reality of poverty and inequality deriving from the prevailing international system is familiar to us all. It is, in the view of my delegation, an affront to the moral conscience of humanity—especially when the world has the remedial means, technology and resources, an increasing portion of which is devoted to armaments and other weapons of mass destruction.

10. The decisions adopted by this Assembly at its historic sixth and seventh special sessions, as well as the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States adopted at the twenty-ninth regular session [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*], have been instrumental in the emergence of a recognition that the removal of poverty and inequality calls for fundamental changes in the international economic *status quo*. There is now at least a growing awareness that a new international economic order in which a life of dignity and well-being should be the inalienable right of all will not emerge from marginal changes in the prevailing economic structure. Nor is there any longer faith in the traditional prescriptions of aid and assistance as a cure for the pervasive poverty and inequality.

11. Notwithstanding the growing awareness of interdependence, it is disheartening to note that the responses to the compelling need for a new economic order have, so far, been extremely slow and limited in scope. The outcome of the Conference on International Economic Co-operation in Paris, the painfully slow progress in the multilateral trade negotiations, and the assessment of negotiations in UNCTAD have all been disappointing.

12. It is indisputable that, in the prevailing atmosphere of economic uncertainty, the continued absence of concrete and significant results within specific time-frames will have grave repercussions for the ongoing efforts to achieve genuine international economic co-operation on the basis of the consensus obtained at the seventh special session. Within the framework of that consensus many pressing issues of intimate concern to the developing countries remain unsolved, including commodity trade, external debt, international monetary reform, balance of payments, transfer of real resources, and access to capital and trade markets of the developed countries. Accordingly, it is imperative that during the current session we focus our efforts on generating new political momentum to facilitate the ongoing and future negotiations on such issues in the appropriate bodies of the United Nations system. It is in our common interest jealously to protect the hard-won consensus from the real risk of dissipation.

13. Any consideration of priorities among the pressing needs cannot fail to highlight in particular commodity and debt problems. In this connexion, my delegation would urge the full and speedy implementation of the Integrated Programme for Commodities adopted in resolution 93 (IV) at the fourth session of UNCTAD.¹ We would equally urge the developed countries to demonstrate political willingness

in the course of the forthcoming negotiations so as to facilitate the early establishment of the common fund as the central element of the Integrated Programme for Commodities.

14. The critical debt problems facing the developing nations merit serious and sympathetic reconsideration by the developed countries so as to facilitate the early provision of effective and meaningful solutions during the forthcoming ministerial session of the Trade and Development Board. In the continued absence of fair, remunerative prices and the secular decline in the purchasing power of their primary exports, on which they depend, the developing countries are obliged to borrow what they are in fact entitled to earn. To that extent, international credit does not serve its developmental role. It is not inconceivable that in some cases developing countries have to incur debts in order to finance debts.

15. In the field of industrial co-operation, the effective method by which the developed countries can assist the developing countries to industrialize is to provide them with greater market access for the kind of goods in which they have an advantage. The role of industrialization, like that of agriculture, has become increasingly crucial in the satisfaction of basic needs and in the reduction of income disparities within the developing countries.

16. My delegation calls upon the industrialized countries to ensure that the multilateral trade negotiations acquire a sense of urgency and purpose.

17. The obligation to ensure the survival of a large segment of mankind is a global one and should be shared equitably by all, regardless of responsibility for the exploitation, poverty and deprivation of the developing countries.

18. I should, however, like to reaffirm Zambia's conviction that progress towards the new international economic order will be dependent largely on the political commitment and willingness of the developed countries.

19. Undoubtedly, the developing countries acknowledge primary responsibility for the sustained development of their own societies. They acknowledge that self-reliance, at both the national and other collective levels, is an essential feature of development.

20. Zambia attaches great significance to the vital subject of economic co-operation among developing countries. It is our strong belief that the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, to be held next year, assumes a special dimension within the over-all context of the new international economic order, and in the light of the action programmes adopted by both the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Colombo in August 1976, and the Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, held in Mexico City in September 1976.

21. The international community is at the cross-roads in the field of development and economic co-operation. The search for viable and effective solutions in all the pressing areas under deliberation and negotiation can be greatly

¹ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10), part one A.

assisted by an enlightened appreciation of the interdependence and community of interest which can readily be perceived in various areas, including commodities, manufactures, debts and industrialization.

22. It is Zambia's firm belief that there is a great need for the international community, particularly the developed countries, to educate their populations so that they can better appreciate the reality of interdependence and community of interest. A better-informed public opinion will equally be able to perceive the benefits, to the rich countries as well as to world peace and security, which would derive from the accelerated development of the third world.

23. There are, undoubtedly, other important areas, including that of the law of the sea, in which the principles of interdependence and community of interest can and should be recognized and respected as a viable basis for genuine international dialogue and negotiation. Accordingly, the international community must recognize the urgency of the imperative need to establish a just, equitable and lasting legal order governing the seas—an order which duly respects the legitimate rights and interests of all nations.

24. It is the firm belief of my Government that the introduction of the principles of justice and equity in this area, as in the economic and other fields, would constitute a major contribution to international peace and security.

25. The situation in the Middle East has for decades defied solution and remains a serious threat to international peace and security. The problem here is clearly that of Israeli intransigence. Israel continues to treat with contempt United Nations resolutions demanding its withdrawal from occupied Arab territories and the recognition of the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to a homeland. Efforts at reconvening the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East are being frustrated by Israel, which persists in its refusal to allow the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

26. My Government firmly believes that there simply cannot be a durable settlement of the problem of the Middle East if the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, as represented by the PLO, are naively denied. The Palestinian people, who have suffered for far too long, must have a homeland. Equally important is the need to have Israel withdraw from all occupied Arab territories. The acquisition of foreign territory by forceful means is totally inadmissible. And, to compound this problem, the Israelis have embarked on a deliberate programme of legitimizing Jewish settlements in the occupied Arab territories. My Government strongly condemns this and urges Israel to desist from so illegal and dangerous a course.

27. The threat to the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus remains real. As we have done before, we demand the withdrawal of all foreign military forces which continue to occupy parts of Cyprus in utter defiance of United Nations resolutions. We also urge the immediate resumption of the talks between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary-General.

28. We remain concerned about the question of Belize. We strongly support the right of the people of Belize to self-determination, independence and territorial integrity. Similarly, we support the right of Panama to full sovereignty over the Panama Canal, and welcome in this regard the recently concluded treaties between Panama and the United States.

29. Zambia's position on the question of Korea remains clear and firm. We support the tireless efforts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to seek the peaceful reunification of that artificially divided peninsula, in accordance with the North-South joint communiqué of 4 July 1972.² The presence of thousands of foreign forces in South Korea is certainly not conducive to efforts at peaceful reunification. We therefore reiterate our demand for the withdrawal of those forces and for the termination of the so-called United Nations Command.

30. There can be no genuine international peace and security in a world characterized by a massive and intensive arms build-up. Unless and until States abandon the notion that military might guarantees their security, however defined, the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control will remain a pipe-dream. The arms race will continue and will grow even more intense, so long as States entertain the illusion that military superiority is a yardstick for power, prestige and influence. Indeed, as long as actual and potential causes of conflict in the world are not eradicated, the arms race can be neither abated nor reversed.

31. Thus, Zambia subscribes to the proposals for a special session of the General Assembly on disarmament and a World Disarmament Conference. We must make a real start in the field of disarmament on the basis of premises and general principles that can truly guarantee durable peace and security in the world. It remains the conviction of my Government that priority in the field of disarmament should be accorded to the destruction and complete eradication of nuclear weapons. To this end, Zambia looks forward to the special session of the General Assembly on disarmament to be held next year, and hopes that States will seize that rare opportunity to reflect seriously on the consequences of this race to oblivion.

32. The Indian Ocean has become a focal-point of great-Power rivalry for supremacy. The security and interests of littoral and hinterland States are threatened by the ever-increasing militarization of the Indian Ocean.

33. We urge the full implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)]. The great Powers and the other major maritime users of the Indian Ocean should co-operate fully, with the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean. Further, it is the view of my Government that the proposed meeting of the littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean should be held without delay.

34. Zambia is also seriously concerned about the situation in the Horn of Africa and in the Sahara. It is in the interest

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27*, annex I.

of Africa that these problems be resolved amicably as a matter of urgency. In the meantime, we call upon the major Powers to refrain from direct or indirect involvement in these trouble spots, as such involvement can aggravate the situation.

35. The grave situation in southern Africa is of particular concern to us in Zambia. Because of our geopolitical location and our firm belief in the principles of justice and equality, including the right of all peoples to self-determination and independence, we cannot but remain affected and involved in the events in the region of southern Africa. Conflict has been all around us since we gained our independence 13 years ago, and we still remain intimately affected and deeply involved in the growing conflict in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa—that bastion of all evil in southern Africa. We have a generation of Zambians who have lived through and know nothing but sustained conflict on our borders. They are convinced, as are the older generations of Zambia, that only the total liberation of southern Africa will guarantee the security, peace and tranquillity for which they yearn.

36. The people of Zambia are encouraged by the success of the armed struggle in the liberation of southern Africa. The oppressed peoples are determined, more than ever before, to liberate themselves. Political consciousness among them has spread like a bush fire. The gallant freedom fighters have intensified the struggle and are scoring impressive victories over the enemy, and final victory is certain.

37. The response of the panic-stricken racist minority régimes has been the intensification of their savage brutality against the black civilian populations. Their reign of terror is, more than ever before, characterized by intimidation, arrests, imprisonment, torture and the systematic mass murder of innocent civilians. The racist minority régimes have also escalated their acts of aggression against Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and my own country, Zambia, in the vain attempt to dissuade these neighbouring independent African countries from supporting the struggle of the oppressed people. The acts of aggression committed against these countries are also intended to tempt them into direct military involvement in the conflict between the racist minority régimes and the people they oppress. The situation in southern Africa is, therefore, dangerously worsening and posing an even greater threat to international peace and security.

38. It is the duty of the international community to respond positively to this grave situation because the attitude of the world community is an important factor in the struggle for liberation. The racist minority régimes have persisted so long because major Western countries have paid only lip service to the struggle of the oppressed people, while fraternizing with these régimes and acquiescing in their policies and practices. It is encouraging that there now appears to be emerging a general appreciation in the international community of the need to overthrow the forces of evil in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa.

39. The success of the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held in Maputo in May, and the World Conference for Action

against *Apartheid*, held in Lagos in August, is indicative of the growing solidarity of the international community with the oppressed people of southern Africa. We welcome, in particular, the encouraging attitude of the new United States administration. But we urge the United States and its allies in Western Europe, in keeping with the spirit of Maputo and Lagos, to take practical measures that will permanently reverse the policies of their Governments in southern Africa and bring pressure to bear on the minority régimes. Those countries must join with the rest of the international community in the implementation of the Programme of Action for The Liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia, adopted at Maputo³ and the Programme of Action on South Africa adopted at the thirty-first regular session of the General Assembly [*resolution 31/6 J, annex*]. We call, in particular, for the termination of their economic and military relations with South Africa.

40. Let me now turn to the specific issue of Rhodesia. The intensification and victories of the armed struggle in Rhodesia have led to a flurry of initiatives for a negotiated settlement. After the failure of the Kissinger initiatives of 1976, we are now confronted with the new Anglo-American proposals. The significance of the current Anglo-American initiatives is that, at long last, the United Kingdom intends to assume the responsibility over Southern Rhodesia which we in Zambia have always argued it possessed. The United Kingdom came to the Security Council to seek help, and we hope that, having been given that help, it will leave no stone unturned in resolving the situation. Equally significant is the involvement of the United States, the Power to which the racist minority régimes have always looked for protection.

41. Zambia, together with the other front-line States, has lent its qualified support to the Anglo-American proposals contained in the white paper⁴ as providing a basis for further negotiations. The over-all position of the front-line States on these proposals was eloquently presented to this Assembly by President Samora Machel of Mozambique [*17th meeting*].

42. In so far as the proposals are concerned, I think, it ought to be said that the majority of them are not new to us. Except for the proposal relating to the Zimbabwe Development Fund, the foundation and substance for the rest are what we in Africa have been advocating ever since the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia. The principles contained therein are those for which we have, over the years, tried to solicit the support of the Western countries. Our most eloquent document embodying these principles is the Lusaka Manifesto⁵ adopted in 1969 by the Heads of State of East and Central Africa and subsequently endorsed by the OAU and the United Nations.

43. Our question to the United Kingdom and the United States is, therefore, simply this, What decisive action are the two countries and their Western allies willing and ready to

³ See document A/32/109/Rev.1 -S/12344/Rev.1, annex V.

⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1977*, document S/12393.

⁵ Manifesto on Southern Africa. For the text, see *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

take if Smith and his henchmen refuse to give up power as envisaged in the proposals? The white paper is silent on this vital question. Yes, indeed, there may be a change of heart in the Western world; but we know that moral force, as opposed to concrete and decisive action, will not move Smith. He will not reject the white paper outright; but one thing we are sure of: he will procrastinate and prevaricate. Indeed, Smith's trick in this, as always, will be to buy time, and thus to perpetuate his illegal régime.

44. In this respect His Excellency President Kaunda of Zambia has recently stated:

“The British-American-backed White Paper stands on a glaringly false principle of the willingness of Smith to volunteer to surrender. On this premise, this move is a non-starter. It is a no-move. Twelve long years are enough for anyone even with the dimmest understanding of that madman to know that he will not volunteer.”

45. I can assure you that from all indications Smith has not changed and has no intention of capitulating.

46. The success of the Anglo-American proposals will depend on the willingness of the United States and the United Kingdom to take decisive enforcement measures. We urge those two countries, together with their Western allies, to seal off the oil lines in order to immobilize both the military and the civil machines which have sustained the Smith régime for this long. The Western multinational oil companies must be prevented from continuing their oil supplies to South Africa, directly or indirectly.

47. The international community has time and again expressed the desire to see a negotiated settlement in Rhodesia, but we are convinced that the illegal Smith régime will only relinquish power and accept majority rule when sufficient pressure is brought to bear on it. Zambia believes that a determined effort to tighten sanctions, particularly oil sanctions, could increase the chances of a timely and peaceful transfer of power in Rhodesia. As President Kaunda has stressed: “. . . there could be no greater contribution to the liberation struggle today in southern Africa than to end the sale of oil to rebel Rhodesia.” This fact, fortunately, was underscored by the Commonwealth Heads of Government, at their London meeting from 8 to 15 June 1977 when they recognized that:

“. . . the breach of sanctions, particularly in respect of petroleum and petroleum products, is a crucial factor in the survival of the illegal régime in Rhodesia.”

48. It is against this background that Zambia has decided to take legal proceedings against five Western oil companies which have subsidiaries in Rhodesia for their role in an oil conspiracy breaching sanctions and causing great financial loss to Zambia.

49. We believe that the stage has now been set for the removal of Smith and his illegal régime. The international community represented here should use all methods at its disposal, but while negotiations are under way the armed struggle should continue until total victory has been achieved. Nothing should be done to interfere with or sabotage it.

50. On Namibia, my Government firmly believes that the independence of Namibia and its territorial integrity are not subject to compromise. Further, Zambia's position is that any proposal for a negotiated settlement must take fully into account all relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. In this regard Security Council resolution 385 (1976) is particularly vital, as it incorporates all the basic positions of the United Nations on the question of Namibia. Member States should therefore desist from giving a selective interpretation of that resolution, which must be seen and taken as a whole.

51. We commend the United Nations for the positive role it has continued to take in seeking a just solution to the Namibian problem. The United Nations Council for Namibia is a vital organ in the implementation of the decisions of the United Nations and should be given greater support than has been forthcoming hitherto.

52. Zambia fully supports the position of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] with regard to the current initiatives of the five Western countries to seek the withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia. It is imperative, in our view, that any general election in Namibia be preceded by the complete withdrawal of all South African military forces. Such withdrawal, coupled with the immediate release of political prisoners, detainees and restricted persons as well as the return of all Namibian exiles, would create the right atmosphere for a genuine national election in Namibia. South African political machinations designed to revive the spirit of the Turnhalle are totally unacceptable. We condemn them.

53. I wish to stress here the importance of preserving the territorial integrity of Namibia. We in Zambia categorically condemn the South African annexation of Walvis Bay, which we shall continue to regard as an integral part of Namibian territory. This action by South Africa, coupled with the unilateral appointment of a so-called Administrator-General for Namibia, is an act of bad faith in the current efforts to reach a negotiated settlement. Such deceptive manoeuvres and desperate acts will lead to an escalation of the armed struggle, to which Zambia is resolutely committed.

54. *Apartheid* South Africa is at the core of the constellation of the forces of evil in southern Africa. The Pretoria régime has arrogantly pursued its insidious brutality and terror against the freedom-loving people in South Africa. The untimely death of that gallant South African Steven Biko is but the latest in a calculated programme of annihilating all opponents of *apartheid*.

55. The revolt in South Africa is spreading like a bush fire. The bloody events of Soweto, Alexandra and Langa have continued to inspire the enslaved people of South Africa, who are more determined than ever before to overthrow the *apartheid* system, which has oppressed them for far too long.

56. A new and critical dimension added to the southern African conflict is South Africa's programme of developing nuclear weapons for aggressive purposes. This development undoubtedly poses an increased threat to international peace and security. However, nuclear weapons will not

deter the oppressed people struggling for their rights, nor will it deter the independent African countries which support their cause.

57. We call for a mandatory arms embargo and the imposition of economic sanctions, including oil sanctions, against South Africa. We note with satisfaction that the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, which recently held its fourteenth regular session in Libreville, Gabon, decided to appoint a committee consisting of seven members which will visit the countries members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries with a view to implementing oil sanctions against South Africa. In all these efforts we shall need the fullest co-operation of all Member States represented in this Assembly.

58. The role of the United Nations in finding lasting solutions in all the areas I have discussed is increasingly crucial. Both the viability and the effectiveness of our world body in fulfilling the mission it has assigned itself under the Charter ultimately depend on the political will which all of us should be prepared to demonstrate.

59. The United Nations has at times not lived up to expectations. Nevertheless, because of its universality it still remains the only world body to which we can pin our hopes for lasting peace.

60. Mr. RAJARATNAM (Singapore): Mr. President, may I, on behalf of my Government and the delegation of Singapore, congratulate you on your election to the important office of President of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly. Your election is a tribute to your personal qualities as well as to your country, Yugoslavia, a leading member of the non-aligned group, of which Singapore is a member. Your election to this high office is the culmination of your brilliant career in law, journalism, diplomacy and government service. The realistic and pragmatic approach you advocated in your presidential statement [*1st meeting*] augurs well for this session.

61. I should also like to thank the previous President, Ambassador Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe, who presided over the difficult thirty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly with his customary flair, intelligence, eloquence and fairness.

62. The Secretary-General has again steered the United Nations through a difficult year and our thanks and felicitations are extended to him once more. I would especially highlight the skill and tact with which he has presided over the Cyprus talks and the unpublicized good work he has undertaken in specific human rights cases and in the improvement and streamlining of the international civil service that supports the functions of the United Nations. We are indeed fortunate to have Mr. Kurt Waldheim, a man of great experience and few illusions, to hold this most difficult and thankless job.

63. This year we welcome two new Members: the first, the Republic of Djibouti, yet another new nation from Africa that is joining our ranks. I should also like to welcome the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which happens to be a member of the region in which we live and a neighbour of

ours. We extend to both our best wishes for peace and prosperity.

64. My Government welcomes the joint statement of 1 October of the American and Soviet Governments on the Middle East. We have long been convinced that the solution to the Middle East problem lies in the willingness of the Government of Israel to recognize the right of the Palestinians to a homeland of their own, and the reciprocal willingness of the Palestinians, including the PLO, to recognize the State of Israel and to respect its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. The issue of borders must be settled by negotiations on the basis of the principles of the non-acquisition of territory by the use of force and the right of States to live within secure and recognized borders. My Government remains convinced that Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) provide the framework for the search for peace in the Middle East.

65. As for the question of southern Africa, my Government welcomes the Security Council's decision in its resolution 415 (1977) to authorize the Secretary-General to appoint a commissioner for Zimbabwe. We share the view that the United Nations should co-operate with the administering Power and the United States to help to bring about a negotiated settlement in Zimbabwe. We hope that this effort to bring about a non-violent transition to majority rule in Zimbabwe will be successful. We also hope that the ongoing talks between the Government of South Africa and representatives of the five Western members of the Security Council will lead to an internationally acceptable solution in Namibia. As for South Africa itself, the abhorrent system of *apartheid* should give way to a new polity in which the minority will recognize the rights of the majority and the majority will respect the rights of the minority.

66. Overshadowing the issues I have briefly touched upon and, in the long run, pertinent to their resolution, is the world economic crisis which shows no sign of receding. There is a responsible body of opinion which contends that a second great depression, far more catastrophic than that of the 1930s, is possible within the next few years.

67. If this prognosis is correct, then no nation in the world can escape its consequences, and the first casualties will be among the 100 or so Members in this Assembly listed as poor and developing. For a number of the poorer countries—the so-called “fourth world”—the consequences could be permanent crippling, economically as well as politically. The effect of the recession on the developed world so far has appeared in the emergency of some 15 million unemployed. However, without underestimating the seriousness of this to the developed world, it is nevertheless necessary to put this distress of rich nations in proper perspective. In the developed world unemployment does not entail starvation or subhuman distress. The unemployment relief conferred in the developed countries exceeds by far the normal earnings of some 30 per cent of the world's population, who are estimated to earn \$US 100 or less per year.

68. Moreover, the 15 million unemployed in the rich countries are far outnumbered by the hundreds of millions

of workless who existed, and whose numbers have increased in the third world, even in the boom years.

69. In making this point, I am not minimizing the distress that unemployment is causing in the rich developed world. But whereas unemployment is a question of distress in the developed world, for some 50 per cent of mankind, employment or unemployment represents the difference between barely living and dying slowly. This is the prospect. Since the restoration of health to the world economy would require considerable self-discipline and sacrifices on the part of all nations, the point I have just made is relevant when it comes to apportioning the burden of responsibility for curing an ailing world economy.

70. I am fully aware that highlighting the greater measure of suffering in the poorer countries is not going to heighten moral sensibilities in the developed countries to a point where they would be willing to undertake sacrifices on behalf of their more desperate brethren. This is as true of rich countries as of the richer developing countries: nobody wants to help anybody else at their own expense. It is a sad fact of life that in lean times—such as those we are going through—the milk of human kindness dries up. Moral appeals make greater impact only if they are also empirically valid. Therefore the main thrust of my thesis and argument is not that the rich nations should help the poorer nations as a moral obligation but that, by helping the developing countries, they would in fact be helping themselves.

71. Clearly there is a multiplicity of causes responsible for the present crisis but, in my view, the most fundamental of all, and one which the developed countries have tended to gloss over, is that a world economy where the ratio of *per capita* income between rich and poor nations is about 13 to 1, where less than a third of the world's population, comprising the rich nations, generate over 70 per cent of its income, must be intrinsically unsound.

72. What is described as a global economy in fact consists largely of trade and exchange between a third—only a third—of the world's population. In 1972, before the advent of the so-called oil crisis, rich countries, with less than 30 per cent of the world's population, carried out 53 per cent of world trade among themselves.

73. As against this, the growth rate of exports of developing countries—the poorer countries—as a percentage of world trade has declined steadily since the end of the war. It fell from 31.2 per cent in 1950 to 17.4 per cent in 1972, whereas that of the Western countries rose from 60 per cent to more than 72 per cent over the same period.

74. There are as many explanations as there are economists for the present economic crisis, but it is generally agreed that the main element in the crisis is the inability of the industrial economies to expand further. The crisis is attributed to saturation of world markets and a decline in demand.

75. This is true if the world market is conceived of as being confined only to a third of the world's population. Their market has possibly reached the saturation point, and the world economic crisis will persist and worsen so long as

rich countries regard the global economy and world markets largely in terms of 30 per cent of the world's population. The remedies applied so far have in fact been postulated on the basis of this fallacy, and predictably, inflation and unemployment continue to bedevil the international economic system.

76. The present economic crisis has its fundamental cause in the developed world—the rich countries—and predates the fivefold increase in the price of oil. The oil price certainly aggravated the crisis, but it did not originate the crisis.

77. The genesis of the present economic crisis antedates the oil crisis. The Bretton Woods Conference is the conventional starting-point of post-war world economic history. That Conference was certainly not perfect, but it is also true that the crisis began and intensified as the world, for political rather than economic reasons, departed from the spirit and underlying principles of the Bretton Woods agreement.⁶ The Bretton Woods arrangement worked from the end of the war to about 1958, and it worked well. In retrospect, it is clear that the Bretton Woods arrangement was accepted, not out of deep convictions about its validity, but because in the circumstances then prevailing there was no conflict between national self-interest and its principles.

78. After the end of the Second World War, only the United States was in a favourable position for providing the necessary international economic leadership. It had the vision and foresight to formulate policies with an international perspective based on the premise that world prosperity was indivisible. The United States made available capital and liquidity, directly and through multilateral institutions, while its industries provided the hardware for European and Japanese post-war reconstruction. In the process, American trade policies were liberalized. The most spectacular results of American aid were produced in the more advanced societies. By 1958, partly as a result of United States aid, Europe and Japan had not only fully recovered from the devastation and destruction of war, but had developed the capacity to compete with the United States.

79. The turning-point was when the dollar shortage developed into a dollar glut and the first cracks appeared in the Bretton Woods arrangement. In August 1971, the United States removed the convertibility of the dollar into gold. That was the start of the crisis. Devaluation of the dollar followed in December of the same year. In February 1973 the second dollar devaluation took place, and by March 1973 the Bretton Woods system of fixed exchange rates had broken down.

80. Another factor responsible for expansion of the world economy until recently was the explosion of technological innovations in major industrialized countries, particularly in the United States. Those innovations brought about increases in productivity, and therefore in living standards, and further resulted in the creation of spectacular new

⁶ Adopted at the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference, held at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, from 1 to 22 July 1944. For the texts, see United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 2, p. 39.

industries like television, jet travel, digital computers, wonder drugs and synthetics. Those new industries in turn created new and better-paid jobs in industrialized countries. Unemployment therefore virtually vanished and labour shortages developed.

81. One consequence of this for the third world was the transfer from the developed to the developing countries of low-technology industries. This transfusion was largely initiated by transnational corporations, which, in the process, forged new links in global interdependence. Investments flowed from the industrialized countries to the developing countries, whose products were in turn exported to the industrial North.

82. Between 1965 and 1973, industrial output as a result of this in the developing countries grew by 7.3 per cent, the comparable figure for the industrialized rich countries being 4.7 per cent. So the poorer countries, despite many disappointments and blunders, were by the 1970s responding to the Western exhortation to modernize, industrialize and go in for trade—not aid.

83. Today, however, instead of congratulations and encouragement being extended to the developing countries, the cry in the rich countries now is that they must be protected from the cheap-labour products of the developing countries. Pressure is now being exerted to prevent international corporations from investing in the developing countries on the grounds that transnationals are morally evil and bent on exploiting the wretched in the developing countries. Unfortunately, some third-world countries were sufficiently confused as to join this campaign to liberate the developing countries from the alleged ills caused by transnational corporations. The odd thing, however, about this campaign is that, although the transnational corporations are situated in the developed rich countries, not a single one has been shut down, either by law or industrial action.

84. The thesis that is clearly projected to the developing countries is that transnational corporations are all right for developed rich countries but bad for developing countries. However, to judge by the experience in my own country, transnationals have on balance been economically beneficial. They have brought new jobs, higher earning capacity, increased skills and management expertise which we would not have been able to acquire on our own.

85. Today, new jobs are fewer in the rich countries. Among other reasons, it is because of the slackening of technological and productivity. Economic measurements of growth suggest that something like one fourth to one half of gross national product growth is attributable to technological progress. The petty world of quotas, tariffs and neo-protectionism is not going to provide the needed jobs that technological innovation can create. According to some economists, were the countries of the European Economic Community to put up trade barriers, for example, their current total of 5.5 million unemployed, far from decreasing, would be likely to double.

86. The argument that the jobs of the workers in the developed countries are being threatened by cheap labour from poor countries is a myth. By the standards of workers

in the affluent countries, wages are certainly lower in the third world. But for the workers in the poor countries, the transfer of low-technology industries has meant jobs for people who had none and the acquisition of skills that vastly increase their earning capacity. Their wages may not provide them with butter, but they do get bread.

87. So protectionism is not a defence against cheap labour; it is protection for high-cost industries. It does not create new jobs, but deprives poorer countries not only of jobs but also of the opportunity through free and fair competition to provide inflation-plagued consumers in the rich countries, with cheaper goods and therefore higher incomes. Increased earnings in the poor countries would in turn provide the incomes to buy the sophisticated industrial products of the richer countries. It is ridiculous to chant piously about interdependence and a global economy when the developing countries are denied even the opportunities to compete in the markets of the developed world on the basis of merit, quality and price. Third-world industries can survive only by selling cheaper. So protectionism is an attempt to shift the burden of unemployment on to poor nations that cannot afford even to put their jobless on the dole.

88. It is even more ridiculous that high-technology societies with highly trained labour forces should, in addition to producing jet aircraft, rocket engines, computers and other complex industrial marvels, also fight the poorer countries tooth and nail in order to produce unnecessarily expensive plastic buckets, T-shirts, shoes, undergarments, and pyjamas on the basis of protected markets. As stated by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Group of 77 in their declaration issued at their meeting in New York on 29 September 1977:

“The renewed trend towards protectionism in the developed countries is a cause of deep concern because of its negative impact on the export earnings of developing countries and on their terms of trade, employment policies and development efforts.” [A/32/244, annex, para 4.]

89. One passionately hopes that in the not-too-distant future, and well before the probable great crash, there will be an explosion of technological innovation in the developed world that will reverse trade policies whose effects would be to wipe out in the countries of the third world the pitiful advance in industrialization they have made during the last 30 years.

90. But technological innovation alone cannot restore vigour to the international economic system. If the world economy is defined in terms of, and limited to, the economies of the rich North, then there is no way out of this crisis. The capacity of the North to absorb the products of its industries and enterprises has reached the point of near saturation. The debate about the limits to growth is applicable only to the handful of rich nations. Their economies possibly can grow no further. But if the world economy is defined to include the third world, then it is only in the initial stages of growth. As I pointed out earlier, the present crisis has its origins in the fierce competition among the industrialized nations for shrinking northern markets. After all, 70 per cent of the commerce of the

countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development is among member States.

91. If the world economy is to be truly global, then the developed world must turn its attention to the 75 per cent of the world's population that remains poor but with vast untapped resources and potential markets for the goods and services of the rich countries. But, so long as that 76 per cent account for less than 20 per cent of the world's income, the markets remain potential rather than actual.

92. The development and modernization of that 75 per cent could well perform the functions that the post-war reconstruction of a war-devastated Europe and Japan performed for the world economy up till the 1970s. It is estimated that about 7 million more Americans will need to find jobs between now and 1981. France will need a million and a quarter new jobs; Japan, some 3 million new jobs. I do not know how many millions more will enter the labour market in other developed countries. Crippling the economies of the third world through protectionism will not provide new jobs in developed countries. It is more likely to increase unemployment. And at the moment the developing countries import nearly 70 per cent of their requirements from the countries in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. If the earnings of the developing countries are reduced through protectionism, there must be a corresponding decrease in imports from the developed world.

93. The way to overcome the economic crisis, then, is for rich countries to pursue policies which will convert the great and almost unlimited needs of the developing majority of mankind into effective monetary demands. This can be done by permitting them to earn more by selling freely, and by encouraging the flow of investments into the third world to set up industries which produce goods far more cheaply. Such a policy will reduce living costs by making available cheaper goods to consumers in developed countries.

94. Equally, the increased incomes that poorer countries will earn would be spent quickly on imports from industrialized countries. In a very real sense, growing prosperity in the poorer countries will not only bring life to the listless economies of the North, but will also create demands for skilled personnel and expertise from the developed countries.

95. This, of course, requires a new sense of realism and a more responsible approach on the part of developing countries to economic development. They must accept the fact that the road to prosperity is paved with rocks rather than roses. Co-operation between the rich and poor nations should not be on the basis that the former has a moral obligation to the latter, but on the basis that each must benefit fairly from the endeavour, though not necessarily equally.

96. But my address is directed primarily to the developed nations. My criticism of their current policies is not inspired by a spirit of sterile confrontation but out of a realization that they, as well as we of the developing world, have a common interest in preserving an international economic system which is essentially sound, but which has got into

difficulties largely because those who operate it have the wrong instruction manual.

97. In short, we have for the first time in human history the foundations of a world economy—not simply a Western economy. We lack the vision and the courage to think and act according to the imperatives of a world economy. Basic to a world economy is an international division of labour, not on the basis of masters and serfs, but as partners. The world economic system falters simply because those who exert the greatest influence on it are forcing it to work on behalf of the privileged nations by applying to it ancient precepts like protectionism and a kind of neo-mercantilism.

98. The world economy as now constituted requires an international division of labour if it is to move forward. As one economist said recently, "The international division of labour also comes under the law of evolution of the species."

99. This plea to the rich nations for enlightened economic leadership may be, as one third-world leader put it at the end of a conference, a dialogue between the deaf. The capacity of the poorer nations to retaliate is limited. But their weakness—the weakness of the third world—constitutes a sort of perverse strength. Despite their powerlessness, they have the potential ability to disrupt the international economic order by simply becoming poorer and poorer. They will inevitably be pushed over the brink if the rich nations persist in their present economic policies. If and when this happens, given the logic of an interdependent world, the rich nations too must, not long after, be dragged into the abyss. Should this happen, the only bitter consolation I can offer is that a people inured to poverty and suffering for many, many decades can better endure their vicissitudes than can those accustomed to better things.

100. Mr. GEDLE-GIORGIS (Ethiopia): Mr. President, on behalf of my Government and myself, I would like to extend to you warm congratulations on your unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly. Your wide experience, your re-known judgement your well-known qualities as a diplomat and your dedication to the ideals of the United Nations augur well for the success of this session of the General Assembly. Your election to this high office is also a recognition by the international community of the constructive role which the Government and people of Yugoslavia, under the illustrious leadership of President Josip Broz Tito, are playing in world affairs. The warm fraternal relations that exist between Ethiopia and Yugoslavia, both of which have a common heritage of bitter struggle against fascism and identical aspirations to promote the ideals of the non-aligned movement, are an additional source of satisfaction to my delegation.

101. I wish also to place on record our appreciation of the accomplishments of your distinguished predecessor, Ambassador Amerasinghe, who presided over the last session of the General Assembly with a high standard of leadership and objectivity.

102. It is also my privilege to express my Government's sincere and profound joy in welcoming the Republic of

Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations.

103. The admission of the Republic of Djibouti to the United Nations family gives us particularly great satisfaction. The Government and people of Ethiopia pledge their whole-hearted support and co-operation to the brotherly people and Government of the Republic of Djibouti in their task of nation-building and the preservation of their hard-won independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. My Government strongly believes that Djibouti's vigilance in safeguarding its independence and territorial integrity will positively contribute towards the maintenance of peace and stability in the Horn of Africa.

104. The international community has every reason to rejoice at seeing the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam at long last gain its rightful place in this Organization. The membership in the United Nations of the gallant people of Viet Nam, whose determination, steadfastness, perseverance and immense sacrifices determined the outcome of the bitter struggle for freedom and independence, is well deserved. It is therefore with a deep sense of emotion that I extend my warm congratulations to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam on its admission to membership in the United Nations.

105. The Ethiopian delegation drew the attention of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly⁷ to what it then regarded as disquieting developments in the world. We indicated that time was running out for the United Nations, precisely at a period when time was of the essence for the speedy solution of a number of complex problems confronting mankind. We also suggested that an impasse was being reached because of the tendency to use the United Nations as a platform for sterile confrontation rather than a medium for innovative co-operation. The present situation hardly justifies a better assessment.

106. In our view, the world body is still increasingly gripped by a sense of helplessness leading to a high degree of cynicism. On the one hand, resolutions come pouring out of every session of our Assembly; high principles are enunciated from this podium and the Charter is quoted time and again—seemingly with great reverence. But, on the other hand, habitual violators of those same resolutions and principles of the Charter go unpunished, and new violators emerge in the knowledge that the United Nations can do nothing to them. As long as that cynical tendency continues, the world body will remain immobilized and mankind will be the poorer for it.

107. One of the violators of the Charter—and, indeed, the most persistent of them all—is the South African Government. Built as it is on the odious system of *apartheid*, that régime has been allowed to violate every principle of the Charter and, thanks to its imperialist backers, has succeeded in getting away with it. Over the years, the South African Government has perfected its abhorrent racial system of *apartheid* and single-mindedly used it for oppressing the African majority in that country as well as in Namibia. The repeated calls of the international community to the

apartheid régime to stop its crimes against the African people have for a long time gone unheeded. People have been massacred, resources plundered, and aggression against neighbouring States committed; and yet the United Nations has not succeeded even in persuading South Africa's friends to stop their economic, military and diplomatic support of that racist régime.

108. Such utter helplessness on the part of the United Nations has only emboldened the *apartheid* régime in its barbarous acts of systematic extermination of African nationalists. The recent cold-blooded murder of Steven Biko in a racist prison is still fresh in our minds. Even through death, he and the other martyrs have advanced further the just cause of their oppressed compatriots.

109. In Namibia, South Africa has continued its illegal occupation despite the definitive ruling of the International Court of Justice terminating South Africa's fictitious right to administer the Territory. In that case also, with the help of its imperialist supporters, South Africa has managed to defy world public opinion by utilizing manoeuvres ranging from outright arrogance to sham reasonableness. After the *apartheid* régime's diabolical plot to establish an interim puppet government through the so-called Turnhalle Conference was totally rejected by the people of Namibia as well as by the international community, that régime has now embarked again with the close collaboration of its friends, on yet another scheme, purportedly to achieve a peaceful resolution of the problem. But I should like to make it clear that, whatever deals are being worked out, they will not be acceptable to Africa unless they conform to the guidelines set out in the recent resolution of the OAU adopted at Libreville, Gabon [see A/32/310 annex I, resolution CM/Res. 551 (XXIX)]. Furthermore, we consider the full participation of SWAPO, the authentic representative of the people of Namibia, at all stages of the negotiations for any arrangement as absolutely necessary. Similarly, any arrangement which will be arrived at must be acceptable to SWAPO.

110. On Zimbabwe, our position is just as firm. The racist régime of Ian Smith has lasted for far too long. Its continued existence is not only an affront to the basic rights and dignity of the people of Zimbabwe but is also a serious threat to peace and security in the region. The international community should not therefore be satisfied with mere condemnation of the racist régime's repeated acts of aggression against neighbouring African States. Rather, the world body, especially the Security Council, must ensure that aggression is punished. While welcoming proposals for establishing majority rule, provided all aspects of those proposals conform with the aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe, Ethiopia reaffirms its total support for and solidarity with the liberation movements in Zimbabwe.

111. In our deliberations on the colonial and racial questions of southern Africa, we believe that we should be guided by the principles enunciated in the Maputo Declaration in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, and the Programme of Action for the Liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia, both of which were adopted by the Maputo Conference in the spring of 1977, as well as

⁷ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings*, 28th meeting, paras. 79-163.

those enunciated by the World Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, held in Lagos last August.⁸

112. Moreover, in the face of the continuing obduracy of the racist régime in South Africa and Zimbabwe, Ethiopia firmly believes it is high time that the Security Council should, at long last, rise to the challenge and enforce comprehensive mandatory sanctions against those two international outlaws.

113. My delegation also notes with regret that no tangible progress has yet been made to resolve the Middle East problem. The situation in the area thus remains as explosive as ever. The ingredients necessary for any durable peace in the region—including Israeli withdrawal from occupied Arab territories, the rights of the Palestinian people to a homeland and, concurrently, the right of every State in the area to independent existence—are already recognized in the relevant United Nations decisions. My delegation therefore ardently hopes that, with a view to a speedy implementation of those decisions, the current efforts to reconvene the Geneva negotiations on the Middle East will produce positive results.

114. Ethiopia's firm position with regard to scrupulous respect for the unity and territorial integrity of non-aligned Cyprus remains unchanged.

115. In the area of disarmament, it is regrettable to note that significant progress has not been achieved over the last year. The most recent worth-while achievements in the field of arms control have been those of a decade ago. Since the 1960s progress has been painfully slow, while expenditure on armaments has been increasing enormously. Resources that could be used for development are still being diverted to the production and stockpiling of ever more destructive weapons. My delegation ardently hopes that the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament will focus on these and related problems and generate a new and effective impetus towards genuine disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, since nuclear arms at present pose the most serious danger for the future of mankind.

116. In the economic sphere, the relations of the developing countries with the industrialized countries are still suffering the consequences of the existing unjust and inequitable world economic order. At a time when exploitation has to give way to co-operation and when domination has to be replaced by interdependence, it is regrettable to see that the industrialized countries are still upholding past practices in the interests of preserving their privileged status. We believe that it would be to their long-term advantage to remedy the injustices of the past and face the realities of today, for a world divided between conspicuous wealth and abject poverty cannot provide an atmosphere conducive to peaceful coexistence.

117. Unfortunately, the industrialized countries are still not prepared to engage in a serious effort at eliminating global injustice and inequality. For almost three decades developing countries have been demanding a fundamental

revision of international economic relations. It is regrettable to note, however, that developed countries are rather unwilling to respond to that justified demand by committing themselves to solving the pressing problems of the developing countries. This is clearly demonstrated by the lack of concrete results in the negotiations conducted both within the United Nations and in other forums.

118. The Conference on International Economic Co-operation or the so-called North-South dialogue, which was held in Paris, did not produce any tangible result after 18 months of protracted negotiations. Similarly, the fourth session of UNCTAD adjourned without much success, thus further frustrating the expectations and aspirations of the developing countries.

119. Evidently, the present world economic order is incapable of redressing the inequality and injustice that characterize the gap between the "haves" and the "have-nots". Hence, a thorough restructuring of the world economic order is an imperative of our times. The new international economic order, which must be based on the principle of shared prosperity, justice and common benefits, should recognize the fact that the problem of development is the joint responsibility of the industrialized and the developing countries.

120. In the field of trade, developing countries must be assured of their due share of benefits through free access for their commodities to the markets of the industrialized countries. The prices paid for their products must be equitable and remunerative. The new order should also provide some mechanism for alleviating the crushing burden of debt-servicing. In short, it must enable the third world to maintain self-sustained development. Similarly, to the extent that collective self-reliance through co-operation is one way of promoting socio-economic transformations, developing countries should reorient their efforts towards strengthening co-operation among themselves.

121. My delegation is no less convinced that the solution of the crucial economic and social problems facing the international community today will have a most salutary effect on universal respect for the fundamental rights of all peoples. We believe that while the masses, the most preponderant majority inhabiting the planet earth live in squalid misery and abject poverty, the international community can hardly be satisfied in promoting only the marginal aspects of the rights of that majority.

122. It is within this broader context that Ethiopia views the need for universal respect for basic human rights. We are deeply concerned about human rights precisely because one of the strongest driving forces which brought about the Ethiopian popular revolution of 1974 was undoubtedly the deplorable state of human rights which prevailed in Ethiopia under the feudal régime. By concealing from the Ethiopian people and the world at large the fact that, in two of our administrative regions alone, more than 200,000 Ethiopians were dying of famine, that oppressive régime, in its pursuit of vainglory, deprived my compatriots of even the right to life itself.

123. One of the greatest achievements of the Ethiopian revolution was, therefore, to emancipate the Ethiopian

⁸ See *Report of the World Conference for Action against Apartheid* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.77.XIV.2 and 3).

masses from the degrading servitude, methodical oppression and exploitation under which they had languished for so long. The demolition of the feudal structure in Ethiopia liberated millions of serfs, tenant farmers and workers from the servitude to which they had been subjected by restoring ownership of all lands and all major means of production and distribution, as well as the principal financial institutions, to the Ethiopian people. Similarly, such progressive measures as the new labour legislation and the proclamations establishing peasants' and urban dwellers' co-operative associations have created conditions whereby, for the first time, the Ethiopian people as a whole can enjoy fundamental liberties and be assured of the protection and development of their rights as free men. By establishing the Provisional Office for Mass Organization, the Provisional Military Government of Socialist Ethiopia is also advancing the Ethiopian people towards the full exercise of their democratic rights.

124. Thus the new social and economic structure we are building in Ethiopia is directed not only at ensuring marginal aspects of fundamental liberties but, to an even larger measure, the economic and social rights of Ethiopians as a whole, without any distinction whatsoever. The content, direction and objective of the progressive changes which are taking place in Ethiopia, as well as our continued commitment to a non-aligned foreign policy, are clearly spelled out in our Programme of National Democratic Revolution, which has the full support of the Ethiopian people.

125. Over and above the reaction that such far-reaching changes inevitably generated on the part of vested interest groups of the old order, there was that of some external forces, averse to progressive change, which also chose to react negatively to our popular revolution. At the very moment when Ethiopia was making a maximum effort to rid itself of the sordid legacy of feudalism and to build a new political, social and economic order on solid foundations of equality and justice, thereby ensuring fundamental human rights for all Ethiopians, certain outside forces apparently thought that, by their concerted effort, they could reverse that historic current of change. Not content with frantic and hostile activities directed against the Ethiopian revolution, one of these forces is now engaged in naked aggression against Ethiopia, its unity and territorial integrity.

126. Over a period of nearly two years, the Government of Somalia has been infiltrating its regular troops into Ethiopia, for the deliberate purpose of committing an aggression short of a full-scale conventional war. These troops, which were heavily armed with sophisticated weapons such as missiles and anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons, had carried out systematic and extensive terror and sabotage in eastern and south-eastern Ethiopia. These infiltrators, while inflicting considerable loss of life, have also wrought immense havoc on the economy of the area by destroying villages, towns and major communication facilities, including the only railway line in the region, as well as agricultural settlements and other development projects established by our own efforts and through international assistance. The Government of Somalia will have to bear full responsibility in this respect.

127. Realizing that the troops thus infiltrated had failed to achieve its expansionist objectives, the Government of

Somalia embarked upon a full-scale and open war of aggression on Ethiopia on 23 July 1977, using tanks and combat aircraft. As a result of this, a savage war is now raging between the invading Somalia forces and the defending Ethiopian troops inside Ethiopian territory.

128. Despite the preposterous claims of the Somali Government that the present war of aggression is actually being waged by a so-called "liberation front", the whole world now recognizes that this ingenious fabrication is quite ridiculous. Somalia's persistent denial of involvement in the undeclared war it has itself initiated and is relentlessly prosecuting is obviously motivated by a desire to conceal the extent of its atrocities. This in itself, far from diminishing its accountability, would only compound the crimes it is committing against the Ethiopian people and the peace and tranquillity of the region.

129. By its present aggression, Somalia not only has violated the cardinal principles of the Charters of both the OAU and the United Nations, but has also trampled underfoot a more recent decision of the General Assembly adopted at its twenty-fifth session. A brief quotation will suffice to amplify my point. In paragraph 5 of its resolution 2734 (XXV), on the strengthening of international security, the General Assembly solemnly reaffirmed, among other matters:

"... that every State has the duty to refrain from the threat of use of force against the territorial and political independence of any other State, and that the territory of a State shall not be the object of military occupation resulting from the use of force in contravention of the provisions of the Charter . . . and that every State has the duty to refrain from organizing, instigating, assisting or participating in acts of civil strife or terrorist acts in another State."

130. It is common knowledge that the root cause of the present aggression is none other than the expansionist ambition of successive régimes in Somalia. Over the years, successive Governments and leaders of Somalia have publicly reiterated this ambition, which is enshrined in the Somali Constitution and on the Somali national flag in the form of a five-pointed star. While the two points on the Somali flag represent the former British and Italian colonies, the rest are supposed to symbolize eastern Ethiopia, the Republic of Djibouti and the northern region of Kenya. One may very well wonder about the grounds on which this lust for other people's land could be based. Essentially, it is based on the untenable and absurd assumption that any land on which ethnic Somalis live must be part and parcel of the Republic of Somalia and that therefore the Government in Mogadishu does not recognize international treaties, United Nations resolutions and or OAU decisions pertaining to inviolability of state frontiers.

131. In this context, it is relevant to recall certain basic facts. The history of the Horn of Africa, especially of the last 400 years, has been a history of successive "waves" of migrations from the lowlands to the more fertile highlands, new groups displacing earlier ones. In these successive migrations, the Somali tribes are late arrivals in the region. In their migrations to and expansions in the Horn, they displaced the original inhabitants of the region, who live today in Ethiopia and in the rest of East Africa. Indeed, at

the beginning of their appearance on the scene, the Somalis were largely restricted to the northern part of present-day Somalia. In time, however, they pushed in different directions, particularly to the south, and took over the Benadir Coast. Because of ecological conditions of the country, this expansion to the south and in other directions has taken place over a long period and, even now, is apparently a continuing trend.

132. The population of Somalia, being largely nomadic, has never in history known the confines and restrictions of national frontiers. The only boundary known to them has been the furthest limit to available pasture. It is on the basis of this nomadic habit that the Government in Mogadishu lays its claims to the territories of its neighbours and pursues their realization through armed aggression.

133. If Somalia's attempt to annex eastern Ethiopia is based on the assumption that there is a Somali minority within Ethiopia, then such a reasoning, apart from being a calculated misrepresentation of the polyethnic nature of the Ethiopian polity, is apt to create a dangerous precedent exposing Africa, and perhaps even the rest of the world, to the forces of violence and instability.

134. The fact remains that there is not a single African country which does not have distinct ethnic groups straddling its borders. For example, the Bakongo are to be found in Zaire, Congo and Angola; the Ewe are divided between Ghana and Togo; the Yoruba between Nigeria and Benin; the Ben Amir between Ethiopia and the Sudan; the Masai between Kenya and Tanzania; the Hutu between Burundi and Rwanda; and so on. Similar examples can also be extensively cited outside the African continent. Therefore, if one were to be swayed by the irrational argument of the Mogadishu authorities, it means that the map of the entire world would have to be redrawn on the basis of ethnicity.

135. As if its racist claim to other countries' land, which is no different from Hitler's *Anschluss*, were not enough, the Somali Government has based its foreign policy on systematic denunciation of international agreements and decisions. Thus, over the years, Somalia has consistently rejected the series of treaties that have defined its borders, the Trusteeship Agreement⁹ that clearly endorsed the relevant treaties delimiting the boundaries of Italian Somaliland, and resolutions of OAU and the non-aligned countries in respect of boundaries, as well as the relevant provisions of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties¹⁰ and the draft articles on succession of States in respect of treaties.¹¹

136. By rejecting the international boundary agreements signed prior to its independence on the ground that it had not participated in their formulation Somalia has in effect denounced the Trusteeship Agreement, which is clearly

based on those same boundary agreements. The boundary agreements, together with the Trusteeship Agreement, are the only basis for its subsequent emergence as an independent State. Clearly Somalia could not be a party to the boundary agreements for the simple reason that it did not exist as a State prior to 1960. Notwithstanding Somalia's position the fact remains that the United Nations recognized the international agreements when drawing up the Trusteeship Agreement for the Territory of Somaliland under Italian Administration. In the words of Article 1 of the Agreement:

“The territory to which this Agreement applies is the territory formerly known as Italian Somaliland, hereafter called the Territory, bounded by the Somaliland Protectorate, Ethiopia, Kenya, the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. Its boundaries shall be those fixed by international agreement”—I repeat, “Its boundaries shall be those fixed by international agreement”—“and, in so far as they are not already delimited, shall be delimited in accordance with a procedure approved by the General Assembly.”

137. When drawing up the Trusteeship Agreement the United Nations therefore not only recognized the validity of the international boundary agreements but also determined that the only outstanding issue was one of border demarcation. Yet Somalia wishes to change this simple issue of boundary demarcation into a territorial one.

138. Somalia's rejection of OAU decisions is based on the even more untenable premise that its dreams of expansion predate the establishment of the OAU. It is on this ground that Somalia refuses to accept the validity of OAU resolution AHG/Res.16 (I) of July 1964 which states, *inter alia*, that the OAU:

“*Considering* that border problems constitute a grave and permanent factor of dissension,

“... .

“*Considering further* that the borders of African States, on the day of their independence, constitute a tangible reality,

“... .

“*Solemnly declares* that all Member States pledge themselves to respect the borders existing on their achievement of national independence.”

139. Thus Somalia would attempt to obstruct every effort by the OAU to play a constructive role because, according to its reverse logic, the Organization would always be younger than the dispute it would endeavour to settle.

140. Apart from its rejection of all international agreements, Somalia also maliciously attempts to portray Ethiopia as a “black colonialist”. This, of course, is a deliberate distortion of history, designed to provide a rationale for Somalia's expansionist ambitions concerning Ethiopia. That Ethiopia through the centuries had to struggle against successive waves of colonialism is well known and recorded. The fact that it has by and large

⁹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Session, Supplement No. 10*. The text was approved by the General Assembly in resolution 442 (V).

¹⁰ See *Official Records of the United Nations Conference on the Law of Treaties, First and Second Sessions, Vienna, 26 March-24 May 1968 and 9 April-22 May 1969* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.70.V.5), p. 287.

¹¹ See document A/CONF.80/15.

succeeded in holding on to what has always belonged to it surely cannot be invoked against it. Ethiopia, while maintaining its national independence, has however been a victim of colonial encroachments and intrigues.

141. In the face of the colonial scramble for Africa Emperor Menelik II of Ethiopia wrote a circular letter to the European Powers on 10 April 1891¹² in which he specifically stated: "If the powers at a distance come forward to partition Africa between them, I do not intend to be a silent spectator."

142. Somalia's distorted interpretation of that letter has been heard very often. However, the explicit and implicit content of Menelik's letter was simply a clear warning to the Powers that he would resolutely defend the independence and territorial integrity of Ethiopia. As subsequent events have amply demonstrated, it is obvious that Menelik had neither the intention nor the dubious distinction of dismembering other African countries.

143. Distorted and malicious interpretations of his intentions notwithstanding, indeed Menelik did not remain a silent spectator. As it came to pass, five years later Italian colonialism launched its aggression against Ethiopia. Menelik kept his word by defeating the Italian colonialists at the historic battle of Adowa in 1896, thus dealing a blow to the myth of the invincibility of European colonial forces.

144. In its obsession with expansionism and the promotion of the illusion of Greater Somalia which it had inherited from its colonialist mentors, the Government of Somalia spares no effort in every forum to portray Ethiopia's demographic composition as if it were a negative phenomenon. Somalia does this with a view to manipulating this polyethnicity of the Ethiopian people for its own ends. There is no doubt that such a design is doomed to failure.

145. Like so many other nations, Ethiopia is proud of the religious, ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity of its people—a diversity which is an asset, especially as it embarks upon progressive national reconstruction and development in conditions of freedom, justice and equality.

146. Not least important is the fact that the Mogadishu Government has often invoked the principle of self-determination to serve its own expansionist purposes. The principle of self-determination was enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations for the sole purpose of promoting the legitimate rights of peoples under colonial domination to freedom and independence. One beneficiary of this principle has been Somalia, which now wishes to distort its content and meaning to suit its expansionist designs. I should like to emphasize once and for all that the principle of self-determination was never conceived, nor is it meant to serve, as an instrument for the dismemberment of existing independent States.

147. As far as Ethiopia is concerned, because of the complementary nature of the resource endowments of the

two countries, His Excellency Lt. Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam, Chairman of the Provisional Military Government of Socialist Ethiopia, repeatedly reiterated previous proposals to the Somali authorities that we co-operate to develop the resources of the region for the mutual benefit of both countries, that we build a common infrastructure to help promote trade and that we jointly develop the Juba and the Wabi Shibelle river basins, which have their headwaters, in Ethiopia. Furthermore, in the interest of maintaining international peace and security and in the hope of speeding up the growth and development of the area through co-operation, the Provisional Military Government of Socialist Ethiopia further proposed a confederation with Somalia. But Somalia's response to our peaceful and constructive proposals turned out to be the launching of a military offensive.

148. It is self-evident that in the face of the unprovoked aggression by the Somali régime the Ethiopian people have no choice but to rise in unison and repel that aggression as they have repeatedly done in the past when others have sought to violate their dignity, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

149. The Ethiopian people are comforted by the fact that their inherent right to defend the independence, unity and territorial integrity of their country is upheld by international law. It is this legitimate right to self-defence which they fully intend to exercise until all the consequences of Somalia's aggression are obliterated.

150. Somalia's aggression must be repulsed not only because it is directed against the honour and dignity of the Ethiopian people, but also because it seeks to set a dangerous precedent of instability in the African continent by attempting to transform national frontiers into ethnic boundaries. Somalia's aggression must be resisted because it is launched in utter contempt for the sacred principles enshrined in the charters of the OAU, the United Nations and the non-aligned movement. The determined effort of the Ethiopian people to safeguard the territorial integrity of their country is, therefore, not only a fully justified act of self-defence but also an act to uphold the sanctity of these fundamental principles.

151. The OAU as the competent regional organization to deal with African problems, continues to be seized of the issues involving Somalia's aggression. In this regard, the General Assembly is well aware of the decision taken at Libreville, Gabon, last August, by the good offices committee of the OAU. By reaffirming the principles of territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, that decision has rejected Somalia's policy of expansionism. Ethiopia continues to have full confidence in the efficacy of the OAU and believes that that regional organization should be afforded every opportunity and all co-operation to resolve the problem in accordance with the provisions of its Charter and the relevant decisions of its principal organs.

152. If I have dwelt at some length on the brazen aggression being committed against my country by Somalia, it is because we believe that it is our duty to apprise the international community of all aspects of the hostilities now raging in the Horn of Africa. Ethiopia, as a founding

¹² See, *Spanish and Italian Possessions: Independent States*, Peace Handbooks issued by the Historical Section of the Foreign Office (London, HM Stationery Office, 1920), vol. XX, No. 129 (Abysinia), appendix II, p. 104.

Member of both the United Nations and the OAU is a nation unequivocally committed to the scrupulous respect of all the fundamental principles of international law that govern the conduct of States in their relations with each other and, as such, in its commitment to peace it is second to none.

153. Ethiopia has always preferred to solve its differences with others through peaceful means rather than by resorting to force. But when, as in the present case, naked aggression is committed against it in contemptuous disregard of the principles of civilized conduct, then no alternative is left to it other than the obligation to act in determined self-defence. That is what the Ethiopian people are now actually engaged in. The international community will no doubt recall that the Ethiopian people successfully defended the honour of their country against Fascist aggression four decades ago. Prepared as they are to make every sacrifice in defending their national unity and territorial integrity, the Ethiopian people are once again determined to discharge their historical obligation of legitimate self-defence in accordance with the charters of the OAU and the United Nations.

154. Mr. DAYAN (Israel): Mr. President, permit me to join those representatives who have already spoken in the debate, and have offered their congratulations to you on your unanimous election to the office of President of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly.

155. The cause of human rights received a powerful impetus this year when the President of the United States told this body on 17 March of this year that every nation has a responsibility to speak out in defence of basic rights and freedoms throughout the world. We subscribed fully to this view and we are proud that, despite intense strains and provocations, Israel has succeeded in maintaining a free, open and multiracial society in which the dignity of man and the rule of law are held supreme.

156. Unfortunately, the record of the United Nations in the field of human rights is poor. We are witnesses here to a deplorable exercise in double standards and cynicism.

157. We have also been disappointed that so little progress has been made in implementing the humanitarian principles of the Final Act of Helsinki.¹³ Regrettably, there has been no improvement in the situation of the Jews in the Soviet Union during the past year. Exit from the Soviet Union, the right to leave one's country—a right guaranteed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the Final Act of Helsinki—is still severely restricted, and those Jews who do insist on their rights are subject to continued harassment by the authorities, to dismissal from their places of employment and in some cases to arrest and imprisonment. The Government of Israel once again calls on the Soviet Union to permit those Jews who wish to do so to leave in order to go to Israel to join their people and their families.

158. May I again raise the matter of the sorry plight of the Jewish community in Syria. That community does not enjoy such basic human rights as freedom of movement or

the right to be reunited with their families. There can be no valid reason for the Government of Syria to hold those 5,000 innocent people as hostages.

159. Ever since it joined the United Nations some 28 years ago, Israel has steadily supported all significant moves by this Organization to promote and to propagate the limitation of armaments on a global scale. Although disarmament has always been closely linked with security, Israel is prepared to play its part in the reduction of the arms race in the Middle East.

160. In the past three years, an estimated \$US 7.5 billion in arms supplies have been delivered by East and West to Arab countries in the vicinity of Israel. In addition, about \$US 22 billion worth of arms was contracted for by Arab States for delivery from the end of 1976 onwards. Israel is ready to enter into an agreement on arms limitation with all the States in the Middle East.

161. With regard to another crucial aspect of disarmament, Israel has frequently called on its Arab neighbours to join it in direct negotiations with a view to establishing a nuclear-free zone in the Middle East. Indeed, on this issue as on others, the Foreign Minister of Egypt, Mr. Fahmy, has deliberately misled this Assembly. Israel firmly believes that such negotiations should lead to the conclusion of a formal, contractual, multilateral convention between all the States of the region, on the lines of such notable precedents as the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Latin America and the proposals for similar agreements in the areas of south Asia and the south Pacific. Unfortunately, the Arab States have totally rejected this call by Israel which, after all, is in the interests of all the people of the Middle East. On this occasion I repeat our proposal.

162. A year ago, following the rescue by Israel of innocent hostages hijacked to Entebbe in an Air France airbus, the Vice Chancellor and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany proposed that the United Nations should draft an international convention banning the taking of hostages and providing for the prosecution or extradition of the criminals.¹⁴ This was an important step in the right direction, which Israel welcomed. It is therefore very disturbing to note that the *Ad Hoc* Committee appointed to deal with this matter has made so little progress in attempting to draft a convention for consideration by this Assembly. If this Organization fails, because of the efforts of those who support international terror, to take even this step in the right direction, then it will have lost all credibility as an effective instrument of international action.

163. It is regrettable that Arab States have played and continue to play a central role in encouraging international terror. It is to Arab airports that hijacked aircraft are directed by terrorists in their search for safe destinations. The recent Japan Air Lines case is a classic example. The kidnappers and murderers of public figures in Germany are graduates of the courses of the PLO.

164. No cause can justify or condone terrorism. Terrorism is a criminal activity, totally indiscriminate in its effects,

¹³ Adopted by the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

¹⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings, 7th meeting, para. 113.*

which by design strikes at the innocent and the defenceless. The issue is therefore a fundamental one for the international community. The attitude this Organization takes on the question of terrorism is a clear reflection of its moral strength and its international responsibility.

165. So far, the record of the United Nations in combating terrorism is dismal. Not once has the Security Council convened to condemn terrorists and hijackers.

166. I noted with interest that, after my Egyptian colleague had talked with the President and the Secretary of State in Washington on 22 September, he announced to the press that, for the first time, Egypt was prepared to accept Israel as a Middle Eastern country and to live in peace in that area. It saddened me therefore that, before this Assembly on 28 September [10th meeting], Mr. Fahmy chose to make a personal attack on my Prime Minister and to vilify Zionism and to launch a move to isolate Israel in this forum. He also made peace conditional on an end to immigration to Israel, and openly threatened war. It would be easy to rebut him, but I shall refrain. I shall only comment that Mr. Fahmy's double-talk does not enhance Egypt's credibility and is prejudicial to the prospects of peace in the Middle East.

167. Israel will never limit immigration. Zionism is the life-blood of Israel. We will do our utmost to achieve peace and to prevent war; but let me remind Mr. Fahmy, when he threatens us with war, that every war launched by Egypt has ended to its considerable disadvantage. The last cease-fire negotiations between Israel and Egypt after the Yom Kippur war took place 101 kilometres from Cairo. I submit that it would be more appropriate for Mr. Fahmy to stop talking about war and concentrate on the issues of peace.

168. Similarly, I shall not engage in polemics with any of the other Arab representatives who have made countless false and malicious allegations against Israel.

169. However, certain facts must be recalled. We have been reminded that General Assembly resolution 181 (II) of 1947 on the partition of Palestine has not been implemented. True, but the Arab States themselves voted against that resolution, obstructed its implementation and destroyed it by force of arms. For the last 30 years they have been guilty of aggression against Israel.

170. After every war we proposed peace, but in vain. After the 1948 war we negotiated with Abdullah, King of Jordan. We reached an agreement, which was initialled by both sides, but because of that he was assassinated by his own people while praying at the Al Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem. In 1957, we proposed to President Nasser of Egypt that Egyptian troops, and not United Nations troops, should take over Sharm el Sheikh, which controls the Strait of Tiran, on condition that Israeli vessels be guaranteed freedom of passage, but Nasser rejected our proposal. After the 1967 war, we offered to negotiate for peace: we offered to return territory in return for peace. The reply we received from the Arab countries was given to us on 1 September 1967 at the Arab Summit Conference¹⁵ – the three “Nos”: no negotiation, no recognition, no peace.

171. Many representatives have referred nostalgically to the 1967 armistice lines, and seem to see an Israeli withdrawal to them as a complete solution to all the problems of the Middle East. But if the 1967 lines are the answer to the problem, why is it that peace was not achieved in the years between 1949 and 1967, when Israel's frontiers were at the pre-1967 lines? During that period the Arab States refused to negotiate peace, as they were pledged to do under the armistice agreements which they signed in 1949. The PLO, an instrument of war for the destruction of Israel, was created in 1964 when Israel was still behind the 1967 lines.

172. There has been much talk about the territories held by Israel since the six day war. But nothing has been said about the reasons for that war; nothing of President Nasser's blockade of the Strait of Tiran and his public undertakings to annihilate Israel; nothing of Egypt's movement of forces leading up to the war; nothing of how King Hussein ignored our advice, passed on to him by General Odd Bull of the United Nations, when he joined in the attack on Israel with the forces of Egypt and Syria.

173. We did not plan to go to war. We fought to defend ourselves from the grim fate promised us.

174. We cannot overlook the fact that the simplistic solution, which has been advocated by so many participants in this debate, was a reality on the ground from 1949 to 1967. It brought us war.

175. In 1973, Syria and Egypt again launched a war against Israel. After their defeat, the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East was set up in the framework of which two disengagement agreements were reached with Egypt and Syria in 1974, and an interim agreement was made with Egypt in 1975.

176. Since then, Israel has not ceased to indicate its readiness to resume the peace negotiations at Geneva on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

177. In view of the many inaccurate constructions that have been put on resolution 242 (1967), let us be quite clear what that resolution does say and what it does not say. It does not require Israel to withdraw unilaterally from the territories it occupied in 1967. It does not call upon Israel to leave all those territories. It does not make peace negotiations contingent upon such withdrawal. It does not fix boundaries. What it does require is negotiations between the parties to arrive at an agreed peace treaty.

178. The wording of the resolution makes it perfectly clear that new boundaries are to be determined between the States of the region. The statement that “secure and recognized boundaries” must be negotiated implies that previous boundaries were not secure or recognized. The fact that new boundaries are to be reached can also be inferred from the fact that Arab and Soviet pressure for the inclusion of a reference to “withdrawal from all the territories” was unsuccessful.

179. I quote Mr. Joseph Sisco, who was the United States Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization

¹⁵ Held at Khartoum from 29 August to 1 September 1967.

Affairs at the time that resolution 242 (1967) was adopted. He said:

“That resolution did not say ‘withdrawal to the pre-June 5 lines’. That resolution said that the parties must negotiate to achieve agreement on the so-called final secure and recognized borders. In other words, the question of the final borders . . . is a matter of negotiations between the parties.”¹⁶

This is still our position. We have to establish new boundaries, and not to return to the old ones. We have to negotiate permanent boundaries that will afford Israel security.

180. According to resolution 242 (1967), the peace settlement must include:

“Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area . . .”.

The settlement is therefore to be reached between States, and not to involve the participation of any organization whatsoever.

181. Resolution 242 (1967) makes no mention whatsoever of the PLO. The PLO is a terrorist organization whose record is one of deliberate and indiscriminate atrocities against innocent civilians, including women and children. The PLO is governed by the Palestinian National Covenant of 1964, as amended in 1968 and reconfirmed as recently as in March of this year by the Palestinian National Council in Cairo.

182. Article 6 of this Covenant calls for the expulsion of the vast majority of the Jewish population from our country. In article 15, it calls for the elimination of Zionism. In article 19, it calls in effect for the destruction of the State of Israel. In article 20, it makes the preposterous assertion that “the claim of historical or spiritual links between the Jews and Palestine is *[not]* in conformity with historical fact . . .”. In article 21, it declares that “all alternatives to the total liberation of Palestine” are rejected—that is, any plan that falls short of the destruction of Israel.

183. There is not a sovereign State in this Organization that would negotiate with a body calling for its destruction.

184. Many delegations have proposed the establishment of a Palestinian State governed by the PLO on the West Bank and in Gaza. Again, this is but a futile exercise in wishful thinking, totally unacceptable to us, ignoring, as it does, the language of resolution 242 (1967) and the basic facts on the ground.

185. A PLO mini-State on the West Bank, which could not be viable in itself, would be a base for attempts to destroy Israel. One has only to consult a map and the political programme of the PLO to realize this.

186. The provisions of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) were accepted by Israel as the basis of negotiation towards peace. We accepted Council resolution 242 (1967). We did not accept an amended Council resolution 242 (1967)—even if such an amendment were feasible, which it is not, Council resolution 242 (1967) derives its strength and authority from the fact that it has been accepted by the States parties to the conflict.

187. Moreover, the United States regards resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) as the exclusive basis for a settlement of the conflict. The memorandum of agreement between Israel and the United States on the Geneva Peace Conference, signed on 1 September 1975, declares in article 4 that the United States

“ . . . will oppose and if necessary vote against any initiatives in the Security Council to alter adversely the terms of reference of the Geneva Peace Conference, or to change resolutions 242 and 338 in ways which are incompatible with their original purpose”.

This position was reaffirmed by the United States only a few days ago in a joint statement with Israel.

188. Israel is ready to resume negotiations at Geneva for the achievement of true, contractual and effective peace treaties, including the establishment of diplomatic relations between Israel and the Arab States. There can be no participation of any additional State, group or organization at the Geneva Peace Conference without the agreement of all the initial participants. All negotiations should be conducted on a bilateral basis.

189. Through the good offices of the United States, we have conveyed suggestions on the substantive, and not merely on the procedural, issues.

190. First, we have provided a draft text of a full peace treaty in all its aspects. Secondly, we have supplied details of our approach in respect of discussion and negotiation on the various issues. This part is in turn made up of two elements: first, a presentation of some of the main questions involved in a peace agreement between ourselves and each of our neighbours, questions such as Israel's security, guarantees of freedom of navigation in all international waterways, the security of the Jordan River sources in the north, a basis for coexistence with the Palestinian Arabs in the Gaza Strip, Judaea and Samaria, and other relevant topics—in other words, the questions which we believe we must contend with if we are to sign a final peace agreement between ourselves and each of the neighbouring Arab States. The second element comprises our ideas for resolving these questions. In our view, there should be complete normalization of relations, including diplomatic relations, trade and cultural ties. We have suggested modalities, including demilitarized zones and other arrangements.

191. In addition, there remains the cardinal principle that the negotiations should be conducted without prior conditions or commitments. This principle means not only that neither side obligates the other to agree in advance to any condition whatsoever but also that all issues and areas are

¹⁶ See *the Department of State Bulletin*, vol. LXIII, No. 1623 (Washington, DC, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970), p. 153.

open to negotiation. We for our part will be completely open and sincere in listening to, discussing and examining the proposals of the other parties. To illustrate this: we believe that the settlement concerning Judaea and Samaria and the Gaza Strip should be based on our living together with the Palestinian Arabs in those areas, and not on a partition of the territory.

192. For 10 years, between 1967 and 1977, the Government of Israel was committed to territorial concessions in return for genuine peace, and this implied the redivision of the area. But to no avail.

193. Now our view is that redivision is not the answer. Nowhere is it possible to draw a dividing line which will satisfy not only the security, but also the historical, economic and social needs of all sides. Bethlehem, a satellite town of Jerusalem and dependent on Jerusalem for its tourist trade and indeed its very existence, cannot be cut off from the holy city. Mount Scopus, the site of the Hebrew University and the Hadassah Hospital, cannot be separated from Israel. And are the Arabs in Gaza once again to be bottled up in an intolerably narrow strip of land, unable to get out without passing an international frontier? No. The model for the future must be united Jerusalem, where since 1967 Jews and Arabs have proved that they can live together harmoniously to their joint benefit, where all residents enjoy freedom of movement in all parts of the holy city and where freedom of access to the Holy Places is assured for all. There is no room—and no need—for barbed wire any more.

194. But, for all that, had the Arabs proposed partitioning those territories between ourselves and them, we would have discussed and examined their proposal and afterwards would have decided whether we were ready to agree to it or not. In this connexion I should like to point out that we have re-examined the positions of Jordan and of the Palestinian Arabs and we have found no inclination on the part of either for a solution based on the redivision of Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip.

195. The criticism which has been directed against Israel in respect of the establishment of settlements in Judaea and Samaria is unfounded. The settlements are legal. Under international law neither Jordan nor any other Arab State has any sovereign territorial rights in the West Bank or in any other part of what was mandatory Palestine in 1948 when the United Kingdom surrendered its Mandate. No State today has any claim of sovereignty to what was mandatory Palestine that is better than or even equal to Israel's claims.

196. The Arab States rejected the United Nations partition resolution and, in violation of the United Nations Charter, they used force in an attempt to prevent its implementation. The Arab use of force in 1948 was an act of aggression—not of self-defence.

197. "... an armed struggle is taking place in Palestine as a result of the unlawful invasion by a number of States of the territory of Palestine, which does not form part of the territory of any of the States whose armed forces have invaded it."¹⁷

¹⁷ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Third Year, No. 75*, 306th meeting, p. 7.

That is what Mr. Tarasenko of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic said in the Security Council in 1948.

198. No rights accrued to any of the Arab States from that act, and those States were in fact subject to the restrictions that international law imposes on a "conquering" and "occupying" army.

199. Jordan's annexation of Judaea and Samaria early in 1950 was never recognized by any State other than Pakistan and the United Kingdom. The United States Department of State, at a press conference on 29 July 1977, confirmed that there were legal problems over the sovereign rights of Jordan in the West Bank.

200. In view of this illegal annexation of the West Bank, the fourth Geneva Convention¹⁸ is not applicable.

201. But even if the laws of belligerent occupation were applicable, those rules contain no restrictions on the freedom of persons to take up residence in the area involved. The fourth Geneva Convention bans forcible transfers, not voluntary acts of individuals taking up residence in the area of the West Bank. No Arab inhabitants have been displaced by the establishment of these Jewish settlements. Not a single Arab resident of Judaea and Samaria has been made homeless as a result of the establishment of those peaceful villages. And, above all, it is unacceptable to us that Jews should be prohibited from living in any part of their ancestral land.

202. Let me make one point clear: the settlements will not decide the final borders between Israel and its neighbours. The borders will be decided upon in the negotiations between Israel and its neighbours. The settlements are by no means an obstacle to peace because, if they were, we should have had peace years ago.

203. We believe that the problem concerning the status of the Arabs living in the West Bank should be settled in the framework of peace negotiations in Geneva between us and the Jordanian delegation, which may include Palestinian Arabs from Judaea and Samaria.

204. One of the central problems that has to be solved in a peace settlement is the problem of the refugees. Security Council resolution 242 (1967) refers to "refugees", not "Arab refugees": it covers both Jewish and Arab refugees. When the resolution was being drafted, a Soviet attempt to restrict it to Arab refugees failed.

205. The origin of the Palestinian Arab refugee problem was the Arab rejection of the United Nations partition resolution and the war which the Arab States declared against the State of Israel one day after its establishment. The responsibility is therefore theirs. Had the Arabs accepted the resolution, there would have been no refugee problem. Furthermore, because of the wars conducted by the Arab States against Israel, Jews who had lived for thousands of years in Arab lands were forced to leave, abandoning all their property and possessions. For about 590,000 Arab refugees there were about 600,000 Jewish refugees from Iraq, Yemen, Syria, Egypt, Libya and the rest of North Africa.

¹⁸ Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.

206. Refugees in other parts of the world have been successfully integrated into the national community to which they belong. The only exception to the general rule is the situation of the Arab refugees. The Arab States have refused to absorb and integrate their brothers into their respective societies. The Arab States have made the "restoration" of the "legitimate rights" of those refugees—namely, their return to Israel—the central demand. That demand constitutes a serious distortion of the realities of the refugee problem.

207. We do not intend to send back Jews to Iraq, Syria, Egypt, Morocco, Yemen and other Arab countries, to be hanged in the public squares of Baghdad and to be deprived of their human rights and to become third-class citizens, imprisoned in ghettos, as in Syria now, in order to take Arab refugees in their place. The fact is that an exchange of population has taken place between Israel and the Arab countries.

208. The difference between Israel and the Arab States is that, while we in Israel from the outset integrated all the Jewish refugees into our society, the Arab States deliberately perpetuated the "refugee status" of their own brethren in order to use them as a political weapon against Israel. The Arab demand for the return of the refugees to Israel, coupled with proposals for the establishment of a Palestinian State, is calculated to bring about the destruction of Israel. The refugees should be resettled and integrated into the Arab societies in which they now live. In any peace settlement specific provisions should be made to enable all refugees to find accommodation, employment and adequate compensation.

209. In any discussion of reparations for the refugees, Israel will raise the question of reparations for Jewish refugees from Arab lands and insist that all their claims be settled within the framework of the final peace agreement.

210. There is only one road along which it is possible to move towards peace; that is the road of direct negotiations with no pre-conditions. No conflict in the world has ever been resolved without the parties to the conflict negotiating face to face. Our conflict is not different.

211. The heart of the problem is the Arab refusal to recognize the right of Israel to national sovereignty in the ancient, historical land of the Jewish people. That is the heart of the problem, and until it is overcome the obstacles to a just and durable peace will remain.

212. The developments of recent days and the possibility of a resumption of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East, none the less, give room for guarded optimism which could turn into grounds for great hope. For our part, we are prepared to embark on a common effort, long and challenging as it may be, to negotiate a final agreement to live in peace and security.

213. Mr. ADAMOU (Niger) (*interpretation from French*): The thirty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly is opening in a world characterized by political uncertainty and economic anxiety. Some, and by no means the least, of the problems which were the subject of our concern at previous sessions still await satisfactory solutions.

214. It is as though we were living in a period of deliberate disorder, of a determination to seek destruction, and an absolute refusal to accept the improvements and progress needed by millions of disadvantaged men who are sometimes denied even an identity.

215. The thirty-second session is another occasion for us to express our fears and hopes. Can the world finally seize this moment to try to conquer the demons of dispute and self-interest?

216. Permit me to welcome the first act of this session, namely, the admission into the international community of the sister Republic of Djibouti and of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. Our Organization, by enriching itself with those two new eminent Members, is drawing close to its true goal of universality, with respect for the rights of peoples to live freely in a world of peace and justice.

Mr. Conteh (Sierra Leone), Vice-President, took the Chair.

217. The peoples of Djibouti and Viet Nam will, we are convinced, bring to the international community not only their experience, but above all their desire and willingness to work for peace—qualities which the whole world has always recognized in them. They should be congratulated on their courageous struggles as a result of which they are here today. Their presence here is a victory for all enslaved and shackled peoples struggling to regain their identity and their rights. The decolonization process is irreversible, and we still await the decolonization of peoples of other States deprived of their elementary rights under the colonialist yoke.

218. Since the historic date of 15 April 1974, the Supreme Military Council and the Government, drawing wise lessons from a long and painful experience, have set about seeking a better existence for the people of Niger, in accordance with their natural aspirations for peace and security. We have undertaken the creation and consolidation of this better existence within the framework of a national struggle against under-development, the establishment of social justice and the constant reaffirmation of our national identity.

219. The long and terrible years of unbroken drought are still fresh in our memories, and the efforts undertaken for the development of our natural resources and in the search for self-sufficiency in food production constitute today a clear motivation for a common mobilization of all our citizens. For example, national organizations of young men and women, throughout the vast territory of 1,267,000 square kilometres, are engaged in collective activities in the fields of social self-help, development and the reconstruction of the cultural heritage of the national community.

220. This national mobilization can be seen today in the systematic tripling of our general national budget, which bears witness to our firm desire to make progress on the road of national development; for the Niger of today rejects verbal, dilatory progressivism which deceives no one; rather, we are pursuing true progress in keeping with our true nature—progress which liberates man from natural fetters, from poverty, famine and ignorance, progress towards the

goal of permitting everyone to achieve the full flowering of his physical and spiritual personality.

221. Thus it was that on 4 August last, Lieutenant-Colonel Seyni Kountché solemnly opened the Conference of leaders and diplomats of Niger with these words:

“Since 15 April 1974, our national development efforts have sought to create a developing society by stressing in particular social justice and a better division of national wealth. . . . We have intensified the search for economic independence, notably by the development of industrial, mining and trade activities; we have also improved the national transport network, and we are undertaking the diversification of our country's means of access to the sea. But we are concerned, above all, with the destiny of our compatriots living in rural areas . . . Hence we have undertaken a vast project to increase the number of wells and replace the livestock decimated by the drought. These efforts aimed at our rural masses have produced among them a rebirth of enthusiasm and of confidence in the future. Everywhere in our villages, the incentive is to work in order to produce more, so that the spectre of famine may forever be dispelled. But however positive and comforting these results may be, we must not forget that the task before us is still immense, and that we shall still require outside assistance for a long time.”

222. As to our foreign policy, it rests on two major principles through which the diplomacy of the new Niger is expressed: first, that of non-alignment, a positive non-alignment based on our will to assert our national identity and our international sovereignty; and, secondly, co-operation, multilateral co-operation inspired by that non-alignment and flowing from our commitment to open our doors to all countries which share our views and concerns. The essence of this co-operation remains the promotion of the structural development of our economy.

223. At the regional and African level, I am pleased to proclaim our dedication—a dedication that has never gone unrewarded—to a policy of co-operation and dialogue and, above all, of good neighbourliness and socio-economic integration with all States of the subregion. That is why, without prejudice to the arrangements established by the OAU, the Government of Niger, in collaboration or in parallel with other African Governments, has made attempts at mediation with a view to smoothing out differences and finding peaceful solutions to various disputes in order to preserve and consolidate what we hold most dear: our independence. As in the past, Niger will pursue its natural role of promoting mediation and the rapprochement of peoples and their ideas, because we have faith in the virtues of dialogue among brothers, and because we remain convinced that Africa will be liberated only by its sons, and that its sons will be able to liberate it only if they are united among themselves. They have the ability—because they have proved it repeatedly—to overcome their differences.

224. At the international level, our country, through its association with the countries of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific with the nine countries of the European Economic Community has, ever since the signing of the

Lomé Convention,¹⁹ expressed its faith in co-operation within vast and enriching groups. It is in this spirit that our country wages the struggle within the non-aligned group, the Group of 77 and the Islamic Conference. It is working actively for rapprochement and solidarity among African and Arab countries.

225. The meagre results of the various development strategies conceived by the United Nations cannot leave us indifferent. There is a time for everything. We can feel the moment coming when the log-jams will break up of their own accord. Failures cannot go on accumulating indefinitely without awakening pangs of conscience.

226. The Conference on International Economic Co-operation, or North-South dialogue—and here we commend the initiative of France that brought it about—had for a moment led us to believe that it would bring about a noticeable change in international economic relations. Unfortunately, it wound up in deadlock which political will on the part of the developed countries could have resolved without difficulty. The token assistance given condescendingly to those left behind by development can in no case be presented as a significant positive factor capable of satisfying the immense development needs of the countries of the third world. The establishment of a new international economic order also represents an opportunity for the industrialized countries, because the reconversion of their economies is inconceivable without the development of the under-developed countries.

227. We must resolve to accept this truth just as we accept the need to exist with others rather than being pitted against them. The economy is ceasing more and more to be a national affair: it is becoming a world-wide matter. It is better to take note of the situation now and have the courage to see things as they have always been—as a completely worn-out legacy of ideas and concepts from the last century and past decades. The survival of the industrialized world depends on its ensuring the development of the developing countries. But, above all, those developing countries must organize themselves. They must consider the perhaps salutary possibilities of establishing organized and dynamic machinery for horizontal co-operation. And here I should like to commend the start made at the eleventh extraordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the OAU last December at Kinshasa. The resolutions of principle adopted there contain positive and fruitful elements. In the same context of reformulating regional development strategy, the fourth meeting of the Conference of Ministers held during the thirteenth session of the ECA was also held in Kinshasa, and the conclusions reached²⁰ with regard to inter-African co-operation warrant special attention on our part because they constitute important factors for our States, concerned as they are to establish collective economic security. In the same way, the conclusions of the First Conference of Heads of State and Government of the OAU and the League of Arab States, held in Cairo in March, [see A/32/61], constitute, in our view, a potentially encouraging and optimistic factor. At

¹⁹ ACP-EEC Convention of Lomé, signed on 28 February 1975 at Lomé. The text was circulated as document A/AC.176/7.

²⁰ See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Sixty-third Session, Supplement No. 7, part III.*

the present stage, this last development, although modest, is probably as promising as any of the other attempts at dialogue in which a clear conflict of interests holds sway over a natural sense of justice and equity.

228. Those are the views of my delegation on the present situation of the international economy. On the basis of the intentions expressed repeatedly in both subregional and regional forums and in the United Nations system, we must seek ways and means of changing people's thinking and giving expressed intentions a real impetus towards realization.

229. There are some questions which, because they have a social and economic impact on the future of the developing nations, are matters of constant concern for my country.

230. I would refer, first of all, to the problem of desertification. The first world conference on this topic has just been held at Nairobi. This is encouraging proof of the universal awareness of the various problems which are constantly posed by a natural phenomenon, and the plan of action adopted by that Conference,²¹ which is the fruit of three years of thinking and research, could undoubtedly constitute an effective tool if the sacrifices needed for its implementation were widely accepted. Quite apart from the dispute about the institution of a fund, we should like to express our sincere hope that, as in the case of the voluntary assistance which was so promptly provided, the international community would react very favourably to the establishment of permanent machinery to fight desertification. The campaign against desertification is, above all, an ecological campaign; the two go hand-in-hand.

231. The second question of concern to my Government arises out of the problems met with in the reconciling of views on the very complex and fundamental question of the law of the sea. While the informal single negotiating text agreed on at the sixth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea²² makes unanimity possible with regard to the principle of the right of access to the sea and from the sea, the no-less-important aspects of the definition of the boundaries of exclusive sovereignty, and the international body for the exploitation and exploration of the sea-bed are still the subject of rigid and irreconcilable attitudes which make any negotiated solution seem a very faint prospect.

232. My country, because of its deeply land-locked situation, and still suffering from the painful experience of long years of destructive drought, intends to work, together with the nations that share its concern, for a lasting and agreed solution, at the regional level and at the world level, for the economic difficulties which we suffer because of our distance from the sea and our situation at the heart of the Sahel region. With regard to these questions, joint actions are being undertaken at various levels, especially in the framework of the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel, the Club des amis du Sahel, the West African Economic Community of the States of

West Africa and the Cultural and Technical Co-operation Agency, and certain of their projects with regard to accessibility and the struggle against desertification, undertaken with the help of certain friendly countries, arouse immense hopes on our part. I should like to take this timely opportunity to express again, on behalf of the Government and peoples of Niger, our feelings of gratitude to the Government and people of Canada for the historic decision they took at the recent ministerial meeting of the Permanent Inter-State Committee to alleviate the external debt burden of the least developed of the developing countries members of the United Nations. By thus conceding one of the major claims of the developing countries at the Paris Conference, the Canadian Government has acted as an exemplary and effective pioneer for the new economic order which we desire with all our hearts. This is an unprecedented step in the improvement of the multilateral co-operation machinery and we hope that this attitude will inspire other wealthy countries to relieve the poor countries of the globe of the weight of certain debts contracted through force of circumstances which greatly hamper their fight against under-development.

233. It is also with true satisfaction that we have taken note of the announcement made by the Foreign Minister of Canada, Mr. Jamieson [*6th meeting*], of the decision of his Government to participate to the extent of 10 per cent in the emergency grain reserve, estimated at 500,000 tons to cover the food deficit for the next 5 or 10 years. This measure is highly welcome to us, because the natural factors that caused the drought are still present in the Sahelian situation.

234. The period since the last session, although relatively short in the life of the nations that we represent, has borne witness, through many regrettable facts and events, to the flagrant and discouraging conflicts which divide the actors in contemporary international life. We continue to deplore the fact that the world in which we live is still confronted with serious problems which open the way to, and all too often result in, a break-down of international peace and security. These two ideals, fundamental in the minds of the authors of the Charter, are the final goal of all our actions in this Organization. Thus it is with unspeakable regret that we witness the numerous cases of massive and often deliberate violations of our Charter and its principles. Whether it be a question of the numerous violations of the sovereignty and integrity of States, flagrant violations of human rights or the terrible race to acquire nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction, we will not cease to urge this Assembly to assume its full responsibilities and find the just solutions which these situations require.

235. Only a few years ago Africa was united and determined to throw off the stifling chains of an obsolete colonialism. Today the same Africa is witnessing the most horrible fratricidal confrontations in its history. Sister and neighbouring nations, united not only by history and geography, but also by striking natural ethnological, linguistic and cultural similarities, are fighting each other in a confrontation in which there can be no victor. The subtle game of the colonialists, which divided us in order more easily to conquer us, has now been taken over by independent and sovereign nations as their own. The

²¹ See document A/CONF.74/36.

²² See *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. VIII (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.78.V.4), documents A/CONF.62/WP.10 and Add.1.

principles laid down in the Charter of the United Nations and the Charter of the OAU, reaffirmed in various decisions, resolutions and statements designed to consolidate and strengthen peace and security, good-neighbourliness and fraternal co-operation among the peoples and nations of the globe, are increasingly trampled underfoot and crushed, pitifully showing us up as irresponsible and unworthy. We deliberately agree to play the game of the imperialists who set us against each other for their own ends.

236. In the opinion of my delegation it is urgently necessary that the present requirements concerning human rights, fundamental and legitimate as they are, take account of the indispensable pre-condition of their attainment: respect for the sovereign right of nations and organized human societies, respect for the right of peoples to self-determination and their right to lead in their own countries a life in conformity with their aspirations.

237. These are the prophetic words of Lieutenant-Colonel Seyni Kountché, President of the Supreme Military Council and Chief of State:

“Africa has become the pawn of the great Powers. It is, so to speak, the chosen ground for all kinds of military manoeuvres. It is imperative that we prevent its being transformed into an immense battlefield to which the richest will come to drop their surplus bombs on the innocent heads of our already deprived peoples.”

These prophetic words are being translated today into bitter reality, the backlash of that which we have denounced as the greatest scandal of our time—namely, the unbridled arms race. It is inadmissible that certain great Powers should continue to arm themselves and to arm further some small nations which are devoted to peace and tranquillity, thus disturbing the fragile balance of a divided world. How, in the present circumstances, can the so-called civilized nations of the world be understood? While three quarters of mankind are illiterate and hungry, these nations are prepared to display their technology in the form of weapons and other deadly machines from which they gain tremendous profits. Some have put forward a figure of \$360 billion, which is the sum necessary to rebuild the economy of a large part of Africa.

238. Peace and security are not the private preserve of anybody. They are necessary for all, great and small countries alike. They are a necessity in the African context, a necessity in the context of all the struggling peoples in all the dominated, exploited and enslaved nations; they are a necessity also in the context of blocs. It is appropriate for me to say here with how much hope we await the results of our next special session on disarmament because in the opinion of Niger the détente so dear to some and the development which is always a priority for others cannot be pursued and consolidated if every day a few more weapons are unloaded on the international market.

239. The hotbeds of confrontation proliferate, crystallizing daily the subjects of our concern. Thus on Cyprus we continue to deplore the events which have led to the division of that island in which the two communities, despite what separates them, must remain open to dialogue

and reconciliation. My delegation joins its voice to others in appealing anew to the representatives of the two communities to resume negotiations in a constructive manner, under the auspices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, on the basis of a mutually acceptable compromise in accordance with the aspirations of the Cypriot nation.

240. In the Middle East the Zionist enemy continues its acts of barbarous and criminal aggression against the Palestinian people, which is trying to regain its usurped homeland. Israel is stubbornly extending its occupation of Arab territories despite Security Council resolution 338 (1973) and subsequent decisions of our Organization. We remain firmly convinced that only the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the territories occupied since June 1967, including Jerusalem, and the establishment of an independent Palestinian State can lead to the establishment of lasting peace in that region. In this connexion we continue to hope that the obstacles raised to the participation of the Palestinians in the Geneva negotiations will be overcome and that that Conference will resume its work on the basis of the relevant United Nations resolutions.

241. My delegation welcomes the new Soviet-United States position on this question as contained in the statement of 1 October 1977. The joint statement signed by the two Governments constitutes a helpful step towards the establishment of true peace in the Middle East. Let us hope that the agreement reached by the two parties will lead to a definitive solution.

242. Turning now to southern Africa, that part of our continent which is still under colonial domination, we are happy to see the interest in its total and definitive liberation demonstrated daily by the international community.

243. The Western countries which, like it or not, were responsible for the birth, the evolution and the economic and technological strength of South Africa and which are becoming increasingly aware of their responsibility, have recently undertaken to try to make Vorster and his clique see reason. Let us hope that their efforts will achieve speedy success so that racism and *apartheid* disappear forever from our continent. But we are familiar with the stubbornness of the bastion of racism and also of the complicity which, under cover of multinational corporations, continues skilfully to circumvent the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations. The international community can no longer content itself with groans of despair in the face of the principal actors in these tragedies through which the black African has to live through. It must adopt specific sanctions against all States which encourage Vorster and Smith. We are all aware of the anachronism of these practices. Yet, alas, there are the African children who died at Soweto; Steven Biko, who, though he was an apostle of coexistence and non-violence, died recently, like many of his compatriots, a victim of blindness and stupidity.

244. The tribute to be paid is still very heavy. However, we are absolutely convinced that Africa will recover its dignity. We still hope that the recent Anglo-American initiatives and the efforts of the five Powers with regard to the Namibian affair will provide a serious basis for the solution of the problem of southern Africa.

245. Before concluding, I should like to say how much hope and confidence the non-self-governing nations and the free world—namely, all mankind—place in the concerted action of our Organization. For its part, Niger continues to believe that something is possible not only in the realm of intentions but above all in that of action. The essential reasons—and there is no need to recall them here—which influenced the creation of the United Nations, its evolution and the ever more imperative necessity for its existence and consolidation make it necessary to ensure that the Organization is able courageously and consistently to shoulder its historic responsibility concerning the serious questions which face the international community.

246. We understand this responsibility to be that of ensuring increasing rationalization of the administrative machinery, a more efficient co-ordination among the organs and institutions of the system and a greater willingness to implement the decisions taken in conformity with the wishes of the sovereign nations which we represent.

247. The sad fate of the League of Nations today threatens the United Nations, but we sincerely hope that it will be in no way deflected by the many and often deliberate obstacles which face it. We must set aside the unfortunate and inefficient practice of making majestic but idle declarations, the proliferation of repetitive resolutions and recommendations which are never implemented—in a word, we must set aside everything that diverts us from our own will and the compelling reasons which cause us to meet here each year for three months, for the United Nations is and will long remain the last resort of parliamentary diplomacy.

248. At the end of my statement, I should like again to turn to my African compatriots to deplore with them the acute crises, the wars and hatred which have come to our continent through a wide-open door. Our collective security is being put to the test.

249. Our generation, often tempted by ideologies which are extremely difficult to reconcile with our traditions of tolerance and freedom, runs the risk of bearing for some time to come the responsibility for these untimely imports. The great nations are no longer making war against each other except through intermediaries. Why should we then accept to sacrifice our peoples at the service of interests which are totally alien to them?

250. Furthermore, nationalism, which the whole world cherishes because of its noble role in the building of a just and equitable society, is often robbed of its true nature in Africa. It has become the catch-all to justify crimes, genocide and the greed of power and domination.

251. Africa needs to recover its virtues of tolerance and justice; it needs that for the genuine struggle which is coming—that of recovering its dignity, that of its development. There is no such thing as an insoluble problem. Our meetings in the OAU are often an example of political goodwill in the direction of reconciliation and understanding. It must be admitted that there does not exist among us countries or men whose role it is to lead others towards any kind of destiny. Our rules, however weak they may be, our chances at a common life with its everyday

uncertainties, the benefit of progress for our peoples, are contained in various charters, the best of which is that of the OAU. Those who for one reason or another think they can do without the OAU and its principles also know the risk they are running. All countries have a common and necessary need for group solidarity. No country has succeeded in building its power on external forces in order to impose it on other African States. Let us remain united and let us nurture for more useful struggles in favour of our peoples, our feelings of sincere nationalists and our generous efforts for a better and united Africa.

252. In conclusion, I should like, Mr. President, to offer you my sincere congratulations on your election and on the skilful manner in which you have so far conducted our debates.

253. Mr. BAKR (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Allow me at the outset to convey my sincere congratulations to Mr. Mojsov on his election to the high post of President of the General Assembly, which he is more than competent to hold. The ability which he has displayed and the fact that he represents a country with which the Sudan enjoys cordial and highly cherished relations make my congratulations all the more pertinent. The excellent bilateral relations which we maintain with Yugoslavia will continue to give an example of the ties that should bind developing countries. In the field of non-alignment, this relationship has proven beyond doubt that, indeed, peoples far placed from each other can maintain and develop mutual understanding and deploy their respective human and material resources in order that peace and security prevail in the world. I am confident that Mr. Mojsov will guide the deliberations of this Assembly with his recognized competence and high sense of responsibility.

254. I take this opportunity also to pay a tribute to Mr. Mojsov's predecessor, Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe, who guided our work during the last session with his wealth of knowledge and expertise. I should like to convey to him the gratitude of my country for the services which he rendered to this Organization not only through his presidency of the thirty-first session but also for his excellent guidance of the deliberations of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea.

255. May I also pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his unremitting, sincere and tireless efforts in pursuit of international peace and security. We appreciate his efforts to enhance the effectiveness of this Organization to enable it to perform with the required competence and dispatch the tremendous tasks entrusted to it.

256. We take particular pleasure and pride in welcoming in our midst today the sister Republic of Djibouti and we express our confidence that, having secured membership in the regional and political organizations to which we belong, the young Republic of Djibouti will no doubt represent an additional force in the struggle to establish peace and security not only in the Horn of Africa but also on the international level.

257. It is with an immense sense of relief that we witness today the success of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese

people, which culminates with the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to this Organization. In welcoming the membership of both Djibouti and Viet Nam as a giant stride towards achieving the universality of the United Nations, we sincerely wish their peoples progress and prosperity.

258. Thirty-two years have elapsed since the establishment of the Organization under whose auspices we gather today and, notwithstanding its past achievements in the maintenance of international peace and security, there still remain many problems in dire need of immediate resolution. A casual glance at the agenda items of this session provides eloquent proof of my contention. We in the Sudan maintain a hopeful attitude towards the capacity of the United Nations to fulfil its international responsibilities in the various areas of its activities. More pertinently so, we in Africa express our particular appreciation to the United Nations for the helping hand which it lent us in our endeavours in the area of decolonization and the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination in the southern part of our continent.

259. We live in a world where danger looms high over some areas, and it is incumbent upon us to direct our whole attention and closely investigate the factors that make those parts of the world hotbeds of tension. In the absence of serious concern and objectivity in dealing with the problems of those areas, I am afraid that the problems will grow more difficult and complex and that the hotbeds of tension will continue to cast shadows of destruction threatening the entire world.

260. The Middle East stands high among those international hotbeds of tension, for reasons solely attributable to the continued Israeli occupation of Arab territories and the former's blatant refusal to recognize the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. At a time when the Arab peoples and Governments speak of peace and are seriously engaged in the search for peace in the area and persistently strive to achieve it, and while Arab leaders repeatedly emphasize their avowed desire to attain a just peace and permanent security, we are confronted by the extremists in Israel, even in this hall, raising slogans of the so-called "liberated territories" and the "Jewish State". An attitude based on the false concepts, employed to create a smoke-screen over their main objectives, that of territorial expansion at the expense of Arab States.

261. Israel owes its very creation to a resolution of this Organization and has the audacity, along with its twin State of South Africa, to disregard similar resolutions emanating from the United Nations. The record of its behaviour in the annals of this Organization shows that it remains categorically opposed to the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and the noble objectives for which it was brought into being. It started its record of violations of the Charter by refusing to abide by this body's resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947—the resolution that came to be known as the "partition resolution". General Assembly resolution 194 (III), which called for the return of the refugees to their lands, met with no better fate, although to this date Israel enjoys the benefits of General Assembly resolution 273 (III), which gave it membership in the United Nations. Israel continues to pursue the very

mode of conduct that has typified its record in our midst. Its recent steps, with the aim of altering the religious, demographic and geographic structure of the occupied Arab territories, stand to be considered as a perpetuation of its ultimate desire for permanent occupation and annexation.

262. Arab leaders have repeatedly and beyond doubt established their stature as avowed champions of peace and justice. It is our unswerving conviction that peace based on justice can never be attained in the Middle East unless this question is solved by securing the right of the Palestinian people to return to their land and establish their own State. That can only be achieved through the unconditional withdrawal of Israel from the territories it has occupied since 5 June 1967 and the return of Jerusalem to Arab sovereignty, so that the holy city may remain, as it has been for centuries, a holy shrine for Christians, Jews and Moslems, where they may freely carry out their religious practices.

263. We in the Sudan condemn this adamant position of Israel and whole-heartedly support the United Nations' efforts towards a just and peaceful resolution of this problem. Hence, we fully support the call for the immediate reconvening of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East, with the participation of all parties concerned, including the PLO, as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and the guardian of their aspirations.

264. Israeli practices calling for war and hatred and ignoring the existence of the Palestinian people and their legitimate rights are matched only by Israel's racist ally in the South African régime. There, too, we are witnessing our African brothers being subjected to the worst kind of practices, those that violate the basic principles of human rights and are an affront to all religious standards. If the world community represented in this Assembly were to acquiesce or pretend to ignore such practices it would exacerbate the cruelty and add to the suffering of those peoples.

265. It is hardly necessary for me to repeat here the dimensions of the tribulations of our people in Azania, nor do I need to elaborate on the inherent dangers to international peace and security that those practices bring upon us. If I were to drive home a point, it would be to address a plea to the Governments of Members of this Organization, which support the inhuman Vorster régime militarily, politically, diplomatically or economically and to ask them to refrain from doing so. It is from that support that such a régime draws its ephemeral strength and it is that support, contrary as it is to the successive resolutions of this Organization, that tempts the Government of South Africa to persist in practising its abhorrent policies. Thus the efforts of this Organization to combat the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination remain devoid of any impact. That policy represents the most abhorred human practice in its vast and long history.

266. Sudan extends its unwavering support to the people of Azania in their effort to combat racism and racial discrimination and it will not desist from its moral and material support for their armed struggle against the Vorster clique. From this standpoint, we consider our

effective participation in the Maputo International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, and the recent Lagos World Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, as an extension of the firm support of the Sudanese people for the people of Azania in their struggle against all forms of racial discrimination.

267. The situation in Namibia has reached a point where immediate action should be taken if the threat it imposes is to be averted.

Mr. Mojsov (Yugoslavia) resumed the Chair.

268. Concerted international action must be initiated to compel the racist régime of South Africa to withdraw its political, military and economic presence from that area so that the Namibians under the leadership of SWAPO may assume their right to freedom and independence. It is about time that the United Nations lived up to the responsibilities entrusted to it by virtue of its administrative power. We Africans, therefore, hold the United Nations responsible for the assertion of the unity and independence of Namibia. Implementation of Security Council resolution 385 (1976) must be ensured, and we must see to it that the endeavours of the South African régime to annex Walvis Bay for the Cape region are frustrated.

269. The situation in Zimbabwe is no less dangerous than that in Namibia or Azania because of the continued practice of racial discrimination by the racist and illegal régime of Ian Smith and its adamant refusal to yield to majority rule. We support the current efforts to restore the black majority rule because Africans like all the peoples of the Arab world, sincerely wish for peace and consider the current options offered to solve the problems in Zimbabwe as a reasonable basis for further negotiations, provided they do not conflict with the continued armed struggle which aims at the overthrow of the illegal Smith régime and the restoration of full power to the people of Zimbabwe. We urge full participation by the Zimbabwean political and military leaders in the coming negotiations, since we sincerely believe them to be the genuine spokesmen of the Zimbabwean people.

270. Different political and regional forums have witnessed the fervent and persistent call of African leaders that their continent be spared international rivalry. They have repeatedly appealed to the big Powers to refrain from interfering in their internal affairs, as this has proved to be one of the main factors contributing to instability on the continent. Africans are capable of overcoming their difficulties and settling their disputes by peaceful means through a genuine African spirit of conciliation. Some big Powers, in their endeavours to establish spheres of influence in Africa, do not favour stability in the area, as this would prevent their exploitation of differences to further their own interests. That is why these Powers continue to create problems among sister African States and poison their relations as sister States, to find the opportunity directly or indirectly to interfere in the internal affairs of the African States. We demand that these Powers desist from their interference in the internal affairs of the continent and realize that our peoples, having shed their blood for the attainment of their freedom and independence, vehemently reject the recurrence of foreign influence in their countries in any form or under any pretext.

271. It is with concern and sorrow that we view the situation in Cyprus. We follow with gratitude the efforts of the United Nations Secretary-General to restore stability and peace in the island so that its people, both Greek and Turkish, may live peacefully in a united, independent and sovereign Cyprus. My country will spare no effort to find a solution of the problem aiming at the restoration of peace and stability among the Cypriots and at enabling Cyprus to assume its clear role among friendly peoples within the non-aligned movement.

272. The unbridled race among States to manufacture and stockpile deadly weapons is yet another important factor that leads to the creation and exacerbation of tension in our world. Developing countries note with mounting concern the extent of expenditures represented by this feverish race on the part of the super-Powers. Only last year they spent more than \$US 300 billion on armaments at a time when millions of people in the developing countries are exposed to disease, famine and death. My country will have its definite views to give on the matter when the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly—of whose Preparatory Committee we have the honour to be a member—convenes next spring. However, I should like to set forth here the general views of my country on the issue as a whole.

273. First, this unbridled arms race between the two super-Powers represents the most serious threat to international peace and security.

274. Secondly, it is incumbent upon the United Nations to translate into viable action and seek implementation of the various declarations on Africa, the Middle East and southern Asia as nuclear-free zones while compelling the Governments of Israel and South Africa to sign the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

275. Thirdly, the United Nations should adopt urgent and effective measures aimed at the implementation of the provisions of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, so that the area may be spared big-Power rivalry. We have noted with satisfaction the agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union to bring to an end their rival activities in the Indian Ocean. We hope that this will be the prelude to the dismantling of their respective military bases in the area in the near future. In this connexion we are exerting all our efforts, in co-operation with the coastal States of the Red Sea, a sea contiguous to the Indian Ocean, to spare that sea also from the risk of international rivalry in the interest of the peoples in the area.

276. It will be noted that the statements delivered before this Assembly reflect international concern over the issue of civil and political human rights. We in the Sudan give this vital issue its due attention. However, we feel that, in addressing ourselves to the question of human rights, attention must be directed to the practices of the racist régimes in southern Africa and Israel; that is, where basic human rights are being systematically violated and where the peoples of Azania, Zimbabwe and Palestine are subjected by South Africa, Rhodesia and Israel to humiliation and degradation because they stand up for their basic rights to freedom and independence. The tragedy of those people

should not simply be the object of speeches year after year in this Assembly. More than in the past we must undertake serious and responsible action to compel those racist régimes to recognize the basic rights of those oppressed people. Failure to undertake any serious action would, I am afraid, make of our repeated references to human rights no more than rhetoric devoid of any meaning.

277. The current international economic situation is a source of great concern to my Government. The continued existence of major international economic problems, particularly those affecting the developing countries, and the lack of any significant progress towards the establishment of the new international economic order are rapidly dispelling the sense of optimism expressed by many leaders at the beginning of the year. Sudan is firmly convinced that, as long as the overwhelming majority of mankind continues to exist at the subsistence level, there will be a continuation of crises and tensions throughout the world, because the problems of peace and economic prosperity are clearly indivisible. Therefore, the concept of the new international economic order constitutes the only conceptual framework for global development from which benefits will accrue to all countries and all peoples.

278. My country notes with regret the very small progress that has been made towards the establishment of the new international economic order since its adoption by the sixth special session four years ago. With a few notable exceptions, developed countries continue to resist the implementation of the new international economic order despite their public expressions of acceptance of the concept. We in the developing countries are determined to pursue our efforts to bring about a fundamental restructuring of the existing economic order through dialogue and negotiations and not through rhetoric and confrontation. This position stems from our belief that the present international economic order is inequitable and has contributed to the continuation of the unjust exploitation of the resources of the developing countries and keeping them at the mercy of the great industrial countries.

279. The developing countries have made serious efforts to unveil the grave dimensions of the international economic crisis besetting the world today during the Conference on International Economic Co-operation, which met for 18 months in Paris. In this respect developing countries have presented concrete and constructive proposals designed to resolve the major economic problems within the framework of the new international economic order. We must, however, note with regret that the results of the Paris Conference fell far short of meeting the aspirations and hopes of the developing countries. We appreciate the difficulties facing the developed countries in the economic, commercial and monetary fields, but at the same time we sincerely believe that developed nations have the capacity and resources to assist developing countries in all economic fields and to contribute substantially to the establishment of an equitable economic order on the basis of the decisions adopted by the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly.

280. Sudan believes that the United Nations is the only forum where global economic problems can be tackled comprehensively with the hope of finding solutions in the

interests of the entire international community. The limited results of the Conference on International Economic Co-operation clearly show the futility of dealing with these problems on the basis of the participation of a few countries outside the global framework of the United Nations. We also believe that the United Nations Secretariat has an important role to play, particularly in providing substantive support to legislative bodies, such as the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council, in the adoption of resolutions and in the formulation of viable, broad policies. This would require the enhancement of the effectiveness of the United Nations economic and social sectors in order to ensure multidisciplinary approaches to development and over-all co-ordination of United Nations activities in the economic field. The United Nations is the true forum for the consideration of economic problems and in particular the establishment of a new international economic order.

281. Certain other problems, namely environmental problems, continue to hamper the efforts of many developing countries to implement their ambitious economic development plans. Sudan, together with other sister African and Arab countries, faces the serious threat of creeping deserts. The phenomenon of desertification, accompanied by a long spell of drought, has led to the loss of thousands of human beings and cattle, and continues to pose a grave threat to arable lands.

282. My country therefore attaches the greatest importance to the results of the United Nations Conference on Desertification, recently concluded in Nairobi. From this rostrum, on behalf of the Sudan and other countries suffering from the effects of desertification, we address a special appeal to the specialized agencies of the United Nations and the rich countries to help us overcome this danger that threatens the life of people, wildlife and vegetation in our countries.

283. The issues that this session of the General Assembly has to deal with are of paramount importance to the future of international relations in their various aspects, and this makes the present session of particular significance. We sincerely hope that the United Nations will live up to this high responsibility by earnestly seeking adequate solutions to the problems facing our world today.

284. There are new factors in the international arena among both developed and developing countries to which the world must give due consideration. Otherwise, what we aspire to achieve by way of international solidarity and the building of a new world where equality and genuine co-operation prevail will continue to remain beyond our reach.

285. My country firmly believes in the ultimate triumph of mankind over its problems and in its capacity to create a new world where brotherhood, equality, justice and peace prevail, and sincerely hopes that this Organization will play its noble role in the interests of humanity and for the building of a better world. My country is strongly and faithfully committed to its responsibilities towards the achievement of this noble objective.

286. The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker for this afternoon. Several representatives have requested to

speak in exercise of their right of reply. Members will recall that the General Assembly, at its 5th plenary meeting, decided that statements in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes. In view of the lateness of the hour, I am sure representatives will understand my request that they co-operate in adhering to that deadline.

287. Mr. AL-ALAWI (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It is truly regrettable that, last Friday and for the second time at this session, one of the spokesmen of the powers in Aden has reiterated lies. This is something we try to avoid, in order to respect this rostrum and not to waste the time of the General Assembly, since we are sure that disputes can be solved, not by exchanging recriminations from this tribune, but by calm constructive dialogue on the basis of mutual respect and non-interference in other peoples' affairs.

288. You will remember that in our statement to the General Assembly [23rd meeting] we objectively refuted everything that was said by Mr. Salem Robaye Ali, who has intervened in a flagrant manner in our internal affairs. Yet the representative of the Front in power in Aden preferred to continue spouting his lies and recriminations. It is the logic of the frustrated to attack, during what he called his right of reply, His Majesty Sultan Qabus, whose worth everyone has recognized in that he led Oman and its people to sovereignty and along the way to economic and social development, thus earning the respect and all the gratitude his people feel for him.

289. Personal considerations have impelled the representative of the Front in power in Aden to engage in a personal attack upon me. We all know that personal attacks are an admission of political failure, and I shall refrain from descending to that level, out of respect for this Assembly, which has met here to discuss international problems and not to indulge in cheap personal campaigns.

290. When we refrain from responding to these personal recriminations we do not do so out of weakness or impotence, because we could denounce many events that are occurring in Southern Yemen: training camps for terrorists, saboteurs, terrorism and political attacks used as a means of eliminating any opposition inside or outside the country. No one was safe from it, not even the leaders or the ambassadors who represented the régime in the United Nations yet we refuse to do so out of respect for the Charter, which prohibits Members from intervening in the domestic affairs of other countries. We are convinced that one of these days the people of South Yemen will give their last word on everything that is happening there. Perhaps the best proof of the dissatisfaction of the people of Yemen with their rulers lies in the fact that the million citizens who fled from Yemen—out of a total number of 1.5 million citizens—refused to heed the appeal of their representative delivered from this rostrum and to return to their country.

291. We do not wish to talk about the foreign policy of that régime, except to the extent that we are compelled to reply to any interference in our own internal affairs. In any case, I see no need to throw more light on this obscure aspect since everyone knows the extent to which that régime is dominated by foreign external forces in the Gulf area. You have heard from this rostrum their President

talking about the policies of his country when he spoke here [16th meeting] on his return from Cuba two weeks ago.

292. In all, we proclaim quite frankly our rejection of all attempts on the part of that Power in Aden to impose itself on our region and we shall defend by all available means our sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity.

293. Oman is an independent, sovereign country, a Member of the United Nations and a member of the specialized agencies, of the League of Arab States, the non-aligned group and of the Islamic Conference. We have relations with all countries of the world on the basis of mutual respect and we seek to consolidate friendly relations with all, regardless of different social systems.

294. The representative of that Power in Aden said at the end of his statement last Friday that he was dedicated to the Charter of the United Nations and that he wished to found relations based on friendship, good neighbourliness and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States. As a neighbouring country, working with other neighbouring countries on the basis of common interests and links, we think that Democratic Yemen should join this family with a view to ensuring the prosperity and welfare of the people of South Yemen.

295. I would conclude by reiterating the fact that our Government is ready to give every assistance in the interests of our region and its stability.

296. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt): I have asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of my right of reply to a statement we heard today that was really designed to mislead the General Assembly and world public opinion, and, perhaps, to mobilize a certain vocal minority in the United States towards intransigence and procrastination.

297. Mr. Dayan began his speech by stating that his Government endorses the notion that every country and nation has the responsibility to speak out in defence of basic rights and freedoms. I submit that, before being eligible to do so, every nation and country should abide by the principles of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and should respect and implement those rights. That is certainly not the case with Israel.

298. Israel has flouted all the basic rights enshrined in the Charter. It has violated all the fundamental freedoms that the civilized world has come to recognize and to respect. The situation in the Arab territories occupied by Israel, including the creation of illegal settlements, is a case in point. The situation in Israel itself is another case in point where discrimination has become the rule, and second— and third-class citizenship has become a compulsory way of life in Israel. This is the first instance of a double standard that we noted in Mr. Dayan's statement of today.

299. I come now to the second instance of a double standard and misleading statement of Mr. Dayan. He said that Israel is prepared to play its part in the reduction of the arms race. If that were true, how can we explain the constant pressure that Israel and its friends in the United States continue to apply on the American Administration

to obtain deadlier and more devastating weapons? In the final analysis, it is the American taxpayer that foots the bill for Israel's foreign conquests and expansionist designs.

300. A third instance of a double standard lies in what Mr. Dayan uttered concerning the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East. Egypt, together with Iran, has sponsored the item on this subject included in the agenda [item 44]. Both countries have as a goal the sparing of our area from the scourge of such a dangerous course. We are ready to that end to adhere fully to the provisions of the non-proliferation Treaty, which we have already signed. Now the question is: Is Israel ready to accede to that Treaty and abide by its objectives? This is the crux of the matter, and the focal-point if we are serious about establishing a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East. I challenge Mr. Dayan to come to this rostrum and declare that in clear terms or to deny the nuclear co-operation that exists between Israel and South Africa. Ambiguity and double-talk cannot help the cause of a genuine and just peace in the Middle East.

301. A fourth example of a double standard and misleading utterances is Mr. Dayan's reference to terrorism. Such talk coming from a representative of Israel cannot be taken seriously since all of us know of the terrorist activities of the Government and leaders of Israel. An implicated Government cannot preach to us about terrorism.

302. The Israeli Foreign Minister lamented the call to end the immigration to Israel. If he wants to fool us, we shall not be fooled, but the irony is that he wants to fool himself and, perhaps, his lobby in the United States. An exodus has started from Israel, and more than 300,000 Israeli citizens have left Israel in the last few years. But to insist that Israel will not limit immigration is yet another example of Israel's insistence on expansion and of its aggressive designs, as well as of its interference in the affairs of other countries, which should not be permitted.

303. Mr. Dayan spoke about war and the threat of another war in the Middle East. Let it be known that he and all of us have heard Mr. Ismail Fahmy, the Foreign Minister of Egypt [10th meeting], when he said that the occupied territory has to be liberated; and our right to liberate our land is indisputable. We are ready for peace and the peace process, but if Mr. Dayan thinks that peace does not call for the total withdrawal from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967 he is either mistaken or misled. Security Council resolution 242 (1967) has to be taken *in toto*.

304. Just to remind those with a short memory or those who can see only half the facts, the first principle laid down in that resolution is that of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force. What does that mean if not the total withdrawal of Israel from all the territories it acquired by war in 1967? It is only by total withdrawal, coupled with the restoration of the rights of the Palestinian people, that peace can be achieved. It is because of the denial of those rights that peace has not been achieved either before or since 1967. The full implementation of resolution 242 (1967) in all its parts and the just and lawful solution of the Palestine question is the prerequisite for a permanent and viable peace in the Middle East. We cannot

approve of the tragic flaw in the Israeli thinking of having one law for Israel and another for the rest of the world. There is only one law: the Charter of the United Nations with all that it includes. We shall abide by that law and struggle to achieve a peace consonant with its purposes and principles, one that would provide security to every party—since security is not a principle to be applied to one side—and that protects the rights of sovereignty, territorial integrity and self-determination.

305. In conclusion, Israel should heed the advice of its friends in the United States who would like to save it in spite of itself.

306. Mr. WARSAMA (Somalia): The Somali delegation reserves its position with regard to the implications of the statement made by the Ethiopian Foreign Minister. I wish, however, to correct certain faults and inaccuracies in his statement. From the outset, the Somali Democratic Republic categorically rejects the baseless and malicious accusations of Ethiopia. It is ironical indeed that Abyssinia—or Ethiopia—should charge Somalia with aggression, when Ethiopia has been proved the aggressor in expanding its colonial empire into western Somalia through force of arms and through certain treaties with European Powers.

307. This deliberate distortion of the facts and malicious misrepresentation of the motives of others have been repeatedly used over the years by Ethiopia, particularly against Somalia at the United Nations and at the OAU and elsewhere. These allegations, every time they have been examined in depth, have been proved false. This is a matter of record. A clear example of this is the boundary between the former Trust Territory of Somaliland and Ethiopia to which the Foreign Minister of Ethiopia made a reference. He made reference to article 1 of the Trusteeship Agreement. Indeed, article 1 of the Trusteeship Agreement said that, where there were no definite boundaries, a procedure had to be suggested or approved by the General Assembly. After having exhausted all avenues, because of Ethiopia's intransigent position the General Assembly in 1957, in resolution 1213 (XII) decided on a procedure of arbitration and suggested that the King of Norway should appoint an independent person. Indeed, he did; and the person was none other than the former Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Trygve Lie.

308. In 1959, just six months before the Territory became independent, Mr. Trygve Lie presented a compromise. But Ethiopia objected, particularly to article 3, because it made express reference to the principles of the United Nations in disposing of the Territory, and secondly to article 4 because earlier treaties, protocols and situations had to be referred to the Tribunal. Also at that time, because of the Ethiopian position, the United Nations had failed to leave the Territory with definite boundaries.

309. During the discussions the representatives of Ethiopia merely said that their Government would discuss that problem with the Government of Somalia that was about to come into being. Of course, they have never done so. The Ethiopian representative today is telling us that these are the legal international treaties that had to be accepted by Somalia.

310. Of course, in this endeavour Ethiopia has always tried to make the world believe—and indeed it has somehow succeeded—that Somalia repudiates the notion of the stability of borders and the principle of respect for territorial integrity and the acceptance of justice and that its claims will somehow create chaos throughout the continent. This is of course not the case. The Somali Democratic Republic respects lawful boundaries and the principle of territorial integrity and accepts the right of self-determination and other relevant international rules.

311. The Foreign Minister referred to the OAU resolution AHG/Res.16 (I), which Somalia, because of clear situations, could not accept because it did not apply, and it was not indeed intended to apply, in the Somali case. In recognition of this fact, the author of the resolution himself said that the resolution was merely a future guiding principle and that its adoption would not prejudice any discussion or any decision taken by the appropriate bodies in the dispute between Ethiopia and Somalia. He particularly referred to Somalia and Ethiopia.

312. Of course, the late President of Ghana, Nkrumah, said that he corollary to the principle of the frontiers is the principle that the machinery—he was referring to the mediation, arbitration and conciliation protocol—should go into action. The Somali Republic then reserved its position on this; and if we leave aside all the deficiencies or the intentions of the resolution, what is involved? It is the wish of the people. It is the problem of decolonization and to that, of course, the resolution could not apply.

313. Another example of the inaccuracies of the statement is the reference to the circular letter of 1891 addressed by Emperor Menelik II to the European Powers in which he said: "If the powers at a distance come forward to partition Africa between them, I do not intend to be a silent spectator." He said Ethiopia has been for 14 centuries a Christian island in a sea of pagans. Let us note that, because the point is very important, because at the Berlin Conference on Africa in 1884 and 1885 a distinction, a clear distinction, was made between the Christian Powers and the rest of the world. Menelik laid claim to vast areas of Somalia; not only that, but to territories stretching as far as Khartoum—this is history—as far as Lake Nyasa and maybe, had his dream been realized, many of us, many of the countries independent today, would not be here as free and independent countries.

314. Of course the Ethiopian representative wants us to believe that the Emperor said he did not intend to be a silent spectator because he was going to defend himself. Defend himself from what?

315. The situation which has embroiled the relations between Ethiopia and Somalia is complex, but it has only one root: Ethiopian colonialism.

316. The Foreign Minister of Ethiopia said that the Somali Government has for some time been infiltrating regular troops into the territory. The Somali Democratic Republic fully supports the legitimate struggle of the people of the territory, to whom we are linked ethnically—which is not a bad thing—religiously—which is quite all right—culturally, economically and geographically. That people, even before

the British Government transferred sovereignty in 1948 and again in 1954, had addressed petitions again and again to the General Assembly and to the four-Power United Nations Visiting Missions that went to the area in 1951 and 1954. Their concern was to get their independence. They declared emphatically that they were not part of Ethiopia and that they did not want to live in Ethiopia, that they did not want to have anything to do with Ethiopia. But, of course, international politics was such then that their voice could not be heard. That people had an organization dating back to 1943—it was not created in 1975. In recognition of that I should like to quote the following from what the late Prime Minister of Ethiopia said before he was assassinated when he wrote to his counterpart in Somalia:

"Your Parliament in 1966 adopted a motion calling upon the Government of Somalia to help so-called liberation fronts purportedly operating within Ethiopia."

Of course, everybody knows about the war between the two countries, the aggression that Ethiopia committed against Somalia in 1964—ironically on the pretext that Somalia was helping the Western Somalia Liberation Front.

317. By all accounts the territory in question is a genuine Non-Self-Governing Territory; the Charter of the United Nations, the decisions of the International Court of Justice and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights all emphatically state that every people has the right to determine its own destiny. But that people of that territory was, of course, never allowed to exercise that right.

318. In the exercise of their right the Somalis of western Somalia have taken up arms. A legitimate struggle is going on and most of their land has now been liberated—despite the genocidal war of the Ethiopian armed forces, which engage in the indiscriminate killing of innocent people and the destruction of villages. The latest report by a correspondent of the *Daily News* who was an eyewitness of a deliberately calculated attack on a hospital in Jijiga is but the latest of those atrocities. The reporter said that he was there amidst screaming women and children and that the Ethiopian Air Force had come a day earlier to size up the situation and had made the hospital its target.

319. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Somalia has already exceeded the time-limit by four minutes. I appeal to him to conclude his remarks.

320. Mr. WARSAMA (Somalia): The suppression of the rights of the people in Western Somalia is an act of aggression against innocent people.

321. However it may choose to style itself, Ethiopia is an empire. An empire is a territorial system in which one racially, ethnically or culturally distinct group imposes its rule on other racial or cultural groups in the land in which they live. The Ethiopian Empire has changed its name and the person of the Emperor, but, like the proverbial leopard, it has not changed its spots: it continues to be autocratic, it continues to be colonialist and it continues to be oppressive.

322. Let there be no doubt that the people of western Somalia will accept death in dignity rather than the return

of Ethiopian troops to their soil—which would be tantamount to a slow and humiliating death.

323. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): The hour is late and it is not fair to keep my colleagues who are attentively listening to our deliberations longer than necessary.

324. I feel a little bemused that I am speaking to an empty gallery. The Jews of New York and the adjacent states are interested only in what the representative of Israel has to say. I think they are mistaken. I presume most of them are Americans and, therefore, should have stayed and listened attentively to the other side of the question. Be that as it may, it shows that of this country's population of about 215 million, the less than 6 million who happen to be of the Jewish faith wield influence. Only a small minority of that 6 million are die-hard political Zionists. I know many American, French and English Jews who would like to be left alone, but those colonialists do not leave them alone and I am afraid that one day they will become the victims of political zionism.

325. Knowing how emotional people can become and how they can be worked up, I promise that I shall not exceed the time allotted for the right of reply.

326. Palestine was a land of peace before those European invaders came under the banner of political zionism. I saw the Mufti of Jerusalem during my first trip to the Holy Land in 1925—52 years ago—and I said to him: "Why do you not let the Jews come to Palestine? Yours is a land of pilgrimage; they will come and spend money here, and if they are prompted by a religious sentiment what is wrong with that?" He replied: "Do not be naive, my friend, they want to take our land." He was later vindicated by history.

327. When I was 17 in 1922 the Arab spirit surged in me when I found out that the fertile crescent of the Arabian peninsula—namely, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Palestine—was placed under Mandate by the victorious Powers. The Arabs were promised liberation, but we found that we were placed under French and British high commissioners, and the gist of the Mandates was to prepare the people for self-determination. But the self-determination that had been enunciated by a great President of the United States, none other than the late Woodrow Wilson, fell by the wayside.

328. Two world wars were allegedly fought for what? For freedom and self-determination.

329. In 1919 the Jews were at most 6 per cent of the population of Palestine—the rest were Palestinians—and that 6 per cent was made up of our Jews, Arab Jews. People from Eastern and Western Europe, Khazars converted to Judaism since the eighth century A.D. came holding the torch of political zionism, which was colonialism in disguise. Why did they succeed? They succeeded because major Powers were behind them.

330. Now it is a question of faits accomplis. That is a good term, but history is not based on faits accomplis. Nothing remains as it is; faits accomplis do not exist in world history. When the Crusaders came to our part of the world the Arabs were in disarray. After 200 years of struggle,

where were the Crusaders? We had assimilated them. In Northern Arabia there is a tribe called the Saleebiah—meaning "the tribe of the Cross". They had become Arabs.

331. Now, do not think that only the Christians tried religion as a motivation for political ends. So did the Moslems under the Caliphate. In our history, we Arabs tried to dominate people who were not ethnic Arabs but who had become Moslems. So did our brothers the Turks when the Caliphate was under their control. Did we succeed? No.

332. Now it is the turn of latter-day saints, if you want to call them that—and many call them devils: the Eastern European and Central European Khazars, who were converted to Judaism only during the eighth century A.D. The ancestors of these people had never seen Palestine. Yet from this rostrum Mr. Abba Eban in the past used to flourish his hand and say, "God gave us Palestine." And I had to rebut, time and again, and say: "Since when has God been in the real estate business? And if he is in the real estate business, show us the title deed and the seal thereon. And since when, you Americans and British"—I asked them—"have you had a power-of-attorney from the Lord Almighty to transfer territory which is not your own?"

333. Whom are they fooling, those Eastern European and Western European Jews? Some of them hail from South Africa, because they had gone to seek gold and diamonds there; they got rich and then they wanted a State of their own, and used religion as a motivation for a political end. Whom do they think they are fooling but themselves? I feel sorry for them, because they played on the sentiment of innocent Jews. Even many of the Khazar Jews are innocent, and they are being sacrificed.

334. And what about the innocent Arabs who also are being killed? I look at this question from its humanitarian side, not from its narrow nationalistic side.

335. The PLO, Mr. Dayan tells us, is an instrument of war. Good Lord, an instrument of war? Those Arabs received pilgrims; before they became engaged in the struggle to liberate their country, they welcomed pilgrims. Why? Palestine is a land of peace.

336. Who bombed the King David Hotel? Who killed Lord Moyne? Who hanged the British Tommies from the branches of olive trees? Who perpetrated the massacre of Deir Yasin? No one but those Khazars. Our Jews would never have done it. Our Jews are imbued with a humanistic tradition; they would never do it. And the PLO is called "an instrument of terror".

337. As I told my friends from Palestine, the Zionists would never have succeeded if they only had resorted to terror. But they succeeded because major Powers made of our area a playground for their power politics and the balance of power. Nobody can condone terrorism; no one should condone terrorism. But if terrorism succeeds, others say, "Why not try it, if reason does not reign supreme?"

338. Mr. Dayan gave himself away. He said—I am paraphrasing now—he wanted the Russians to liberate all the Jews so that they might in-gather in Palestine. He wants 16 million Jews, whether they be Americans, whether they be

Africans, whether they be Asians, to consider themselves of a Jewish nationality. This has been tried by the Moslems and by the Christians before them. Religion does not constitute a nationality: a people is a people, based on a common culture, a common way of life and common interests. Do all the Jews of New York and, for that matter, all the Jews of Paris—all Jews, no matter where they are—have the same culture? No. But the Zionists want to make them of the same culture by force. And it does not work, as history proves.

339. And now let me tell Mr. Dayan—through the verbatim record, because he is not here; he would have a fit if he were—let me tell him and all the Israelis that in the long run they will not succeed. They will not succeed because history tells us so. We have seen people come and go. And where are they now?

340. If the Israelis want to live there at peace, let them adapt themselves, seek acceptance and stretch out their hand to the Palestinians, whose homeland has been stolen from them. That is the way to do it. The core of the whole Middle East question is the Palestinian people. Once the Palestinian people and the Khazars—we do not mind if they are Khazars and want to live there—make peace with one another, there will be peace in the Middle East. Otherwise, to repeat what I have told the Zionists from this rostrum, sooner or later, if they do not adapt themselves and adjust, history will show them: in the future they will dissolve like a pinch of salt in a boiling kettle of water. They will still be there as individuals but I hope that, sooner or later, nationalism will fade from this world and humanism will prevail so that everyone may live in peace and brotherhood.

341. Mr. MAKONNEN (Ethiopia): My delegation has listened carefully to what the representative of Somalia had to say in exercise of his right of reply. In view of the fact that the hour is late, I beg your indulgence, Mr. President, and that of the Assembly, to make only brief, preliminary remarks for the present, while at the same time reserving

the right of my delegation to speak again if we find it necessary.

342. At the very outset, I should like to make it quite clear that my delegation, having already apprised the General Assembly of the fact of Somalia's unprovoked aggression on my country, does not intend to engage in sterile polemics with the representative of Somalia. There is absolutely nothing to which Ethiopia has to answer. The only one who owes an explanation to the General Assembly is the representative of Somalia, whose Government has committed a brazen aggression in violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the accepted principles of international law.

343. In effect it is the Government of Somalia that is in the dock. No amount of indulgence in diversionary tactics, and least of all spurious subterfuge, can extricate the Mogadishu Government from its guilt in committing naked aggression. However, my delegation wishes to express its deep sympathy to the representative of Somalia, who has the very difficult task of trying to defend that which is obviously indefensible by any known standards.

344. Mr. FADHLI (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The representative of Sultan Qabus has repeated what he had already said in his statement. He has not spoken of the presence of foreign troops in Oman—in particular the Iranian military presence, which has prevented Oman from benefiting from national sovereignty. Because of this, the people of Oman are struggling against those foreign forces and the Qabus régime, under the command of the National Liberation Front of Oman. That foreign forces are stationed in Oman with the complicity of Sultan Qabus is the main reason for the instability in the region. The withdrawal of those forces would bring stability to the area.

The meeting rose at 8.15 p.m.