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**President:** Mr. Hamilton Shirley AMERASINGHE  
(Sri Lanka).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Harry (Australia),  
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (continued)

1. Mr. HAMMADI (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me great pleasure to extend through you, Sir, on behalf of the delegation of the Republic of Iraq, our warm congratulations to Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe on his election as President of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly, representing the Asian Group to which Iraq proudly belongs. What makes us all the more proud on this auspicious occasion is the continuing consolidation of the relations of friendship and amity between Sri Lanka and Iraq, particularly through their co-operation within the framework of the non-aligned movement.

2. The great success achieved by the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo a few weeks ago, from 16 to 19 August, served to bring into relief the commitment of the people and Government of Sri Lanka to the principles and objectives of this movement, which Iraq regards as the corner-stone of its foreign policy.

3. I am equally happy to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the positive contributions Mr. Amerasinghe has made to the various fields of activity of the United Nations. I have particularly in mind his chairmanship of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean, and the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories. The efforts which the latter committee continues to make under his chairmanship in order to achieve the tasks entrusted to it by this Assembly, in spite of the intransigence and defiance it had encountered on the part of the Zionist entity, are but an indication of his dedication to the

principles of the Charter of the United Nations, his concern for the role of this Organization and his insistence on the necessity of ensuring the implementation of its resolutions. This record makes his election as President of this session a source of deep satisfaction and encouragement to us all.

4. I should also like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for the efforts he has exerted to ensure the success of the work of this Organization.

5. The Iraqi delegation offers its most sincere congratulations to the delegation of the Republic of Seychelles, which has joined our ranks at this session to take its part in our common effort to build a new international order on a basis of peace, justice and prosperity. In extending my congratulations to Seychelles on its admission to the United Nations, I should like to assure it of Iraq's friendship and earnest desire to establish the closest relations with it in the interest of our two countries.

6. I should also like to place on record here our condemnation of the stand taken by the United States of America against the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Angola to membership in our Organization when they are so well qualified to play a constructive role in the establishment of the new international order.

7. Today, our world is going through an historic period characterized by a unique phenomenon. Developments in the field of international relations over the past few years have proved beyond any shred of doubt that world problems in the last quarter of the twentieth century have grown so interlinked and intertwined that it is now impossible for any State or group of States, no matter how strong or capable, to solve these problems by themselves. It is imperative that they be dealt with by the international community as a whole. Those developments have also demonstrated the fact that the will of the peoples who have now entered the world stage constitutes a factor that cannot be ignored in the search for a solution to any international problem. By contrast, any attempt at settlement in which the will of peoples is disregarded would further intensify international tension and be inevitably doomed to failure.

8. The logic of these historic facts has begun to force itself increasingly upon world public opinion, so much so that the transition from the traditional order to the new international order has become an historical necessity on which the destiny of man and his very survival depend. It pains us, therefore, to see that there is yet a clear reluctance to face these facts and to take the preliminary steps to lay the foundations of the new international order, particularly

on the part of the States which used to hold undisputed sway over world affairs in the past. The attitude of these States is prompted by their erroneous belief that all the world needs is a few minor changes and, every now and then, the granting of a minimum of unavoidable concessions that have no effect on the essential structure of the old order and keep it under their domination.

9. Revolutionary Iraq stands with those who believe, because of the logic of the events we are living through, that the forces of good throughout the world cannot but join together in order to lay down new, strong foundations for international relations and to prevail over those systems which seek only to stand in the way of history in a hopeless attempt to hinder its march.

10. The period since the thirtieth session of the General Assembly has witnessed the continuation and escalation of the conflict between the new and the old; between the forces that oppose colonialism, economic and racial domination and the receding remnants of those colonialists and racists and their allies; the conflict between the peoples who will accept no substitute for the full exercise of their inalienable political and economic rights and the unholy alliance formed by colonialism and racism, particularly in South Africa and Palestine, the heart of the Arab homeland, an alliance which desperately seeks to continue the usurpation of those rights through methods which have been condemned by contemporary international law; the conflict between the States advocating the necessity of establishing a new political, social and economic order based on the aspirations of the peoples to a real peace predicated on justice and universal prosperity on the one hand; and the forces tenaciously using all the means at their disposal in order to perpetuate their domination, exploitation and spheres of influence, on the other.

11. Allow me to discuss a number of questions and developments as examples of our analysis of events taking place on the stage of international relations.

12. A year ago, I had the honour of acquainting this esteemed Assembly from this rostrum with the broad outlines and the fundamental principles of the policy pursued by the Republic of Iraq regarding the question of Palestine which truly represents the most glaring example of racist colonization, the forcible usurpation of land and the uprooting of a whole people from its homeland. It also constitutes the substance of the conflict between the Arab nation and Zionism and its ally, colonialism. I made particular reference to the persistent intransigence of the Zionist entity and its acts of defiance of the will of the international community, of the principles enshrined in the Charter and of the resolutions of the United Nations. I said at the time that the responsibility for the Palestine tragedy rests, primarily with this world Organization, and particularly with this Assembly, which in 1947 adopted the resolution on the partition of Palestine [resolution 181 (II)] in violation of the provisions of the Charter, thereby overstepping its mandate. In contravention of the principle of the rights of the peoples to self-determination, that resolution ignored the wishes of the Palestinian Arab people, who constituted then the overwhelming majority of the population of Palestine. While commending General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX), which affirmed the

inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in Palestine, including the right to self-determination, to independence, to sovereignty and to return to their homes from which they have been uprooted, I stated:

"The resolutions of the United Nations, despite their importance, are not sufficient in themselves as remedies for a problem which threatens international peace and security. Those resolutions must be accompanied by action which will guarantee their implementation".<sup>1</sup>

13. If we review, in brief, the most important events in the Arab lands and within this Organization during the past year, we would find reasons for satisfaction and optimism, as well as others to confirm our regret and condemnation. The continuous uprising of the people of Palestine in their occupied land in the face of the barbaric acts of repression committed by the usurper Zionist entity, and their successful resistance against all the plots hatched inside and outside Palestine to contain and liquidate their revolution, have once more proven to the world the true mettle of the Arab people, their adherence to their full inalienable rights, and their readiness to make all the sacrifices necessary for the recovery of those rights.

14. With regard to the responsibility of the United Nations for what happened and is happening in Palestine, we consider General Assembly resolutions 3376 (XXX) and 3379 (XXX) a decisive turning-point both in the way of dealing effectively with this tragedy and in the attitude of the General Assembly towards the Arab-Zionist conflict in general. In adopting the specific resolution by which the General Assembly determined that Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination, the international community, in spite of all the acts of defiance and the threats made by the forces of Zionism and colonialism, found enough courage to recognize a simple truth which those forces have invariably sought to suppress. The overt steps taken this year by the racist régime in South Africa and the Zionist entity to reinforce their unholy alliance have perhaps put an end to all doubts as to the true nature of the entity now existing in Palestine.

15. By resolution 3376 (XXX), the General Assembly expressed agreement with what we said a year ago, namely, that the adoption of resolutions (190 of them by the end of last year) would not be of any help in compelling the Zionist entity, supported as it is by colonialism, to respect the will of the peoples represented here. Accordingly, the Assembly decided that specific and binding measures should be taken by principal organs of the United Nations for the Zionist entity to be forced to implement those resolutions.

16. I would like, on this occasion, to pay a tribute to the seriousness and the objectivity with which the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, established by the General Assembly under the latter resolution, discharged the specific tasks entrusted to it. The recommendations submitted by this Committee in its first report to the Security Council [A/31/35, part two],

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2359th meeting.

particularly the measures and time-tables relating to the withdrawal of the Zionist occupation forces from the Arab territories, and the programme of implementation of the exercise by the Palestinian people of their right to return to their homes and their right to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty, constitute an important development in the performance by the United Nations of its principal role in resolving the question of Palestine. Although the Committee saw to it that only the acceptable minimum of its recommendations were submitted to the Security Council, those recommendations ran against the American veto, and it is now up to our Assembly to shoulder its responsibility and deal with this abuse and with the wrongs and injustice it entails.

17. Zionist plans had and continue to have as their essential aim the elimination of the Arab nation by every possible device. Besides its ceaseless activities aimed at enlarging the area of the Zionist entity, Zionism strives to fragment the Arab world. What happened and is still happening in Lebanon is but a living example of this evil endeavour fostered and implemented by world Zionism which is responsible for the attempt at the dismemberment and total destruction of Lebanon, employing for this purpose all possible ways and means.

18. As a progressive Arab country, Iraq cannot remain silent about the plots which are being carried out in Lebanon with a view to destroying or weakening the Palestinian resistance, as well as the national movement of the Lebanese people. Iraq will, therefore, remain steadfast in its struggle to prevent this outcome and to preserve the unity and independence of Lebanon against any external interference in its internal affairs.

19. Iraq and Palestine are two integral parts of the Arab nation, which, more than any other nation, has suffered and continues to suffer from fragmentation, aggression, occupation and exploitation. Hence our premise that the question of Palestine is the crux of the matter and that the liberation of the Arab land from Zionist occupation and the exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights are among the most important prerequisites for the achievement of Arab unity. Iraq stresses once again its belief in the unity of the Arab nation, in the continuation of the struggle and the employment of all the resources at its disposal to achieve the desired union and to create an Arab society which would play an active role in building the greater human society to which we all aspire.

20. The Republic of Iraq considers the non-aligned movement one of the corner-stones of its foreign policy. It upholds the principles of this movement and attaches the highest importance to its effective ability to promote security and peace in the world. Iraq has been anxious to contribute to all efforts aimed at implanting those principles firmly in international relations ever since the inception of the movement, when it focused its attention on the achievement of freedom and economic and political independence for all peoples, and sought to spare those peoples the pitfalls of military alliances and the axes of polarization. The movement has thus become a potent means by which the non-aligned States can cope with international events and currents. The non-aligned move-

ment has been able to surmount many of the obstacles standing in the way of its development. It has consequently made a fruitful contribution to the achievement of full independence for many peoples of the third world and to sparing them the ravages of war by steering them away from blocs and axes and the dangers of military bases. This activity was accompanied by the growth and expansion of the movement. It has thus become able to discharge its responsibilities ever more effectively and to play distinctive roles in charting international policy, disproving, in the process, the allegation that it is no more than a transient international grouping, and at the same time, asserting itself as an embodiment of the will of the peoples and their aspiration to a free, independent life within the framework of justice and peace.

21. It gives the Republic of Iraq genuine pleasure to be in the forefront of those States which have contributed to this turning-point in international relations. I also have the pleasure to pay a tribute to the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo, which was the crowning achievement of the goodwill of the States of the movement. The success of the Conference as demonstrated by its numerous resolutions and its final declaration [see A/31/197], which we support and uphold in the political and economic spheres, is the finest embodiment of the clear vision and the resolve of the leaders, peoples and Governments of the member States. Their aspirations coincide with the aims and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations; and the endeavours and activities of the States members of the movement serve to complement the endeavours and activities of this Organization.

22. Iraq stresses, once again, that it welcomes the policy of international détente which has replaced the policies of confrontation and cold war. However, we would like to emphasize at the same time that we want such détente to be universal, permanent and based on justice and respect for the rights of the peoples to independence, sovereignty and progress. It should not be based on polarization or the apportionment of spheres of influence, nor do we want it to be achieved at the expense of small and weak States. In this respect, we fully support the contents of the final declaration issued by the Colombo Conference.

23. Among the foremost problems threatening world peace and security, indeed the very destiny of man, is the unrelenting continuation of the arms race in the world. How painful it is that the annual costs of armaments have risen to \$300 billion from \$200 billion only a few years ago, and that this should happen at a time when nuclear disarmament, in particular, has become one of the most urgent requirements of the new international order to which we have already referred. The diversion of those fabulous sums from the achievement of the lofty goal of an equitable socio-economic development represents in the most striking and cruel sense the vast disparity between the requirements of human society and the actual policies of States. It confirms what we have already stated, namely, that what our world needs is more effective measures, on the regional and global levels, to reduce the arms race, to halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons and to confine the use of atomic energy to peaceful purposes only. Although we welcome the new agreement concluded between the

Soviet Union and the United States of America,<sup>2</sup> we would like to stress anew the necessity of taking effective steps to put an end to all underground tests. We would also like to reiterate our support for resolutions and projects aiming at the establishment of nuclear-free zones. We also attach special importance to the necessity of the accession of all States, without exception, to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*].

24. The developments that have taken place in southern Africa during the last year constitute, in our view, the beginning of the final phase of the bitter struggle between the forces of liberation and progress and the racist settler colonialism supported by the imperialist Powers, in the forefront of which is the United States of America. The victory achieved by the people of Angola in attaining their full independence and sovereignty, in spite of all the conspiracies hatched against them, including overt military aggression, was the last phase of the liberation of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies and the attainment of their independence. They have thus reinforced the front of the forces struggling for the establishment of a new international order. The effective measures taken by the Revolutionary Government of Mozambique to tighten the grip of the embargo imposed upon the racist minority régime in Rhodesia, despite the economic sacrifices involved, and the mounting African and international support for the liberation movements of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania, augur well for the final elimination of colonialism and racism from the African continent in the near future.

25. I would like to reaffirm, here, the solidarity of the Republic of Iraq with the African liberation movements, and its full support of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] in its battle with colonialism and zionism.

26. Attempts are being made in Latin America by which certain great Powers seek to create such régimes as would toe their line. They seek to ensure, against the will of the peoples concerned and their interests, the existence of régimes that are aligned with them, that act in collusion with them and silently accept the exploitation which has been gnawing at the economies of the countries involved. Those who refuse to toe the line are exposed to constant attempts to undermine their régimes by all possible means. We wish to express Iraq's firm support for the progressive trends and the liberation movements in Latin America. We particularly salute the struggle of the Chilean people and the firm stand it has taken against dictatorship.

27. Iraq attaches the highest importance to the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*]. It would like to express its concern over the continued imperialist presence therein, and over the indifference to the Lusaka Declaration,<sup>3</sup> to the numerous calls issued subsequently by the conferences of non-aligned

States and to the repeated resolutions adopted by this Assembly to this effect. The continued existence of the influence of the imperialist Powers in the Indian Ocean and the fact that some of them are reinforcing their presence, strengthening their military bases and building new ones, constitutes a direct threat to the security of the littoral and hinterland States and contributes to the intensification of international tension. We stress once again the necessity of supporting the efforts of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean, particularly with regard to expediting the convening of the conference called for by the Assembly in resolution 3259 A (XXIX), in which the littoral and hinterland States and the major maritime users would be represented. We also stress the necessity of guaranteeing for all States the freedom of commercial navigation, passage, fishing and scientific research in the high seas of the Indian Ocean.

28. In this connexion, Iraq supports and adheres to the resolution on the Indian Ocean adopted by the Colombo Conference [*see A/31/197, annex IV, resolution II*]. It goes without saying that the Indian Ocean is of more immediate concern to the States of the non-aligned movement, since they constitute the overwhelming majority of its littoral and hinterland States.

29. Following the victory over imperialism and its local agents achieved by the people of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Democratic Kampuchea, we would like to commend the constructive steps taken by those countries towards consolidating their independence and rebuilding their societies and economies which had been subjected to devastation by colonialist aggression. We particularly welcome the steps taken towards the reunification of the two parts of Viet Nam. As to Korea, we regret to see the mounting tension there and the fact that imperialism is reinforcing its military presence and bases in South Korea, a matter which increases the danger of the outbreak of a new war and constitutes a real threat to world peace. We stress once again the necessity of the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea in order to enable the Korean people to determine their future without foreign interference, as well as to reunify their territory.

30. Ever since the developing countries attained their political independence, they have been striving to overcome the problems of under-development bequeathed to them by the long periods of exploitation, and to achieve decent growth rates that would enable them to develop their economies in such a way as to narrow the gap separating them from the developed countries. These strenuous efforts, however, have invariably run against the realities of the present inequitable international economic order, which is working against the interests of the developing States.

31. Iraq has actively participated, along with other developing States, in the various international economic conferences held with a view to achieving equitable international economic relations and creating a new international economic order which would enable the developing countries to deal on equal terms with the developed countries and help them to realize their legitimate aspirations to raise the living standards of their peoples and rid them of exploitation. It was for this purpose that the sixth

<sup>2</sup> Treaty on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes, signed on 28 May 1976 (see A/31/125, annex).

<sup>3</sup> Lusaka Declaration on Peace, Independence, Development, Co-operation and Democratization of International Relations, adopted at the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lusaka from 8 to 10 September 1970.

and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly were convened. Iraq, at the time, was among the States voicing optimism over the outcome of those two sessions.

32. I pointed out at the conclusion of my statement at the seventh special session on 10 September 1975,<sup>4</sup> that Iraq believes that a radical solution to international economic problems lies in rectifying the balance of forces in economic relations, and that the merit of positive proposals and constructive plans to this effect should be assessed case by case, in an objective manner, taking into consideration only the benefits that each proposal or plan could bring to the cause of economic justice among States and of their sovereignty over their economic affairs. Such assessment should be made without regard to the source of the proposal and provided that it should be implemented in good faith and at no political cost.

33. Now, however, when our delegation reviews the outcome of one whole year of negotiations, we are left with a deep sense of disappointment. I referred at the beginning of my statement to the conflict between the forces seeking to create a new international order and the forces holding on to the old order. This conflict manifests itself most glaringly in international economic relations in various fields and on various levels. There is no doubt that the main reason for the regrettable stagnation besetting such meetings is the negative attitude of certain capitalist industrial States and their intransigence vis-à-vis the legitimate demands of the developing nations. After this Assembly had, at its sixth and seventh special sessions, set the broad outlines of the new international economic order and drawn up the plan of action for its implementation, we find that those States stand against all measures aiming at laying the foundations of the new order. This leads us to the conclusion that those States were not serious when they submitted their proposals; their conduct points to the lack of the necessary political will to implement the proposals that they themselves made.

34. This deplorable attitude has led to the difficulties encountered by the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation in which Iraq is an active participant. The Conference has almost reached a deadlock owing to the intransigence of certain capitalist industrial countries towards the acceptance of the just demands of the developing countries, particularly in matters relating to the preservation of the purchasing power of their export revenues and to the debts which weigh heavily on them and form a serious obstacle in the way of their economic progress.

35. The situation was repeated at the fourth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD], held at Nairobi from 5 to 31 May 1976, to which the Group of 77 had attached great hopes, especially since they submitted to the Conference an integrated programme which had been prepared by the Third Ministerial Meeting of the Group at Manila.<sup>5</sup> The results of the

Conference have been disappointing and have fallen short of the legitimate aspirations of the developing countries. In addition, some of the capitalist industrial States have begun to take certain negative attitudes, such as their recourse to tactics designed to disrupt the unity of the developing States and to sow differences among them, with a view to diverting them from their main objectives. However, we are deeply satisfied and proud of the fact that all those attempts have met with dismal failure, thanks to the solidarity of the Group of 77, which came out of the Conference all the more unified and with a stronger faith in the justice of its cause. It is even more convinced than ever of the necessity of expediting the establishment of the new economic order. The Group of 77 has refused to enter into side conflicts that might divert it from the main objective. It has even succeeded in establishing a practical programme for economic co-operation among its members during the recent Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at Mexico City, and the meetings which preceded it [see A/C.2/31/7].

36. I am happy to say that during the Colombo Conference, Iraq called the attention of the developing countries to the necessity of establishing specific organization for the producers of raw materials along the lines of the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries. The Iraqi delegation to this Conference contributed an economic study on this question, in the firm belief that the producers of raw materials among the developing countries should close their ranks to counter world monopolies and to secure equitable prices for their products, which is their one and only means of increasing their capacity to import what they need for the development of their countries.

37. We believe that the attitude of certain capitalist industrial States, led by the United States of America, and their repeated attempts to choose the way of confrontation, or of making promises which they fail to carry out rather than to enter into fruitful negotiations and a positive dialogue, indicate an egotistical outlook in analysing the future requirements of international economic relations. On the other hand, we would like to express our appreciation and satisfaction to some of the industrial States in western Europe for their relatively positive attitudes and for their growing understanding of the justice of the urgent demands of the developing countries. We appreciate in particular the sympathy shown by these States towards the developing countries during the meetings of the fourth session of UNCTAD and the sessions of the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation.

38. Before concluding any statement, I would like to refer to the attitude of Iraq towards the United Nations. Persistent efforts are being made to weaken the role of international organizations and to belittle their importance. This Organization, in particular, has been a target of such efforts. Voices have risen condemning the new majority and the just resolutions it adopts. Yet we heard no such voices during the initial period of the life of the United Nations when the Western States, under the leadership of the United States of America, held complete dominance over the Organization and could muster the required majority at will. It is only regrettable to see a number of States, particularly the United States of America, increasingly

<sup>4</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventh Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2346th meeting, para. 171.

<sup>5</sup> 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), annex V.

shaking the confidence of the international community in the ability of this Organization to achieve the desired objectives. The use of the veto in the Security Council has made it impossible for the Council to discharge the functions entrusted to it under the Charter. The best example of this is the continued occupation of Namibia by South Africa, and the persistence of the Zionist entity in its defiance of the resolutions of the United Nations and the international community by refusing to withdraw from Jerusalem and the other occupied Arab territories.

39. The exercise of the right of veto or the threat of its use against a resolution aimed at achieving the aims and purposes of the United Nations runs counter to the principle of good faith in the implementation of international instruments and should, therefore, be considered as an illegal abuse of that right. It is bound to weaken confidence in the ability of the Security Council to safeguard the territorial integrity of States, thus compelling such States to revert to the traditional methods which have brought down on mankind the scourge of two world wars.

40. We believe, above all, in the democratic character of international relations. We believe in the application of such democracy within the organs and agencies of the United Nations as well as in their programmes. We advocate the strengthening and consolidation of this world Organization on a sound democratic basis, because we know that the future society which we desire for our peoples will not be realized, nor will it survive, unless there is a strong international organization that can ensure the administration and development of the new order with the active participation of all its members in its work. Strengthening the United Nations and enabling it to play a central role in the community to which we aspire is a noble objective; we should all diligently pursue its attainment.

41. Mr. IENG SARY (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*):<sup>6</sup> The delegation of Democratic Kampuchea is pleased to be able to convey to Mr. Amerasinghe its warm congratulations on his unanimous election to the presidency of this thirty-first session of the General Assembly. The responsibility placed in him is a warm tribute to his country, Sri Lanka, for its unswerving policy of independence, peace and non-alignment and, through Sri Lanka, which at present has the chairmanship of the group of non-aligned countries, it also constitutes a warm tribute to the whole movement and the principles of non-alignment. We are convinced that under Mr. Amerasinghe's presidency our work will be highly successful.

42. We also wish to extend our warm congratulations to Mr. Gaston Thorn, President of the thirtieth session of our General Assembly, upon his success in his important office.

43. We are happy to be able to extend to the Republic of Seychelles our sincere congratulations and a warm welcome to our Organization.

44. We very much regret the fact that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has so far not been allowed to

participate in our work, despite the fact that it fulfils all the conditions laid down in the United Nations Charter. The United States of America has decided once again to abuse the veto without any good reason. This is a display of contempt for the will of all peoples who love peace and justice and it is also an act of defiance of the international community. We repeat once again here our firm support for the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership in our international Organization. We should also like to express once again our support for the admission of the People's Republic of Angola, whose absence among us we deplore.

45. The thirty-first session of the General Assembly is being held at a time when all the peoples of the world, particularly the peoples of the non-aligned countries and the third world, are waging everywhere a triumphant struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, zionism and all forms of interference, aggression, expansion and foreign exploitation for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, the right to be masters of their own destiny and for the establishment of a new international economic order based on justice and equality. The success of the recent Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at Colombo has confirmed this intensive movement of the peoples' struggle for freedom, dignity and social progress, a struggle waged at all levels—political, military, diplomatic, economic and organizational.

46. We live in a world which is undergoing rapid and widespread change. Over the last three decades, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, exploited and depressed for centuries, have woken up and become aware of their own strength and, taking arms, have committed themselves to arduous struggle, complex and full of sacrifice, in order to free themselves from the iniquitous system of old and new colonialism and to rid themselves of all the shackles of domination and foreign exploitation. By their valiant efforts they have won their freedom, their independence and their dignity, and have recovered the right to determine their own destinies. These victories have by stages shaken the very foundations of the colonial and neo-colonial system. They have opened up to the whole of mankind the path of total liberation everywhere. The determination to enjoy national independence has finally triumphed. No power in the world can overcome the determination of the peoples to recover their freedom, their dignity and their national identity.

47. From the ruins of colonialism have emerged scores of new independent States which have undertaken with determination to struggle, protect and consolidate their political and economic independence, their sovereignty and their territorial integrity against all acts of domination, exploitation, interference and aggression by the rich major Powers. They have mobilized all their potential, their capacity, in order to be able to enjoy their inalienable right to dispose of their own national resources and to build a new society in consonance with the aspirations of their people and in accordance with the specific conditions of their nations. Marked by the same vicissitudes of the same colonial past and joined by common aspirations and interests, these independent States of the third world, with one accord, reject out-moded international relations based

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Ieng Sary spoke in Khmer. The French version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

on inequality and dependence. They are calling vigorously for the establishment of new relations between peoples and nations, more in keeping with the significant changes which have occurred in the world and based upon the principles of mutual respect for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality, mutual advantage, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, and the right of every people to conduct its own affairs.

48. These are the principles of the non-aligned movement. That movement, born of the stubborn refusal to embrace the policy of blocs and the imperative need for the newly independent States to preserve and strengthen their dearly bought freedom and sovereignty against the ambitions, the greed and the expansionist designs of the rich major Powers, has once again demonstrated its vitality and dynamism at the Colombo Conference. Together with all the other forces of the third world and the peace-loving and justice-loving forces throughout the world, that movement has become a current of unprecedented size and power which is shaking the very foundations of a world which is undergoing wholesale change. The principles of non-alignment, imbued as they are with justice and equality, express the deep aspirations and the determination of the third world countries which include almost three quarters of the population of our planet and constitute the majority of member States in our international community. Thanks to the persistent efforts of the non-aligned movement, these principles have now come to be accepted by the rest of the world.

49. The cohesiveness of the non-aligned countries, based upon these principles and upon the clear-cut objectives of their struggle, their determined actions, based upon the solidarity of the third world countries forming the Group of 77, constitute a powerful force. In recent years, the non-aligned movement has taken some important initiatives for a more just and realistic concept of relations among peoples and nations. The convening of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea was done at the suggestion of the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lusaka in September 1970. The struggle for the establishment of a new international economic order was started by the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at Algiers in September 1973, which took the initiative of asking the United Nations to convene the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly. The Third Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77 at Manila, the fourth session of UNCTAD at Nairobi and, more recently, the Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries at Mexico City, demonstrate the dynamism and solidarity of the Group of 77 in its efforts to bring about a new international economic order.

50. The voice of the non-aligned countries and the third world has thus become a voice which the world community must heed in all its debates and in its search for solutions to international problems. The emergence of many third world independent States, the energy and vitality of the non-aligned movement, have changed the face of the world, which no longer resembles that which had been wrought by the rich major Powers at the time when the United Nations was founded, a time when international relations of domination and dependence were still unquestioned.

51. The people of Kampuchea have not held aloof from the upheavals in the world. They have participated actively, along with all other peoples, in the common struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, in order to free themselves from all forms of domination, oppression and exploitation. They have never accepted the yoke of the colonialist and neo-colonialist system, a yoke imposed upon them for more than a century and against which, from the very beginning, they waged a long, difficult, stubborn and complicated struggle in all respects, be it political, military or diplomatic, winning successive victories until they achieved total victory over the way of aggression of American imperialism, on 17 April 1975. For the nation and people of Kampuchea, this glorious victory had far-reaching historical consequences because it marked their total and final liberation from imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and all other forms of domination and exploitation. Our nation in its entirety recovered its soul and its identity. Our people recovered their dignity and henceforth are keeping firmly in their own hands their own destiny in total independence and sovereignty.

52. On 17 April 1975 we witnessed the victory of the unswerving solidarity of the non-aligned countries and peoples in the third world with the struggle of the people of Kampuchea, as well as the solidarity of all peoples in the world who love peace and justice, including the people of the United States, its young people and progressive, peace-loving political leaders. It was the victory of the policy of independence, peace and non-alignment against the policy of domination, oppression, exploitation, intervention and aggression.

53. In order to win this historic victory, our nation and people had to make immense sacrifices. More than a million inhabitants were killed or wounded, or about 13 per cent of the total population. The economy was ruined. The means of production were in large part destroyed. Hundreds of thousands of oxen and buffaloes so necessary for agricultural work were killed. Factories, plantations, fields, rice paddies, forests were destroyed to a proportion of from 70 to 80 per cent. From 60 to 80 per cent of the lines of communication were destroyed: bridges, roads, railways, ports and so on. Hundreds of villages and urban centres were razed to the ground and struck off the map.

54. Our nation and people made all these grave sacrifices for love of country, for the liberation of the country and their own liberation, for their honour and national dignity, democracy, peace and territorial integrity, and also for the sake of solidarity with the peoples of the world, the national liberation and democratic movements, and for peace in the world.

55. It is for the same reasons that immediately after liberation our people throughout the country engaged in a vast and intensive revolutionary mass movement to perform two fundamental tasks: the defence and building of the country.

56. Since liberation, we have successfully defended and consolidated the gains of the revolution. There is security throughout our territory; however, our own experience and that of other revolutions in the world have taught us that after their defeat, the American imperialists, lackeys and



other reactionary forces continue relentlessly to oppose our country, our people and our revolution. Since it is impossible, if not difficult, for them to attack us openly from the outside they are striving to rally the rump of the forces of perfidy in order to carry out actions of subversion, provocation, division and undermining inside our country, and also to intervene in our internal affairs. Thanks to our continuous revolutionary vigilance and tight unity, our nation, our people and our army have inflicted upon them some severe defeats but, guided by their aggressiveness and blinded by their vaulting ambition, the American imperialists, their lackeys and other reactionary forces are unwilling to learn the lessons of their defeats, and persist in pursuing their criminal activities. There can be no doubt that our people and revolutionary armed forces will inflict upon them, in all independence and sovereignty, further new and ignominious defeats.

57. After the war we resolved the problems raised by economic rehabilitation in the agricultural, cottage industry, industrial and social fields as and when they arose. In particular we have solved once and for all the problem of food. The people have no need to worry about famine. We are continuing to solve our problems successfully so that we may build an independent economy, without which true political independence cannot exist.

58. In this new stage of their struggle our people are continuing to hold firmly to the same political line which led them to the historic victory of 17 April 1975. This is the line of independence, sovereignty and self-reliance. We are continuing with enthusiasm and in national unity to display the creative spirit, determination and revolutionary vigilance.

59. Many friendly peoples and countries have given us their support and encouragement in pursuing this course. They have given us support and assistance which have helped us to strengthen our independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and to tighten the links of friendship and solidarity between our peoples and countries. We are happy to be able once again to express here to all these friendly countries and peoples the profound gratitude of our people and Government.

60. Our people have always wished to live in peace and liberty, within the frontiers of their country, so as to build a society in keeping with their profound aspirations. Although they have been the victims of aggression, domination and subjugation for so many centuries and although a large area of their national territory was amputated, our people have no feeling of contempt or hostility or any ambitious designs of intervention, aggression or expansion with regard to any people or any country. In its external relations, Democratic Kampuchea is continuing to pursue a policy of independence, peace, neutrality and non-alignment. This is a strategic choice, not subject to fluctuations of the hour, because it is in keeping with the aspirations of our people, their culture, their history and the geographic situation of our country. Itself a non-aligned country, Democratic Kampuchea respects and scrupulously applies the principles of non-alignment which are themselves in keeping with the fundamental principles laid down in the United Nations Charter. It is not a member of any alliance or any regional association. It opposes the establishment of

foreign military bases on its territory and all forms of intervention and interference in its internal affairs. It is the duty of our people to defend with determination their independence, national sovereignty, their territorial integrity and their inalienable right to determine their own destiny for which they have fought so hard and made so many sacrifices. At the same time Democratic Kampuchea is continuing to mobilize its efforts to establish and maintain with its neighbours, and indeed with all other countries in the world, close relations of friendship based upon strict mutual respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and the principle of equality and mutual advantage. Democratic Kampuchea never interferes in the internal affairs of other countries. It scrupulously respects the sovereign right of every country to decide itself on its own business without any foreign intervention.

61. To all the movements of the peoples struggling for independence, freedom, democracy and social progress against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, racism, zionism and all other forms of domination and foreign exploitation, Democratic Kampuchea will continue, as it has in the past, to demonstrate active solidarity and firm support.

62. The irresistible momentum of the emancipatory movement of the oppressed nations and peoples is alarming imperialism and all the forces of domination and foreign exploitation, which are multiplying their activities to strengthen their last bastions, to preserve their privileges and to suppress the aspirations of the peoples to freedom, justice and social progress.

63. First, Korea remains divided and has been so for more than 30 years, because the United States is persisting in pursuing its policy of "two Koreas" and its domination of the southern part of Korea. In defiance of the joint North-South statement of 4 July 1972 and resolution 3390 B (XXX), the United States has strengthened its occupation forces in South Korea and has sent large quantities of modern arms, including nuclear weapons, to that country. It has drawn up plans for attacking and occupying the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the space of a few days. In South Korea the neo-colonialist régime is arresting, imprisoning and assassinating Korean patriots whose only crime has been that of calling for the independent and peaceful reunification of their country.

64. All these facts make it quite clear that the United States of America and the Seoul régime are actively preparing for a new aggression against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and that the American troops stationed in South Korea do in fact constitute a fundamental obstacle to the reunification of Korea and a serious threat to peace in that part of the world.

65. Democratic Kampuchea firmly supports the three principles and the five guidelines of President Kim Il Sung for solving the Korean problem. The problem of Korea can only be solved in accordance with resolution 3390 B (XXX), that is to say, by a cessation of intervention and aggression by the United States in Korea, the total withdrawal from South Korea of American troops and their military equipment, including nuclear weapons, the dissolution of the so-called "United Nations High Command"



and the transformation of the temporary armistice into a peace agreement.

66. Secondly, in the Middle East, until the Palestinian people have recovered their inalienable national rights, there is no hope of establishing any lasting peace there.

67. Israeli zionism continues, thanks to assistance from the United States, to impede all efforts and all relevant resolutions of the United Nations intended to settle the problem. It is persisting in its aggression against the Palestinian and Arab people and denying to the Palestinian people the exercise of their inalienable national rights recognized by resolution 3236 (XXIX). Furthermore, it is consolidating the establishment of its settlements on Arab territories occupied by force.

68. Democratic Kampuchea has always firmly supported the just struggle of the Palestinian people and will continue to do so until the Palestinian people are able to exercise their inalienable national rights, including their rights to self-determination, independence and sovereignty, and until they can exercise their inalienable right to return to their homes and their property, from which they were removed and uprooted. We are gratified by the considerable progress made by the Palestine Liberation Organization, which is recognized by the United Nations, the group of non-aligned countries, the League of Arab States, the Organization of African Unity and the overwhelming majority of the international community.

69. Democratic Kampuchea will continue also firmly to support the just struggle of the other Arab peoples for the recovery of their territories occupied by force by Israeli zionism since 1967. It is our conviction that thanks to their struggle and their solidarity, which is persistent, stubborn and resolute, and thanks to the solidarity of all peoples who love peace and justice, the just and sacred cause of the Palestinian people and other Arab peoples will triumph.

70. Thirdly, Taiwan has not yet been reintegrated with its mother country because of the intervention and military occupation of the United States, which has lasted for more than 27 years. We express once again our firm and constant support for the People's Republic of China in its struggle for the respect of its national sovereignty and territorial integrity and for the return to it of that island.

71. Fourthly, problems of decolonization continue to be acute.

72. In East Timor, the people are still being denied the independence which they won at such high cost after a long and brave struggle. Indeed, on the very morrow of the independence of that country it was a victim of aggression and was then annexed by force. The General Assembly, at its thirtieth session, and the Security Council have adopted resolutions<sup>7</sup> calling for the withdrawal of all foreign troops, and the respect of all countries for the territorial integrity of East Timor and the inalienable rights of the people of Timor to self-determination and independence. These are extremely relevant resolutions, but the country responsible

for the denial of the rights is continuing to ignore them. The annexation of East Timor is an act committed in defiance of the aspirations of its people. The just struggle of the people and Government of the Democratic Republic of East Timor, under the leadership of the Frente Revolucionária Timor Leste Independente [*FRETILIN*] to recover its independence has won the support and active solidarity of Democratic Kampuchea. Neither force nor sophistry can weaken the will for independence of the people of East Timor.

73. The determination to be independent is asserting itself with unprecedented vigour in southern Africa, which has now become the cockpit of the struggle for decolonization. Minority racist régimes in Salisbury and Pretoria have rejected all the decisions of the United Nations, and have refused the offer of peaceful change contained in the Lusaka Manifesto.<sup>8</sup> With the assistance of other imperialist powers, they have intensified measures of repression, have strengthened their Fascist domination, stepped up their preparations for war and are multiplying their divisive manoeuvres against the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania. Massacres like that of Soweto, arrests, detention, torture, deportation of civilian populations are going on, veritable acts of defiance of the international community. But the peoples of southern Africa have come to the point where they can no longer suffer in silence the humiliation, the subjugation and injustice which they have suffered because of the colour of their skins. They have intensified with determination their struggle against the inhumane and oppressive system of *apartheid* and racial discrimination to recover their freedom, justice and human dignity.

74. We would express our whole-hearted solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania and also all friendly peoples in that part of southern Africa which, in support of those struggles, have taken energetic measures against the racist régimes in Salisbury and Pretoria. By their determined and persistent struggle, by the unity and vigilance in the face of the divisive manoeuvres of imperialism and all the forces of foreign domination, the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania will win their independence and human dignity. The struggle has received considerable encouragement from all African countries which together at the third OAU Summit<sup>9</sup> made an urgent appeal for the strengthening of the armed struggle and decided to that end to provide the utmost political, economic and military aid. This is a just stand which demonstrates that Africa belongs to the Africans and decolonization of the African continent is the business of the African peoples. We offer our whole-hearted support for this just position and also for all the efforts of the African peoples for the total decolonization of Africa.

75. In this spirit we would like to repeat our expression of firm solidarity with the struggle of the people of the Comoros for respect for their national unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity through reintegration in the archipelago of the island of Mayotte.

<sup>8</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

<sup>9</sup> Third session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Addis Ababa from 5 to 9 November 1966.

<sup>7</sup> General Assembly resolution 3485 (XXX) and Security Council resolutions 384 (1975) and 389 (1976).

76. Concerning Western Sahara we believe, in accordance with our unswerving position, that this problem should be resolved on the basis of the principle of self-determination. We are confident that the OAU Summit will take decisions in keeping with the spirit of friendship and solidarity of the States of the area.

77. We firmly support the liberation movements of the peoples of Latin America. We express once again our solidarity with the people and Government of Cuba in their legitimate claim to have the Guantanamo base restored to them by the United States of America. We support the just struggle of the people and Government of Panama to recover effective sovereignty and total jurisdiction of the Canal Zone. We express again our solidarity with the people of Puerto Rico in their struggle for the full exercise of their national rights.

78. Fifthly, the profound changes which have occurred on the international scene over the last three decades necessarily entail a restructuring of the United Nations and a revision of its Charter so that they may be adapted to contemporary realities and be more responsive to the aspirations of all peoples who want to be masters of their own destiny, dispose of their national resources in all independence and sovereignty and establish international relations based on justice and equality in a new world founded upon genuine independence, democracy, social progress and peace, and free of imperialism, neo-colonialism, racism and all other forms of foreign domination and exploitation.

79. The essential objective of the revision of the United Nations Charter should be the strengthening of the role of the Organization in the search for solutions to the important and serious problems of the world today, dominated as it is by problems of the third world, and also in the effective application of the resolutions of our General Assembly. To this end it is necessary, first, that the great responsibilities of our Organization be entrusted primarily to persons perfectly familiar with the problems of the third world, who have displayed a determination to serve this end and who have won the confidence of the countries of the third world.

80. We should, furthermore, adopt a solution to the present anachronism constituted by the fact that the rich major Powers continue to exercise control, particularly in the Security Council, while the third world countries are asserting themselves with ever greater vigour on the international scene and also in the General Assembly. This anachronism is inimical to and weakens the role of the United Nations. It is clear that the role, composition and rules of the Security Council would benefit by being changed in the light of the new realities prevailing in the world. We should give serious attention to the possibility of limiting, if not abolishing, the right of veto, the use of which has in fact only served to preserve the privileges of the rich major Powers against the interests of the third world. In fact, the use of the right of veto to oppose just and relevant measures taken by the majority of States Members of the United Nations against States which have violated the Charter has paralysed the efforts of the Organization to find solutions to the Palestinian problem and the problem of the decolonization of southern Africa. Similarly, the use

of the veto to oppose the admission of new Members to our Organization is a way of curbing the dynamism of the third world.

81. There is no doubt that, if we really want to strengthen the role of the United Nations at the present time, decisions on major world problems can no longer be the prerogative of the rich major Powers but should form part of the responsibilities of all States, large and small, placed on an equal footing. And the organ where this responsibility could most effectively be exercised is our General Assembly, where all States are represented and whose powers would gain by being made more extensive and more effective.

82. The revision of the Charter and the restructuring of the United Nations have become very important because they are very far-reaching matters. They must therefore be adapted to the irreversible progress of our world towards a better and more just world. The effectiveness of United Nations actions is linked with the responses which it will give and the positions it will take vis-à-vis the new realities of the world today.

83. Sixthly, the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea is at a standstill, primarily because of the obstinacy of the major maritime Powers in preserving their privileges and failing to respect the sovereign rights of other coastal States. Our delegation would like to repeat here the position of Democratic Kampuchea on a certain number of problems.

84. Democratic Kampuchea believes that the sea should be harnessed to the service of development and well-being, prosperity of the peoples, and peace and justice. The new rules of the law of the sea should guarantee all States, particularly developing States, against any threats to their security, sovereignty or territorial integrity. Freedom of navigation and the development of international trade should not serve as pretexts to limit the sovereignty of coastal States or their rights over the natural resources of the sea.

85. In accordance with these principles, Democratic Kampuchea would like to make it clear once again that it cannot accept innocent passage over its territorial sea, which it set at 12 nautical miles with effect from September 1969. Indeed, so-called innocent passage has often been used by certain major maritime Powers and their allies for purposes of spying and subversion against our country and people.

86. Democratic Kampuchea unreservedly supports the right of all coastal States to possess an exclusive economic zone of 200 nautical miles, which would not form part of the high seas. Within this economic zone the coastal State has sovereign and exclusive rights for the purposes of exploration, exploitation, conservation and management of all natural resources of the sea-bed, its subsoil and superjacent waters. No one can claim on any pretext the right to tap these resources without the prior authorization of the coastal State. Such an act would constitute a violation of the sovereignty of the coastal State.

87. With regard to the continental shelf, Democratic Kampuchea believes that the coastal State enjoys full and

total sovereignty over it for purposes of exploration and exploitation of its natural resources. This sovereignty is subject to no limitation, restriction or reservation, in the sense that if the coastal State does not explore its own continental shelf or does not exploit its natural resources for its own reasons, no one may undertake, whatever the circumstances or the reasons, such activities without the explicit consent of the coastal State. Democratic Kampuchea categorically opposes any action taken against its interests, or any foreign activity or undertaking, past, present or future, which would be prejudicial to its sovereign rights over its continental shelf.

88. With regard to the exploration and exploitation of the sea-bed of the international zone which constitutes the common heritage of mankind, we believe that only an international authority given the necessary powers and competence can properly defend the legitimate interests of the developing countries.

89. The problems of economic development remain the major concern of our world. For almost four years the third world countries have combined their efforts to replace the present international economic order. This out-moded system, based on relations of domination, exploitation and dependence, made it possible for the developed countries to become rich very rapidly and to live in luxury and extravagance, while the developing countries are becoming progressively more impoverished and remain, since they became politically independent, in the grip of serious problems of poverty, malnutrition and hunger, disease and illiteracy.

90. The terms of trade of these developing countries have continued to deteriorate because the commodities and raw materials which they possess are constantly losing value. Their indebtedness, with all the financial implications attaching thereto, has become traumatically worse. Furthermore, the unequal and iniquitous relations have made possible the importation into those countries of the economic and financial crisis of the capitalist world with all its corollaries, namely, inflation, price rises, currency devaluation and the lowering of the people's standard of living.

91. In a word, the gap between the rich and poor countries keeps on growing. The developed countries cannot shirk their responsibility, which derives from many sources, in this increasingly alarming development. The establishment of a new international economic order, based on equality, respect, mutual advantage and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, has become an urgent need.

92. Many conferences and international debates have been held and have made it possible for the developing and developed countries to adopt, after arduous negotiation, a certain number of resolutions on the establishment of this new international economic order. Although these resolutions are not all satisfactory to the developing countries, none of them has yet been put into effect. It is clear that there remains a great deal of ground to be covered, ground which is strewn with obstacles erected by the rich major Powers in order to preserve their privileges. Experience has taught us all that any renunciation of privilege can only be the fruit of stubborn, persistent and self-sacrificing struggle.

93. However, together with this common struggle for the establishment of a new international economic order, developing countries are waging, with determination and success, a desperate and persistent struggle to win their economic independence and to consolidate their political independence. Of course, third world countries are poor today because they were exploited and pillaged for centuries by colonialism and then by neo-colonialism within the framework of the current relations of domination and dependence. But these countries possess great human potential and considerable natural resources. The mobilization and proper use of these resources would make possible rapid economic development, not on the model of the rich countries but on a model which would be more in keeping with the political, economic, social and cultural features of each nation and people.

94. Placing their confidence in the resources, strength and capacity of their nation and people, many developing countries have thus scored encouraging successes in the building of their economy on the basis of the principles of independence, sovereignty and self-reliance. These principles do not mean isolationism or any deliberate determination to live in self-sufficiency, or aloof from international co-operation; nor do they mean the rejection of foreign assistance. They mean that the efforts of building the economy must necessarily be based, above all, on the inexhaustible and creative strength of the people and the use of all resources and the full potential of the nation. This necessarily entails a bitter and constant struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and against all forms of domination and foreign exploitation, for the exercise of full national sovereignty over all the resources and economic activities of the country, including the sovereign right to nationalize transnational companies, which serve only to absorb all the energies of a country with a view to subordinating it to the developed countries. Foreign assistance is used in addition to the efforts of the whole nation, provided that it is unconditional, has no strings attached, and helps consolidation of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

95. These principles of independence, sovereignty and self-reliance on the national level are by no means incompatible with the need to strengthen, in particular with the other developing countries, solidarity and international co-operation based on mutual respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and mutual advantage. In greater numbers now the third world countries are becoming convinced that, through their determined and stubborn efforts to build a national economy in each of their countries on the basis of the principle of independence, sovereignty and self-reliance, through their solidarity and co-operation based upon equality and mutual respect, mutual advantage, non-interference in internal affairs, and through their common struggle against all relations of domination and foreign exploitation, they will succeed in establishing a new international economic order.

96. The numerous victories won in the liberation struggles of peoples should not make us forget that there are still very many obstacles blocking their long and arduous progress. The nations and peoples of the third world have to do away with the encumbering economic, social and

cultural heritage bequeathed by colonialism. The peoples who are still oppressed will have to make a great many more sacrifices in order to win their freedom. Imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, zionism and all the forces of foreign domination and exploitation are persisting in their policies of oppression and are stepping up their war preparations and multiplying their divisive and diversionary manoeuvres. But the oppressed know very well that freedom, equality and human dignity are not received as gifts but won by struggle. They were won at a time when imperialism held sway in the world, but in our time they will be won even more certainly, because our time is a time when the liberation movement is mobilizing all the peoples of the third world and all peoples in the world who love peace and justice.

97. In the struggle of all the peoples for a better world where freedom, peace, friendship, democracy, justice and social progress reign, the people of Kampuchea have made their contribution by the sacrifices they made in their national liberation struggle. At the present time they are continuing to make their contribution by their efforts to defend and build their country devastated by war. In the past, now, and in the future, the people of Kampuchea will identify themselves with the noble struggle of all the peace-loving and justice-loving people and will continue to work to hasten their victory.

98. Mr. BORGONOVO POHL (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Once again it is my signal honour and satisfaction to address this supreme forum where all nations present should overcome their differences, with their hands outstretched in concord and friendship. On behalf of the Government of El Salvador, of my delegation and on my own behalf I have the satisfaction to express to Mr. Amerasinghe our most effusive congratulations on his unanimous election to preside over this General Assembly at its thirty-first session. His distinguished and recognized merits constitute an effective guarantee that this world Assembly will bring to a successful conclusion the important tasks entrusted to it.

99. I likewise wish to emphasize my appreciation to Mr. Gaston Thorn for his success in guiding this General Assembly during its thirtieth session.

100. I give my warmest welcome on behalf of my country to the Republic of Seychelles on its entry into this Organization. Its presence strengthens the United Nations system and is tangible proof that every day we are more forcefully achieving the objective of universality, that aspiration which, strengthened by the observance of the precepts of the Charter, the maintenance of world peace seeks.

101. I shall now refer to matters which my delegation considers to be paramount and deserving of the attention of this Assembly. In recent years, my country has wished to state its views on these subjects and reveal its wish to bring forward facts which will be helpful to effective international co-operation in all its aspects.

102. In the first place, my Government would like to emphasize the gradual transformation it has observed in the political atmosphere as regards the new international economic order from a pragmatic standpoint.

103. In 1974, as a consequence of the sixth special session of the General Assembly, my country emphasized the need for political willingness, on the part of the industrialized countries, to alter the antiquated and unjust world structure in the economic sphere because at that time the positions of those countries were not precisely favourable to a prompt acceptance of such ideas. Now this underwent a positive change because of the excellent results of the seventh special session of the General Assembly in 1975, results which were obtained by consensus in an atmosphere of optimism and enthusiastic declarations of good intentions which led us to believe in the existence of vast possibilities for the new international economic order to become a reality. However, after another year went by, we observed with profound concern that, when it comes to dealing with concrete proposals to make such intentions a practical reality, obstacles crop up and the spectre of the lack of political will reappears.

104. This is precisely what happened at the fourth session of UNCTAD in May of this year at Nairobi. At that gathering the hopes of the developing countries, as contained in the Manila Declaration and Programme of Action,<sup>10</sup> were largely centred on the operation of the integrated programme for commodities and its consequent financial support, which was to be an effective instrument in the efforts of the poorer countries to attain higher stages of development. But the response of the industrialized countries to this proposal was discouraging for it deferred the adoption of decisions, thus deflecting a real commitment of support for this programme, the purpose of which, as is known, is to obtain stable and remunerative prices for a series of commodities that affect the economies of the third world.

105. El Salvador would therefore draw the attention of Governments once again to the fact that pragmatic dealing in a system of co-operation based on equity, sovereign equality, and interdependence are of common interest to all States. Establishment of a system which would make it possible for the developing countries to attain a better standard of living will in fact be to the advantage of the industrialized countries themselves because of the benefits they would derive from an increase in trade relations. Within that context, emphasis is warranted on the need to redress the notorious disparities in national income by such measures as special treatment of financial surpluses, setting them up as credit programmes for the benefit of the less developed countries. Such surpluses could be canalized, for example, through the common fund for the financing of international commodity stocks, the establishment of which was considered during the recently concluded session of UNCTAD.<sup>11</sup>

106. The previously-mentioned objective would be more easily attained if the obstacles to international trade were eliminated through promoting more effectively the schemes of generalized preferences, affording easier access of the developing countries to the markets of the industrialized Powers, and setting up adequate and timely assistance for

<sup>10</sup> 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), annex V.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, part one A, resolution 93 (IV).

the transfer of technology. At the same time there should be a study of the need for short-term application of the theory of complementarity of regions on the basis of a rational international division of labour and within a framework which would encourage the establishment or strengthening of schemes for regional and subregional integration.

107. This series of actions could be carried out within the UNCTAD forum if it were to become a strengthened and adjusted body, so that it would not only deliberate and negotiate but take action on international trade matters and related questions of economic development and co-operation. My Government firmly supports proposals to achieve this objective because they are part of the new international economic order.

108. El Salvador once again wants to emphasize the importance attached to the Latin American economic system [SELA] as the most appropriate mechanism established for the purposes of co-ordinating, consulting, analysing and proposing solutions to the economic problems of the area, giving impetus to co-operation systems and prompting multinational projects. SELA as the cement binding Latin American countries together will make it possible to adopt a sound negotiating position vis-à-vis developed countries on the continent and other areas of the world. It will also promote and facilitate progress towards Latin American integrationist objectives taking into account the special characteristics of the relatively less developed countries.

109. An outstanding event in the year 1976 was Habitat: United Nations Conference on Human Settlements which was held at Vancouver from 31 May to 11 June. The background for that gathering as is known dates back to the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment held at Stockholm in June 1972, where the urgency of viable formulas for solving the problems originated by the concentration of human beings in cities was made manifest, as well as the need for urgent solutions to environmental pollution and the worsening housing crisis. All of those led to the idea of holding a conference which would specifically consider these items and promote the dignity of man so that he could develop fully by being provided with a suitable environment.

110. The Government of El Salvador considers that the Conference largely attained the specific objective set for it by serving as a practical means for an exchange of information about solutions to problems of human settlements and on measures against action detrimental to the environment as well, by formulating policies and programmes for Governments and international organizations in accordance with the provisions of resolution 1128 (XXVIII) of the General Assembly. In fact the final documents of the Conference, that is to say the Vancouver Declaration on Human Settlements, 1976<sup>12</sup> and the programmes for international co-operation<sup>13</sup> and the 64 recommendations addressed to Governments<sup>14</sup> constitute

an instrument which opens up new horizons for conducting national and international actions with more vigour and effectiveness in respect to problems of habitat.

111. The Government of El Salvador wishes to take this opportunity to reaffirm its support for the resolutions and recommendations of that Conference, in particular the Vancouver Declaration which was proposed by the Group of 77 since it constitutes a far-reaching step in the efforts of the international community to overcome burning problems, thus creating an atmosphere favourable to peace, harmonious coexistence and development.

112. At the institutional level the Conference recommended the establishment of a global intergovernmental body and an efficient United Nations secretariat for human settlements. In the opinion of my Government the efficiency of that secretariat will in large measure depend on its autonomy and availability of resources. Furthermore it should have a suitable location that will enable it to act with the necessary flexibility in co-operation with national and international institutions. In this respect I am pleased to state that El Salvador supports the wish of the Government of Mexico to be host to this body. The experience of my country in this field has made us more aware of the importance of intensifying international co-operation to seek solutions to the problems of human settlements. Recognizing that the resolutions of the Conference are timely, my Government endorses the report of the Secretary-General on Habitat [A/31/156] and we hope that the Assembly, when considering item 60 of its agenda, will take decisions which will immediately promote international action on this subject.

113. In the month of August last an event of great importance in world politics came to a successful conclusion. I am referring to the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, at Colombo. The presence of 85 high-level delegations from five continents is in itself a fact which reveals the magnitude of the decisions adopted. The Colombo agreements will no doubt affect the international actions of the vast majority if not of all States, individually considered, because of the fact that interdependence is a sign of our times and the parameter in projecting international relations. The degree of cohesion and drive attained by the non-aligned movement is furthermore manifest in its forceful participation in this Assembly. The Government of El Salvador has noted with pleasure that the object of the movement is to obtain adequate formulae by consensus to resolve international situations of conflict. Its motive which contributes to the cause of world peace is praiseworthy.

114. We have previously stated that no one can reverse the decolonization process. Its final triumphs will be celebrated in a not-too-distant day throughout the world by the elimination of the very last bastions of colonial oppression. In this respect special mention should be made of the struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia for their emancipation. Hence my Government supports as an appropriate measure the convening in 1977 of an international conference to mobilize world public opinion in support of these peoples as proposed by the *Ad Hoc* Group established by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the

<sup>12</sup> See *Report of Habitat: United Nations Conference on Human Settlements* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.IV.7), chap. I.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. III, resolution I.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. II.

Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [see A/31/23/Add.1, para. 17(33)]. This conference will be helpful in assisting these peoples, will mobilize world public opinion even more in their favour and will constitute a step forward towards the goal of complete decolonization.

115. My Government wishes emphatically to reiterate as major foreign policy guidelines its solidarity with the peoples of Africa for independence, for the abolition of racial discrimination and *apartheid*, and reiterates its rejection of minority racial governments. Although the historical process marks the extinction of racial discrimination it is to be regretted that there are Governments which are obstinately adhering to the opprobrious political system which they themselves have created, *apartheid*, and choose to oppose in vain the drive of civilization, thus prolonging sufferings and death. The United Nations must persist in its efforts to eradicate these encumbrances which delay the progress of mankind. For these reasons we have only praise for the diplomatic negotiations which are at present being carried out to that end.

116. Last year this General Assembly adopted resolution 3432 (XXX) on the question of Belize. At that time El Salvador deplored the fact that the draft resolution sponsored, among others, by all the Central American States<sup>15</sup> was not accepted, since that was the document containing a formula for a balanced procedure, properly adapted to the legitimate interests of the parties directly concerned and respecting the rights of the population of Belize. Nevertheless we must look at things as they are at present and with a visionary spirit for the future. We must be fully aware that the territory and population of Belize are in the heart of Central America although looking toward the Caribbean. This particular area, formed by history and geography, instead of being a source of problems, frictions and conflicts, should be the link uniting the historical trends and cultures, making of Belize a centre for harmony and co-operation. We must therefore strive to find within the text of the resolution the basis for genuine negotiations without predetermined replies and acceptable to all the parties.

117. Daily experience proves that resolutions adopted without the concurrence of the will of the countries concerned have no other meaning than counsel given by third parties, and therefore lack any possibility of being applied. This observation, deriving from the realities of the contemporary world, should be a fact to be taken into account in the solution of this problem. Hence, my country as an integral part of Central America, in solidarity with the claims of Guatemala, hopes that the negotiated solution will emerge as proof of the intelligence and goodwill of those who govern the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and Guatemala, so that Belize may fulfil the function of an integrating bridge not only in Central America but also between that region and the Caribbean.

118. El Salvador wishes through me to place on record once again its firm support for the cause of Panama, that is, its obtaining the exercise of complete sovereignty over its

main economic geographical resource, the interoceanic canal. On the shoulders of the Central American republic weighs the onerous burden of a treaty signed in 1903<sup>16</sup> which ignored its inalienable rights. I am referring among other things to the inclusion of the perpetuity clause for the administration of the zone in favour of a dominant member, the United States of America. The clock of history is marking the hour when 'Panama must be compensated for its injured interests. Indeed the present world has expressed its rejection of colonial enclaves and is therefore in favour of the praiseworthy effort of Panama to satisfy the legitimate claim to eliminate any clause which is counter to sovereignty over its entire territory.

119. When the Security Council met in Panama in 1973 it was expected, as a result of the deliberations and broad support received by that country, that within a reasonable time negotiations with the United States Government would lead to the conclusion of an honourable agreement. Nevertheless, a standstill occurred. This year we have observed how a political electoral campaign we are all familiar with has unfavourably affected the negotiating process, causing a delay along the way to agreement. Declarations made have been viewed as a cloud which looms threateningly even over existing good relations in the hemisphere. El Salvador, as a country in solidarity with Panama, still hopes that the fresh winds of good sense will blow in the direction indicated by time and equity, so that shortly the treaty will be reviewed in terms which answer to the just aspirations of the Panamanian people.

120. I now wish to refer to the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, the fifth session<sup>17</sup> of which has just concluded in this city. A sixth session is scheduled for 1977 and it is expected that the seventh will be held in 1978. It will probably be the lengthiest conference of the century. Despite the time and efforts it has demanded and the progress achieved on a good number of critical questions the results are still uncertain because nobody knows definitely whether, within the coming years, there will be a generally accepted convention to regulate the use of the sea.

121. In contrast to previous sessions, each of which was characterized by a tangible product, namely, the text reflecting the main trends, produced at the second session at Caracas,<sup>18</sup> the single negotiating text of the third session at Geneva<sup>19</sup> and the revised single negotiating text of the fourth session in New York,<sup>20</sup> all that was achieved on 17 September last was the setting of the date, venue and duration of the sixth session, that is to say, the minimum indispensable to keep the conference alive.

16 Isthmian Canal Convention, signed on 18 November 1903. For the text, see *Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States of America, 1776-1949*, vol. 10, Department of State publication 8642 (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 663.

17 Held from 2 August to 17 September 1976.

18 See *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. III (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.75.V.5), document A/CONF.62/L.8/Rev.1, annex II, appendix I.

19 *Ibid.*, vol. IV (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.75.V.10), document A/CONF.62/WP.8.

20 *Ibid.*, vol. V (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.V.8), documents A/CONF.62/WP.8/Rev.1 and A/CONF.62/WP.9/Rev.1.

15 See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 23, document A/10427, para. 44.

122. A handful of highly conflicting questions is holding back progress in the Conference. In the Second and Third Committees there are subjects on which it is not possible to agree, but on other questions which were once as controversial as access to and from the sea for the land-locked countries the participants are nearing consensus. The radical conflict on the nature of the economic zone as part of the high seas or as a zone *sui generis* has much that is highly legalistic and that could be settled by giving ever more consideration to the rules governing use and exploitation, as a result of which the dangers envisaged by the maritime Powers in the establishment of a zone *sui generis* would disappear. The entire development of the law of the sea in the last years points of necessity in a single direction, namely, towards the economic zone as a third zone between the high seas and the traditional territorial sea with its own legal régime.

123. Other issues are still outstanding and strongly disputed, particularly the outer limits of the continental shelf, the rights of land-locked States in the economic zones of neighbouring States and the rules on scientific research in the economic zone. It is nevertheless difficult to imagine that these issues could prevent adoption of the convention on the law of the sea. On the contrary, positions are totally and absolutely polarized as regards the régime for exploration and exploitation of the international zone of the sea-bed which is dealt with by the First Committee. Owing to basic philosophical positions, the confrontation of groups on this subject threatens to disrupt the Conference, even though at the abstract level it is conceivable to reconcile the interests of the countries having technology with those of the countries which advocate inclusion in the convention of the principle of the common heritage of mankind which the General Assembly approved by an overwhelming majority in 1970 [resolution 2749 (XXV)],<sup>1</sup>.

124. Positions which might be described, respectively, as single-minded and dualistic conflict as to the régime for the international zone of the sea-bed. The dualistic position, which is commonly identified as the parallel action, subject to objective rules, of a multinational enterprise controlled by the international community and of private companies, was the subject of discussion during the fifth session of the Conference, which produced certain general ideas, advanced to find a way out of the dead-lock through an indication of readiness to endow the multinational enterprise with capital and technology, so that it could operate with the same opportunities as private companies. It would be worth while considering how the scheme for these equal opportunities is conceived, so as to decide with a knowledge of the facts on the acceptability of these proposals. The interesting general proposal would have to be complemented with details so as to be the subject of scrupulous analysis. What should in no case be done is to take an *a priori* position on the basis of prejudice.

125. We call on the participants in the Conference to adopt a really constructive attitude in regard to this vital and decisive issue, requesting some to specify more closely the financing operation and how the enterprise would be endowed with technology, and requesting others to withhold judgement and decision until we know the details of the proposal, so that they may put forward their criticisms, compromises or acceptance on that basis. They should

abandon totally the attitude of rejecting the whole because some parts are inadequate and rather divide the whole into parts so that each could be subjected to scrutiny, accommodation and redrafting. If a constructive approach to this problem is lacking at the sixth session, the Conference might fail and, to conceal failure, decide on suspension for a few years. It is the keenest wish of my delegation that, to avoid this unwanted result, we strive to make considerable progress at the forthcoming session.

126. Lastly, in reiterating the respect of El Salvador for the objective of universality to which our Organization aspires, we express our hope that in the not-too-distant future it will be joined by States which for some reason or another have not been able to be with us during this session.

127. Mr. GUZZETTI (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): May I begin my statement by congratulating Mr. Amerasinghe most warmly on his unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly. His broad and fruitful activities not only as the Permanent Representative of Sri Lanka in our Organization but also at the head of the delicate tasks of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea are outstanding qualifications for his difficult task.

128. I wish also to express my gratitude to the outgoing President, Mr. Gaston Thorn, for his effective and constructive discharge of his duties during the last session.

129. Argentina is pleased at the admission of the Republic of Seychelles to our Organization, and we most sincerely wish to co-operate with it.

130. The Argentine Government considers that the United Nations has a role of paramount importance in the international system. It is so because the Charter has combined, developed and put into effect principles which are basic and irrevocable axioms of Argentina's foreign policy, and because in recent years, our Organization has formulated other principles which, although novel, are nonetheless important since they lay foundations from which Argentina hopes to see arise a legal framework that will enable us to tackle the solution with possibilities of success.

Mr. Moreno Martínez (Dominican Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.

131. With the admission of new States at the current session, the United Nations has taken one of the final steps towards achieving the earnestly desired aim of universality. No doubt, this fact marks the end of one stage and the beginning of another of equal or greater importance, because universality is not and could never be an end in itself but is rather the indispensable means of achieving, completely and comprehensively, the aims and ideals which led to the foundation of the United Nations thirty-one years ago.

132. The time is, therefore, propitious to pause and objectively examine the road we have travelled so far and, what is even more fundamental, to take an inquiring look at



the road we will have to travel together if we want to turn a dangerously uncertain future into a promising reality.

133. It is undeniable that, in recent times, and for the most varied reasons, the Organization has been the target of unfavourable criticism and judgements, either for its actions or for its lack of action. These judgements did not come exclusively from a particular group or sector and in some cases they have been the result of excessive scepticism because of the changes of all kinds that have occurred since 1945; in other cases they have been due to a failure to perceive or accept the reality of the moment and the profound changes that have taken place in the world.

134. These disappointments probably have, to some extent, a common origin, namely, the fact that misguided or exaggerated expectations have been placed in what the Organization should do to fulfil particular aspirations. But, if we accept the premise that, in the final analysis, the Organization will be what its Members want it to be, it is obvious that, if the political will exists to reconcile individual interests in furtherance of the general interest, we may be able to forge it into an effective instrument of co-operation to solve the pressing problems we face. This is a task that brooks no delay.

135. The multiplicity of approaches created by these problems, far from discouraging us, represents an additional challenge in overcoming a temporarily difficult situation, whose greatest ally is immobility.

136. It has been said, and rightly so, that the United Nations is the mirror of the world. With its shortcomings and its virtues it constitutes the institutional framework which reflects the reality of a dynamic society in a state of constant evolution. What is more, we should be pleased that it has not only been sensitive to changes but has, in many cases, also carried them resolutely forward and legitimized their existence.

137. Such has been, for example, its history in all matters relating to decolonization. In a process which posterity will recognize as one of its most positive achievements, the Organization was a decisive factor in hastening the end of colonial domination. Resolution 1514 (XV), one of the General Assembly's greatest achievements, was the catalyst which mobilized the efforts to promote decolonization. Its provisions embrace guidelines for dealing with different situations and make them adaptable to each particular case, whether it is the monitoring of self-determination or ensuring the inviolability of a country's territorial integrity.

138. It is within this latter context that Argentina hopes that an early solution will be found to the problem of the Malvinas, a remnant of colonial expansion in America, which has for so long obstructed the relations between my country and the United Kingdom. The justness of our claim, so often recognized by an overwhelming majority of the States Members of this Organization, with the support of the Latin American countries, reaffirmed in the Inter-American Juridical Committee Declaration of 16 January 1976 [see A/31/23/Rev.1, chap. XXX, annex II] and more recently at Colombo by the Foreign Ministers and Heads of State and Government of 85 countries [see A/31/197, annex I, para. 199], was further endorsed by the Special

Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in its resolution of 17 September last [see A/31/23/Rev.1, chap. XXX, para. 8], in which it reiterated the appeal to the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom to expedite the solution to this dispute over sovereignty.

139. This encourages us to persevere in our efforts through bilateral negotiations, as urged in General Assembly resolutions 2065 (XX) and 3160 (XXVIII). In this connexion the Argentine Republic constantly bears in mind the interests of the present inhabitants of the islands, whose well-being it guarantees and will continue to guarantee, having shown already specific evidence of this concern which, furthermore, has been acknowledged by this Organization. But it goes without saying that our action cannot be unilateral. Similar determination must be forthcoming on the part of the United Kingdom to enable us to decide together on the measures for ending this dispute and thus cementing the friendship which has predominated in our traditional relationship.

140. Through the full implementation of the Charter, the United Nations in a few years assisted in the orderly and peaceful transition of numerous peoples and territories from the status of dependence in which they had been for centuries to the status of free and sovereign nations. The very membership of this Assembly is the best permanent tribute to what has so far been done in this field.

141. The accession of almost a hundred countries to independence entailed some other fundamental consequences also affecting our Organization. First, it promoted the democratization of international relations by enabling all States, regardless of their political, economic or military potential, to express their views and hopes. Secondly, it enabled the new Members to participate on an equal footing in the adoption of decisions likely to have a decisive impact on world events. More important still, it encouraged the emergence of new common areas of interest and created the conditions for a more just and balanced distribution of power. Lastly, a better and broader knowledge of each other's positions has gradually fostered the awareness among States that co-operation and understanding are the only viable means of maintaining peace.

142. In discharging this primary responsibility of maintaining peace under the Charter the record of the United Nations is not consistent. Although it was unable to set up the machinery of collective security, based on the harmonious collaboration of the great Powers, it can be stated without any doubt whatsoever that, directly or indirectly, it has helped to avert a third world conflagration which would have endangered man's survival. Certainly, on not infrequent occasions it has been powerless to prevent the outbreak of local wars but even so, in many cases, its intervention has served to limit the extent or duration of the conflict. By offering a forum for venting grievances and passions, it has managed, to a significant extent, to ward off situations which in the past would inevitably have led to armed confrontations.

143. The presence of United Nations forces in different areas of the world where serious possibilities of conflict

exist, besides being one of the most instructive examples of what international co-operation can mean, has been and continues to be a vital element for ensuring peace. Once minds were set in the conviction that a nuclear war would entail mutual destruction and the disappearance of every vestige of civilization, the United Nations promoted and welcomed with hope the emergence of a new climate of understanding among the great Powers. Of course, much still remains to be done before the ideal proclaimed at San Francisco of saving "succeeding generations from the scourge of war" is completely fulfilled. The tragic events in the Middle East and the critical situation in southern Africa are a constant reminder of the fact that this effort must be continuous and unflinching.

144. Nevertheless, it is discouraging that spiritual values are still failing to guide the world along a path which would lead to the elimination of hunger, violence and injustice.

145. With the decline of colonialism in its traditional form, the problems of development became one of the key concerns of the system. In response to urgent needs, and to the actual precepts of the Charter whose Preamble includes the pledge "to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples", the United Nations is devoting increasing efforts to this task. A first stage, whose main feature was the identification of the problems and the formulation of the strategy for overcoming them, has slowed down after performing the crucial function of awakening the world's conscience to the problems of development and to their importance for the maintenance of international peace and security.

146. Now, as is clearly evident from the conclusions of the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly, we are well into another stage which ought to be characterized by joint action to achieve a more equitable balance between the developed and the developing countries. It is here that most practical opportunities open up for the so frequently mentioned co-operation between Governments and peoples. It is here that the United Nations can also play a key role in reconciling and concording the legitimate interests and needs of both before the gap dividing them assumes dangerous proportions. It is here, finally, that the real capacity of the Organization to conclude and implement comprehensive agreements reached through a genuine process of negotiation will be put to a severe test.

147. Every success in this endeavour will set a meaningful course that may well promote consultations in other fields, such as disarmament, which continues to require urgent and categorical decisions. Despite the numerous resolutions adopted and the incessant urging of the great majority of countries, the armaments race has assumed steadily growing proportions both in terms of the astronomical budgets allocated to it and of the dangerous and sophisticated nature of the weapons themselves. The United Nations has exerted tremendous efforts, by all the means at its command, to check the pace of the competitive armaments race among the great Powers. Hence, it is the latter which must assume the essential responsibility of devoting greater efforts to achieve agreement on effective disarmament measures, giving priority to nuclear disarmament.

148. The objective of the inescapable negotiation process to be faced and developed in economic relations and disarmament is to devise practical solutions to the global problems now confronting the international community, such as ensuring man's subsistence and guaranteeing his dignity and respect for his essential rights, the production and distribution of food, protection of the environment, the rational and balanced use of resources, population growth, the establishment of a legal régime for the sea, the use of outer space for peaceful purposes and for the benefit of mankind, the application of science and technology to development, trade, and the international monetary system: all these questions must be tackled and solved not by one nation or group of nations, however powerful they may be, but by the whole organized community.

149. This brings us to a matter that attracts increasing attention, namely, interdependence. Only a relatively short time ago this was a topic deserving academic treatment in the same manner as any working hypothesis is analysed. The circumstances that I have previously mentioned have radically changed this state of affairs. Nowadays the interdependence of nations and peoples is a fact allowing of no discussion. What can and must be discussed are the guidelines for achieving it, for determining the community of interests it involves and for reactivating the machinery that would foster better international co-operation while respecting and reconciling the identities of the different countries.

150. Interdependence implies, first of all, recognition of the existence of different cultures, policies, ideologies, and legal and economic structures, it entails above all the obligation not to try to impose any system at the expense of another by force, by coercion or by any other form of outside intervention. Interdependence presupposes the sovereign equality of all States and their right to participate in the adoption of decisions that may affect their interests. Interdependence also means the need to conserve the resources of this planet, in order to guarantee our children and our neighbours' children a world worth living in. Interdependence is also the commitment by all States not to jeopardize unilaterally the biological and natural balance of an ecosystem by actions which might affect other countries.

151. In this connexion I take the liberty of drawing attention to the permanent and effective action taken by various bodies of the United Nations system to ensure compliance with customary and positive norms pertaining to the environment and to improve them on a continuing basis.

152. There is no doubt that the attitude of the permanent members of the Security Council had a categorical impact on the decisions adopted at San Francisco and, ultimately, on the shape that the Organization would take. The same can now be said regarding the vital questions of peace and war. But what is singularly striking is the ever-increasing role being played by all the other countries, large or small, strong or weak, in the shaping of world events. This growing strength which the great majority of States have been acquiring through their active presence on the international scene must be accompanied by a comparable degree of responsibility and maturity because, in the final

analysis, this majority can benefit more from the United Nations in the furtherance of its rightful claims. It is not rash to state that the very existence of the Organization depends on that fact.

153. The recent significant reduction in the tensions between the super-Powers, the crisis of colonialism and its immediate aftermath and the emergence of new independent countries on the international scene are contributing factors which must help to revitalize the United Nations so that, with renewed impetus, it becomes the forge in which the new formulae of understanding are to be moulded or, to use the words of the Charter, so that it serves as a "centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of . . . common ends".

154. This difficult assignment is both urgent and possible. One prerequisite is the conviction that from confrontation no one will gain and all will suffer; that no sector can prosper in isolation, ignoring the legitimate demands of the rest; that, in order to reconcile conflicting interests and secure shared benefits, it is indispensable to act with realism and to make mutual concessions, especially for those better able to grant them.

155. In some cases it is absolutely indispensable to define the feeling of the international community accurately in matters involving the protection of high moral values or principles that are fundamental for nations and peoples. There cannot and must not be any compromise when resolutions of this nature are adopted. Would it in any case be justified to soften the condemnation deserved by *apartheid* and all forms of racial discrimination, with the sole objective of getting the support of a few more countries for a draft resolution? To do so would mean evading a solemn responsibility and distorting the spirit of the Charter.

156. There are areas in which the majorities, and, of course, the minorities, must show greater flexibility and willingness to compromise. I refer to those action-oriented areas in which the success or failure of a decision depends on the general will to carry it out. It cannot be claimed that certain sectors will docilely comply with resolutions of this kind if their opinions have not been sought or duly reflected in the texts prepared.

157. In order to strengthen the role of the United Nations as an instrument of co-operation it is essential to reverse certain trends which militate against its authority, prestige and effectiveness. Without assigning priorities, I shall name some of them in order to emphasize the singular importance of the task: holding consultations and reaching agreements outside the Organization on essential matters such as peace, security and development when the interests of all Member States are at stake; failing to consider certain questions which are strictly within the competence of the United Nations—a salient example of this is the passivity so far shown towards the serious crisis afflicting Lebanon; applying selective and partial criteria, for political purposes that cannot be concealed, in judging actions and omissions with regard to some problems while ignoring similar situations in other countries; substituting procedural expedients of very doubtful legality for strict compliance with the Charter; ignoring the decisions adopted by the

bodies of the system, a large number of which have not begun to be implemented, or obstructing international conferences convened to deal with specific items, by introducing political controversies which can only be analysed and settled by this General Assembly or the Security Council; stressing the importance of problems that are of unquestionable current interest or of real or potential concern to all countries, while allowing sectional interpretations to intervene in the search for solutions.

158. I must pause here to refer, in this context, to a tragic scourge afflicting the whole world, independently of ideologies and economic systems, namely, international terrorism.

159. As a contribution to this Assembly, I wish to refer to our unhappy experience. Impelled by its nihilistic motives and in pursuit of its disruptive objectives, terrorism began to creep into our country through the cracks that the free operation of unwary democracy leaves open. The Argentine Government has therefore had to contend with intense and strongly entrenched terrorist activity. The cruelty with which the terrorists act and the suffering they have inflicted and are inflicting on the country are common knowledge. Personal security and the most elementary human rights are constantly threatened by indiscriminate terrorist action. It is obvious that the ultimate aim of the terrorist groups is to destroy the State and undermine the political institutions. My Government is resolutely and firmly determined to take whatever action the situation may dictate to maintain peace and security.

160. Recently some international forums have been showing a dedicated concern for the exercise of human rights in Argentina. In these forums it is forgotten that the Argentine Republic has a tradition and well-deserved reputation as a country that respects the rights and fundamental freedoms of the human person and that it has been a pioneer in developing the right of asylum. Its population is composed of all those who came from other continents in search of peace and liberty, so necessary for the progress offered them under the system and the political organization of our generous and open land without distinction as to nationality, race or creed. This is the political system which international terrorism is seeking to destroy in Argentina, invoking for the purpose alleged socio-political claims and the enjoyment of human rights.

161. We Argentines know that we live in a land of hope for the world; we know the rights we enjoy and we do not shirk our responsibilities vis-à-vis the just causes of mankind. My Government appeals in this honourable Assembly to the Member countries to take cognizance of the dangers which this scourge of the modern world creates for mankind, of the manifold and complex forms in which it manifests itself and operates in the different regions of the world. We realize that distance may make difficult the understanding of the true state of affairs, particularly when information does not reflect it objectively.

162. In this endeavour, the mass media, which constitute an indivisible part of the international community, and therefore share the responsibility incumbent on all in the effort to create an ever-improving world, are called upon to play a fundamental role in presenting daily events with

sincerity so as to provide the world with a true picture of the problems and of their magnitude and thus help solve them.

163. In his statement to this Assembly a few days ago [7th meeting], the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, suggested that we should undertake a partial study of the matter regarding the taking of hostages for purposes of extortion. While we support this idea, we think it does not fully cover all the complex forms in which international terrorism manifests itself these days. We therefore consider that we should resume the work started by the *Ad Hoc* Committee on International Terrorism established by resolution 3034 (XXVII) of 18 December 1972, and try to reach an understanding of the broad and general context in which terrorism regularly and tragically appears, with a view to deciding, on the basis of consensus, what international action ought to be taken to solve the problem as a whole. We say this with all the deep conviction of people who are suffering its indiscriminate effects and consequences. We therefore cannot but join the Secretary-General in urging that once and for all the United Nations should address itself with determination to finding a solution to the tragic scourge of international terrorism.

164. In addition to its universality aspect, Argentina's foreign policy has pursued, is pursuing and always will unswervingly pursue one mandatory concern, namely, America. One of the essential features of our international policy is the priority we give to America, a priority which is subject to our respect for the principle of national sovereignty. This principle does not involve restrictions, but is on the contrary a clear premise for our firm advance towards continental union.

165. The Argentine Republic pursues this objective consistently, following in a rational manner a geographical and historical plan that obliges it to phase its activities, which extend all the way from intensive trade with the countries sharing its borders to the continuing search for circumstances conducive to strengthening the bilateral and multi-lateral links in the region.

166. We are stout defenders of peace in the continent based on mutual agreement aimed at progress and our contribution to this end is practical and specific. We know we are not alone in this endeavour, that American solidarity is a constantly improving reality and that the day is not far off when our geographical continuity will reflect an outlook based on liberty, democracy and human and community development.

167. I also wish to reiterate, in this forum, my country's renewed commitment to the objectives of co-operation and physical integration on which the joint programme of the Río de la Plata basin has been and continues to be based. In this region, defined as such for its dependence on one hydrographic basin which is possibly one of the world's richest, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Argentina continue to develop joint projects and enterprises both in the field of hydroelectrical power and in the planning of bridges, thoroughfares, roads and communications networks, thus strengthening the links forged by the geography they share.

168. Although differing opinion still exists as regards the best utilization of the resources shared by the region, we are convinced that a new spirit of co-operation will soon emerge for the purpose of carrying out all the scheduled projects on an equitable and rational basis. To that end my Government will take all the necessary steps to clear the way in the assurance that all the other nations of the basin will show a similar will for joint action. Our country has assigned special priority in its foreign policy to the integrated and joint development by all the countries of the Río de la Plata basin and believes that co-operation in the region can develop on such a scale and acquire such a degree of exemplary effectiveness that its impact will spread to other areas of the world.

169. With this knowledge and in the conviction that the water problems confronting my country today are of a universal nature, it is opportune that Argentina should have offered to be the venue of the United Nations Water Conference to be held at Mar del Plata in March 1977, in respect of which our Government has already committed itself. In this connexion, I wish to extend to all the countries and organizations here present the warmest of welcomes to Argentina. I am sure that this first international meeting on one of the world's most important resources will enable us to sharpen our critical awareness and at the same time nurture our hopes regarding the possibilities of international co-operation.

170. The thoughts which I have had the privilege of expressing are motivated by the fervent desire to make a constructive contribution to the progress of our Organization.

171. The Argentine Government wishes thus to affirm its deep-rooted faith in the United Nations, because it is completely convinced that this Organization is man's most consummate effort to build a future of peace and concord; because, with its long list of successes and mistakes, it is still the only effective means of establishing civilized norms for the coexistence of peoples; because, in it and thanks to it, Argentina has been able to extend its friendly relations to all countries of the world on a basis of mutual respect, thus fulfilling one of the basic precepts underlying its foreign policy; and, finally, because the triumph of the ideals that inspired its creation, with which we fully identify ourselves, is not just an option but a most categorical necessity if reason is to prevail over force, understanding over confrontation, and co-operation over selfishness.

172. Mr. CARVAJAL (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Chile's first words in this thirty-first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations are to congratulate Mr. Amerasinghe upon his election to the presidency of the General Assembly.

173. We welcome the new Member of the United Nations, the Republic of Seychelles, a country with which Chile has just established diplomatic relations.

174. Once again we express the hope that within this Organization, the appropriate machinery may be found to satisfy the just aspirations for peace, security, freedom and well-being which mankind demands with ever-increasing

urgency. For a considerable time the eyes of the world will be on this General Assembly. The world is right in asking the Organization for an encouraging response that will make it possible to dispel tension or, at least, for indications that serious efforts are being made to find such a response. If the dialogue we are initiating is to be positive, it requires, first of all, that we be true to ourselves and to the mandate conferred upon us by our peoples. It also requires respect for the personality, dignity, independence and ways of thinking of each Member State, without distinction either in deed or in thought for the greater or lesser ability they may have to influence world affairs.

175. Criticism of the United Nations is frequently heard, and there are those who openly suggest to their Governments that they cut down on their participation or that they simply withdraw from it for the reasons I have just outlined. We share in the criticism but we flatly reject the idea that the remedy for the shortcomings of our Organization is to deprive it of the very co-operation it now needs more than ever. Chile has always rendered and will continue to render its fullest collaboration to the United Nations and to each and every one of its subsidiary bodies.

176. Despite the injustice of so many words and resolutions, we have shown in the delicate and important matter of human rights that our intention to co-operate is sound and permanent. In this connexion, I wish to remind this audience that last year my Government took the initiative of proposing the establishment of the essential legal norms necessary for a sovereign country to co-operate with the investigative bodies of the United Nations.<sup>21</sup> These norms must acknowledge, on the one hand, the terms of reference of the mandate of the international organizations, and on the other, the need to respect the inherent rights of the sovereign State. We are not prepared to see all the rights to which we are entitled as a free State Member of this Organization diminished or misjudged. We believe that when any country is treated in a discriminatory manner, its dignity and its intrinsic quality as a sovereign State are jeopardized since the principle of juridical equality of States is not being respected.

177. Since the end of the Second World War, we have gone through, successively, periods of cold war and peaceful coexistence and, today, are going through what is known as a time of détente. Chile, like other nations, has had to develop its relationships with the international community under the aforementioned circumstances. We fully agree with those who acknowledge the success of détente in maintaining international peace by avoiding the use of nuclear force which would lead to collective suicide. Détente has made the threat of a world war very remote, but at the same time it has been noted that, in practice, one of the great Powers has not respected the essential principle of détente; on the contrary, this Power has used and intends to continue using the results of détente as a means of furthering its expansionist policies. With its habitual immorality, the Soviet Union does not hesitate to brand as enemies of peace all those who denounce its attitudes or try to curb its continued imperialistic and political expansionism and its aim of world domination. As Alexander

Solzhenitsyn said during a television interview in Great Britain:

“Détente is necessary but with hands open; proof must be given that the hands do not hold stones. But your associates, those with whom you pursue a policy of détente, do have stones in their hands, stones so heavy that they could kill you with a single blow. Détente then becomes self-delusion. It is as simple as that.”

178. We repeat from this podium that even though it is true that global confrontation has been rendered remote, such an absence of conflict is applicable only in connexion with the prevention of a world war. Soviet communism still practises expansionist aggression, aided by its ideological penetration, and seeks to gain geo-strategic positions everywhere in the world where good faith or the weakness of free countries have permitted or tolerated it. Even though Soviet penetration takes on a variety of forms to adapt itself to the different political and geographical situations, it does have one common characteristic everywhere: first of all, it uses any doctrine, opinion or attitude expressing the belief that the present Christian, western society is sinking into fatal or inexorable decadence. By every means available, it attacks religion, the family, free political systems and the virtues that have made possible the development of civilization. On the pretext of defending social justice and equality, it sets itself up as an alternative to an unfair and imperfect world. To achieve its purposes, it spares no effort to create, often successfully, a feeling that there is no danger, by dint of repeating that its intentions are honest. Thus, it strives to convince others that it will fully respect liberal democracies and the foundations of the nationality of the countries where it offers itself as an alternative.

179. We have had very painful experience in that connexion, and Chile will never forget that Chilean communism, subservient to Soviet communism, disguised itself in democratic trappings and even went so far as to accept and promulgate an Act of constitutional guarantees—a commitment which its leaders subsequently publicly declared had been only a stratagem to enable them to come to power and which they never honoured nor ever intended to honour.

180. In its efforts to come to power in free countries, Soviet communism establishes as a fundamental principle the class struggle, and through it makes hate its most powerful weapon for its work inside the countries. It tries to prevent and undermine the prestige of any attempted action aimed at solidarity among the various sectors that constitute the national whole, so as to keep them from uniting and to prepare the stage for the later development of violence, subversion, terrorism and armed aggression. While countries strive to achieve a certain degree of stability so that they can tackle their own problems, Soviet communism continues to seek the internal disruption of nations by encouraging any and all extremist association.

181. In his recent annual message to the country the President of the Republic of Chile, General Augusto Pinochet, stated that communism, in its efforts to control countries from within, uses two tactics simultaneously:

“On the one hand it infiltrates centres that are vital to free societies such as universities and intellectual circles,

<sup>21</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 73, document A/10404, para. 9.

mass communication media, unions, trade unions, international organizations and even, as we have seen in Chile, church circles. On the other hand, it promotes disorder in all its forms: material disorder through street demonstrations; economic disorder with demagogic and inflationary pressures; social disorder, with permanent strikes; moral disorder by promoting the use of drugs, pornography and the destruction of the family; and spiritual disorder, with systematic class hatreds. Finally, in an aberrant synthesis, terrorism appears and becomes rife, a terrorism which seems to have returned civilized nations to more primitive times of human history."

182. The final stage of the Soviet strategy is open intervention through the sending of weapons and even men for the purpose of attaining by force the success denied to the stages I described. We strongly denounce the failure of Soviet communism to abide by the principle of non-intervention; that failure is a threat to peace among nations and the major enemy of permanent and fruitful détente. This violation has become manifest, as we have pointed out, not only through open intervention but also and much more frequently by helping to create critical conditions as a result of support in the form of both ideology and arms given to terrorist and extremist groups. This contemporary form of intervention in the internal policy of most of the countries of the world must be cogently condemned by the international community.

183. We state this because we continue to be the victims of the Soviet Union's intervention in our own national political life. Indeed, their radio broadcasting stations continue to broadcast daily and for many hours, on 45 different frequencies and in the Spanish language, programmes intended to bring about internal subversion and the overthrow of the Chilean Government. If, to the intervention which we have just described and frequently denounced in the United Nations, we add the fact that we have found and continue to find thousands of arms manufactured in the Soviet Union in the hands of Chilean terrorist organizations, then we have the full picture of an obviously illegitimate and undeniable intervention. Solzhenitsyn in anguished words has said:

"My words of caution, the words of caution of others, the very serious warnings addressed by Sakharov directly from the Soviet Union, all continue to go unheeded. Most of them fall on deaf ears, the ears of those who do not wish to hear them. I did once nurture the hope that life's experiences could be transmitted from one nation to another as from one person to another. I now begin to doubt this. Perhaps each of us is fated to live each experience by himself, if he is to understand."

184. Chile feels duty-bound to denounce the rapid advance of violence and terrorism in many areas of the world. It is harrowing to see how terrorists continue to kidnap and kill, sometimes with complete impunity and even the plaudits of some sectors. It is even more dismaying to note, when the decision has been taken to punish their criminal acts, the emergence of pseudo-humanitarian associations and front organizations for Soviet communism, groups which never give a thought to the innocent victims of terrorism. Their action hampers the formulation of the criteria needed if this scourge is to be eradicated in our

time. Abstract condemnations of terrorism and violence are generally accepted without difficulty; but the creation of legal mechanisms to prevent, sanction and uproot them is postponed, as are the mechanisms to help their thousands of victims. It would seem we are living in a time of paradoxes, when the attention of the majority is drawn to the rights of criminals, and oblivion, all too often and suspiciously, is the fate reserved for the irreparable damage to thousands of victims who get not so much as one word of consolation.

185. We concur with other States Members of this Organization on the urgent need to create, during this session, adequate and timely systems aimed at preventing terrorism and violence, to punish those who are intellectually or materially responsible for their actions and to set up our exemplary system to discourage all future efforts in that area. Consequently, the Chilean delegation will co-sponsor a draft resolution to be submitted by the Federal Republic of Germany, calling for international action against the taking of hostages, a heinous and inhuman practice which we condemn, irrespective of the ends it may pursue.

186. Chile, confronted with the political phenomena we have described, wishes to restate its firm intention to build a democracy in keeping with its historical tradition and the libertarian spirit of its people; but it wishes also to give the institutions it will create the legal means to ensure their protection and reinforcement. To those who impatiently ask when Chile will fully restore its traditional democratic patterns, we ask that they remember ancient and modern history. More than 23 centuries ago, Socrates observed that governmental systems ran in cycles: absolute monarchy or one-man rule is followed by oligarchy, or the rule by the few, which in turn opens the way for democracy or rule by the many; that, with the passage of time, can deteriorate and degenerate into demagoguery or tyranny of the masses, which leads to chaos. If the nation can conserve its latent energy, an authoritarian government must necessarily emerge to reorganize the State, after which the cycle starts all over again. Is it not true that in modern history European nations have followed the pattern of the Socrates cycle? In the face of new threats and infiltrations, democracies must renew themselves to survive.

187. In Chile, a stable republic was organized in 1831 and lasted 140 years, until in 1970 Marxist demagoguery took over and in less than three years ruined the country. The present Government has restored order and the economy and is now enacting chapters of the new Constitution based on the purest democratic ideals, but including provisions which will act as built-in safeguards to avert any relapse into demagogic chaos. For this purpose it has included in the provisions of article 11 of the Act on Constitutional Rights and Duties the following:

"Any act committed by a person or group of persons for the purpose of disseminating doctrines which attack the family, which advocate violence or a conception of society based on class struggle, or which run counter to the legally established régime or the integrity or functioning of the law, is illegal and contrary to the institutional life of the Republic."

188. The President of the Republic, when enacting the new constitutional laws on 11 September of this year, took special care to point out the meaning of this new international framework, for it is of special importance to the courts of justice which must interpret the law. He said:

"Chile gives itself the structure of a democracy with the participation of the community and endowed with the mechanisms to guarantee its protection and reinforcement. The constitutional ratification of these concepts simplifies the understanding of national security and development as elements that make up the common well-being and are, in the final analysis, subordinated to it."

Then, lest there be any doubt concerning the political structure we are building in Chile, the President added:

"The very existence of the State, as well as its development and growth within the framework of a humanistic philosophy rooted in Christianity, must always be understood as being at the service of each and every one of the human beings making up the nation."

To put an end once and for all to the equivocal interpretations that the word "nationalism" might lend itself to, and to prevent deviations absolutely alien to our traditions and culture, the President gave a solemn warning in his annual message on the state of the country, saying:

"As for those who, on the pretext of giving the Government their support, use the term "nationalism" to favour styles or doctrines of an unmistakably Fascist stamp, they must know that this Government categorically rejects them and disowns them."

189. The Government of Chile has given clear examples of its decidedly pacifist vocation in its relations with other countries and in its national affairs. In foreign relations, one of its main objectives is to strengthen its present links of close friendship with bordering countries, while at the same time endeavouring to create better economic and political ties with all Latin American countries with which we have strong and centuries-old moral, ideological, political and economic features in common.

190. Clear evidence of the conciliatory and collaborative attitude of Chile is the resumption of diplomatic relations with Bolivia after a 12-year suspension, and the fact that we have initiated negotiations on mutually agreed and public bases with this sister nation, with a view to finding a permanent solution to the problem posed by Bolivia's wish to have a sovereign outlet to the Pacific Ocean.

191. The Chilean Government offered its country as the venue for the sixth session, held last June, of the General Assembly of the Organization of American States, which is a regional organization of utmost importance to the hemisphere. It gives us special satisfaction to have seen that Assembly achieve positive results in important matters such as the general, not selective, analysis of respect for human rights in all the States in the hemisphere, and the acknowledgement of a priority which must be given to inter-American co-operation for development. That Assembly welcomed and analysed the joint statement of the

Governments of Panama and the United States of America concerning the future of the interoceanic canal; we are happy to see that progress has been made in this matter, for such a waterway is important to maritime traffic, especially for countries on the south-west coast of the American continent.

192. We take special pleasure in stressing the very high level of sincerity and cordiality of the debates held at that session, and the very ample coverage given to them by all the communications media in Chile mainly, but also abroad. The opinion of distinguished representatives and statesmen of a number of Latin American countries, who had participated in the work of the Assembly I have spoken of, confirmed that the artificial image of my country created abroad in no way coincides with the realities of its internal affairs. May I stress here that the warm and sometimes massive welcome given by the Chilean people to such distinguished visitors without exception only confirms the deep ties of brotherhood existing between the peoples of the Americas.

193. In domestic political matters, Chile's pacifist vocation is evidenced in the search for national reconciliation in its generous policy of giving freedom to detainees and the granting of pardons. All these policies are devoted to the final purpose of creating an atmosphere of harmony and national unity which will, for all time if possible, banish hate and violence from the country.

194. In institutional matters, a committee of distinguished jurists and university professors from every democratic school of thought is drawing up, in absolute freedom, the bases for a new institutional framework. This work is now reflected in the drafting of the Constitutional Acts. The first one created the Council of State whose members are men representing all walks of Chilean life, including academics, workers and youth. This Council of State is headed by an ex-President of the Republic, Jorge Alessandri; this fact, and the personal prestige of the members, gives a moral backing to the act that goes well beyond the text that created it and is a genuine manifestation of national feeling. On 11 September of this year, Constitutional Acts 2, 3 and 4 were enacted. They all relate to the essential foundations of Chilean institutions, constitutional rights and duties and emergency powers. They are all the result of a thorough and detailed study that has taken account of existing legislation, international agreements, the Chilean experience and the opinions of our specialized sectors in their respective fields. Of the many provisions, which in a modern and forward-looking way guarantee respect for human rights and the foundations of our State. I wish to single out only the recognition, at the constitutional level, of equal rights for men and women; the official proclamation of the family as the nucleus of society; the acknowledgement of the legal existence and autonomy of intermediate bodies between the individual and the State in accordance with the principle of "subsidiariness".

195. The Government of Chile understands that its first duty lies in the quest for a constant balance between economic development and social progress, for the former is no more than a means to obtain the latter. Consequently, this year it will budget approximately \$1 billion worth of direct social expenditures. The President of the Republic



has emphasized that plans for food, health, low-income housing, basic and pre-basic education are the main items towards which the redistribution of social assistance is directed, in conformity with the moral principle that the action of a State should defend the weakest and the neglected, and that this action is the most valuable work of national integration a government may undertake.

196. The same humanitarian inspiration guiding Chile in its domestic problems presides over its view of the many problems of human beings in our time.

197. The Soviet attitude at the world level, denounced by Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Sakharov, Andrei Amalrik and Lieutenant Viktor Belenko, makes it difficult for the bodies of the international community to concern themselves, devoting the necessary time, priorities and peace of mind, with the real and pressing problems of mankind such as food shortages, depletion of natural resources, the injustices in the international economic system, living conditions on our planet, the promise of the world's seas and so many others. These are the true problems besetting modern man and the challenges that must be met by an organized international community.

198. We cannot fail to note this paralysing and disorienting effect of Soviet communism, its lack of respect for the rights and duties enshrined in the Charter and, especially, its repeated violations of the principle of non-intervention in all continents, all of which have created a series of problems that prevent mankind from meeting its vital needs and have forced it to postpone the adoption of measures to solve these problems. The question of détente cannot be mentioned unless ideological détente is mentioned at the same time.

199. As we said at the beginning of our address, the human being continues to seek, and expects from this General Assembly real progress towards peace, security, freedom and well-being. Chile here declares its unfailing commitment to fight for these objectives in its internal life and lend its co-operation to the work of our Organization for the same noble ideals.

200. Mr. CHISSANO (Mozambique): Before I start my statement on the agenda items I should like to pay once more the homage of my country to the memory of the great leader of the Chinese people whose thoughts inspired the revolutions of many peoples in the world, Chairman Mao Tsetung. Since the President of my country had the opportunity to send a message to the Chinese people expressing the feelings and gratitude of the Mozambican people for the role played by China and by Mao Tsetung in our struggle for liberation, I will simply reassure the Chinese delegation of the heartfelt sincerity of that message and of our continued revolutionary co-operation.

201. The items on our agenda are of such great importance that it is tempting to address oneself to all of them. But since such an exercise is practically impossible, I shall confine my remarks to some of those items which my delegation believes require foremost attention. On the problem of disarmament it is lamentable that, in spite of the repeated recognition in this General Assembly as in the other international forums of the danger of the arms race

and the stockpiling of armaments, particularly nuclear armaments, a solution capable of bringing tranquillity to humanity has not yet been reached. On the contrary, we witness a deliberate resistance by the imperialist countries to the effective creation of denuclearized zones. Here I wish to refer to the countries that continue to support South Africa in the creation of its nuclear force.

202. My delegation would like to reiterate its support for the political declaration of the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries [A/31/197, annex I], calling for the convening of an extraordinary session of the General Assembly of the United Nations to examine the problem of disarmament, to promote and elaborate a programme of priorities and recommendations and to study the question of the convening of a world conference on disarmament.

203. The international economic system that was established after the Second World War brought unprecedented expansion and prosperity to the developed countries. Since the Second World War the world has seen not only an enormous capacity of production but also a tremendous consumption capacity in the developed countries. At the same time the position of the developing countries has invariably deteriorated.

204. The struggle by developing countries to establish a more just international economic order does not require any further explanation for it emerges within a situation that can only be classified as relations of exploitation of the developing countries by the capitalist Powers. We are convinced that the new economic order has to be viewed in its proper perspective, namely the effective struggle against the unscrupulous exploitative and oppressive practices of transnational corporations and in the general struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism.

205. Within this context, developing countries have fought and are still fighting in order to bring about new relations in the following fields: first, the price of raw materials produced by them, which in great part end up in the factories of the developed countries. The foreign exchange earnings of the developing countries depend basically on their exports of raw materials and primary commodities. The relative improvement of the level of prices of some of these commodities, oil for example, in 1973/74, which was short-lived, did not at all compensate for the deterioration in the terms of trade which characterized the post-war period. The decline in their real value is continuing and is today assuming disquieting proportions as a result of the staggering rise in the prices of manufactured goods, food-stuffs, capital goods and services imported by developing countries. This situation is seriously affecting the efficacy of their efforts and puts a brake on their development.

206. Secondly, improvement of the conditions for the access of goods produced by developing countries to the markets controlled almost entirely by developed countries. Despite the continuing assurance by some of the developed countries that they would relax and eliminate trade barriers for the products of developing countries, progress so far has not been satisfactory. However, it should be noted that the agreements concluded between some devel-

oped countries and developing countries constitute a hopeful sign in this field of access to markets. The generalized system of preferences, though a useful scheme of trade liberalization, needs substantial improvement. Its limited coverage, particularly in respect of products of export interest to developing countries, and especially the least developed countries, and its temporary nature are a matter of major concern. Progress in the multilateral trade negotiations has been slow and its focus has been narrow. Furthermore, with the exception of a few forward-looking developed countries, there has been no genuine attempt on the part of the developed countries to reorganize and reform the existing inequitable and unbalanced world trade system to conform to the urgent development requirements and priorities of the developing countries.

207. Thirdly, new terms for negotiations on their external debts (many millions of dollars of foreign debts for developing countries). There has been a phenomenal rise in the deficit of the balance of payments of developing countries, which increased from about \$12.2 billion in 1973 to \$33.5 billion in 1974 and to over \$40 billion in 1975. Some estimates indicate that this figure could reach \$112 billion by 1980 given the present trends. This unprecedented situation is not the product of conjunctural factors, but the reflection of the structural crisis that characterizes present economic relations, which stem from the colonial and neo-colonial policy of imperialism. As a result, most developing countries have over the years depleted their reserves and accumulated large external debts, a good portion of which entails heavy interest and amortization obligations. It has been estimated that the external indebtedness of these countries, which was over \$100 billion in 1973, will be double that amount by the end of 1976.

208. The continuing diversion of qualified manpower and of material and financial resources from peaceful economic and social purposes to an unproductive and wasteful arms race not only widens the current economic gap between developed and developing countries but also frustrates the purposes and objectives of the Second United Nations Development Decade, which envisaged a transfer of substantial resources from the developed countries to the developing countries as a consequence of reduced armament. The flow of financial resources to the developing countries amounted to only about \$20 billion in 1975, in contrast to the expenditure on armaments, which has now reached \$300 billion per annum. We believe that many of the development requirements of the developing countries could be met if a substantial part of the resources released by disarmament measures of the world's main military powers could be used to promote the economic development of developing countries.

209. Fourthly, in industry and transfer of technology, it is unquestionable that industrialization represents a dynamic instrument for the social and economic progress of the developing countries. We believe that it is also linked to the promotion and expansion of trade, not only amongst developing countries but also with the developed countries. The redeployment of appropriate industries necessary for economic development should be expedited. We believe that the monopolizing of technology processes by the developed countries has led to several unsatisfactory fea-

tures which call for immediate substantive and institutional remedial action if transfer of technology is to be effected in order to achieve the targets set for the developing countries in the Lima and Manila Declarations.

210. Under these circumstances, the new economic order will not become a reality until the developing countries reach economic independence, breaking with their traditional role as producers of raw materials and buyers of manufactured goods. With this in mind, it is indispensable to direct the common efforts of the countries of the large United Nations family to establish the heavy industry in the developing countries.

211. It becomes imperative for the international community to understand that only a radical transformation of production relations can end the exploitation of many by man, a requisite condition for true economic independence. The establishment of a new economic order must be based on the sovereign equality of all the countries in the world.

212. Reiterating our support and commitment to the decisions taken at the Colombo Conference, we urge the States Members of the United Nations to support the declaration and other decisions of that summit on this issue [see A/31/197].

213. Here I would like to relate the question of the new economic order to our own experience in the struggle to achieve economic independence. We want the development of our country to be integrated in the context of the achievement of equitable world socio-economic relations aimed at the promotion of the well-being of mankind in both developing and developed countries.

214. The eighth session of the Central Committee of the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique [*FRELIMO*] decided to undertake a generalized political and organizational offensive in the field of production. The development of this offensive campaign will permit us to consolidate our independence and continue forward on the road to national reconstruction. To this end we must reconvert our economy, eliminating the relations of dependency on the minority régimes of Rhodesia and South Africa, the results of colonialism. This will permit the consolidation of our independence and the truly independent choice of the road to follow for the effective utilization and development of the human material potential of our country.

215. The People's Republic of Mozambique has made significant efforts in this direction, especially through the creation of communal villages, a strategy for the development of productive forces in the agricultural sector as a basis for creating the necessary conditions for promoting industries. However, for the development of the emerging industry which was beginning to take shape in Mozambique, we have encountered difficulties in the international markets to which colonialism had linked the economy of our country; that link today impedes in one way or another our access to economic independence, designed in this way to keep us forever in thrall to the most aggressively imperialistic circles.

216. Our efforts in Mozambique are the target of economic sabotage by the administrations of private enterprise

with interests in our country, threatening the destruction of the few means of production that we have. We encounter obstacles to the measures taken, since most of the time the big capitalist companies refuse to furnish us with the products that we need for our industry, invoking fallacious pretexts designed to impose on us an economic system serving their interests, and not those of our people.

217. Nevertheless, basing our efforts on the principle of self-reliance, we have been able to maintain the productive process through the participation of the workers and of the administrative commissions named by the Government in a democratic search for the conditions needed to improve productivity. We believe that we will succeed in solving these problems because today we rely on a growing number of friendly countries, among them the socialist countries with which we have agreed to co-operate on the basis of mutual help and progress, within the just principles advocated by the non-aligned countries and the Group of 77.

218. The People's Republic of Mozambique believes in the effectiveness of co-operation among the developing countries, based on individual and collective self-reliance, and invites the developed countries to support such efforts. The People's Republic of Mozambique does not see this as any kind of confrontation. The imperialist countries must not try to justify their customary sabotage of the efforts of the developing countries by interpreting our attempt to achieve economic independence and the necessary equilibrium in our relations as a declaration of war or as a confrontation.

219. If we wish to reach in harmony recognized objectives of international economic co-operation, the more technically and economically developed countries should refrain from threatening the developing countries. On the contrary, developed countries should realize that the existing economic system is based on injustice to the developing countries. Those responsible for this injustice would gain dignity and respect if they recognized this reality and helped change it.

220. In so far as Mozambique is concerned, we think that it is the obligation of the United Nations as well as of its individual Member States to help in the consolidation of our independence. The role that they performed in the conquest of independence of the People's Republic of Mozambique, obligates them to support our national reconstruction on the premise that it will lead to the prosperity of this country. This means that the Nations of this Organization are constrained to assist in the transformation of something that formerly horrified them, giving rise to their behaviour in the colonial period, a process designed expressly to transform ignorance, hunger, misery, unemployment, sickness and, finally, alarming economic and technical backwardness, into social, economic, technical and technological progress capable of bringing Mozambique closer to equality with the developed countries.

221. In the last few years several sessions of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea have taken place under the capable direction of Mr. Amerasinghe. We are confident that the new convention on this subject will not discriminate against any State or group of States. The exploration and exploitation of the depths of

the sea, the common patrimony of humanity, must benefit the international community, and we continue to believe that the Conference will find a way to prevent the granting of privileges in a discriminatory manner to States on the basis of their degree of economic development or of their socio-political system.

222. An international authority reflecting the predominant tendency in the world today will prevent the monopolization of the sea-bed area by the big capitalist companies and thus take part in the fight against the plunder of the natural resources of the globe by a privileged minority.

223. We support the efforts made in trying to reach solutions by consensus, which will make it possible to arrive at a workable convention accepted by a significant majority of States, and which will also contribute to the guarantee of international peace and security. In this context, effective mechanisms must be created against those who intend to profit from their present advantage in technology and know-how to launch still another attempt at colonization based on the law of the stronger.

224. Let me now turn to the liberation of southern Africa, which is the fundamental task today. With the defeat of Portuguese colonialism, a new phase began in the arduous fight of the African people for independence and the end of oppression. The fight developed by the people of the former Portuguese colonies constituted an example and a victory for other peoples still under colonial domination. The victorious peoples of the new countries, tempered as they were by the experiences of their own struggle, were very conscious of the fact that their liberation would not be complete as long as there were countries dominated by racist minority régimes.

225. At this moment, our attention is focused on the situation in southern Africa. With the victory of the people of the former Portuguese colonies, the last bastions of colonialism felt themselves threatened. The victories in Angola and Mozambique, together with the actions of support in the United Republic of Tanzania, in Zambia, Botswana and all over Africa, facilitated the escalation of the struggle for the liberation of southern Africa. The development of action by the movements of liberation in the struggle against the common enemy, whose presence constitutes a permanent threat to our independence and to the normal development of our countries, marks an unequivocal and irreversible trend towards the liquidation of colonialism in Africa.

226. The international support of friendly countries contributed to the victory of our people. We do not forget this help, just as we shall make any sacrifice to help unconditionally the peoples struggling for their freedom.

227. Our fight developed and is developing through co-ordination of action, in the unity of the African countries. We know very well that the secret of victory is in the unity and co-ordination of efforts of all the liberation movements and other forces genuinely interested in independence. It is through this well-defined unity that it will be possible to isolate and denounce all opportunist and puppet forces that pretend to accept situations of compromise with imperialism.

228. Victory is inevitable because unity has been reached on objectives. But we still have to reinforce this unity in order to constitute one solid force in a position to confront in all domains the desperate and last-minute manoeuvres engaged in by imperialism in an attempt to perpetuate its domination in Africa. In this unity there is not only an important role for the countries that are directly engaged in the fight, but also for the international community as a whole. Through our collective unequivocal action, we could make an important contribution to the struggle for national liberation.

229. The international community will have to be vigilant against attempts by the racist forces to divide the liberation movement, creating puppet movements or régimes that objectively could not do more than serve the interests of the minorities against which we are fighting. The denunciation and the non-recognition of the puppet forces is a real contribution to the liberation struggle in Africa today. Our objectives are clear: real independence, in which power belongs to the people. Our fight will be over only after these objectives are realized. And we must challenge any and all attempts intended to divert us from these objectives.

230. The situation in southern Africa is characterized by the development and intensification of the armed struggle for liberation throughout the area. The armed struggle is therefore a reality that cannot be ignored. Faced with the impossibility of achieving independence on the basis of majority rule through peaceful solutions, the liberation movements took up arms with definite objectives concerning which they would make no concessions.

231. The successes of the freedom fighters of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa are growing daily: they are encircling the racist forces and isolating the international forces that support the minority régimes of Smith and Vorster. The progress of the liberation struggle through the intensification of military action and the co-ordinated international action of solidarity in support of the struggle, including the intensification of sanctions against Rhodesia, has led to the deterioration of the situation at all levels. This in turn has brought about increasingly unfavourable conditions for imperialism, forcing it to reconsider its position. Objectively, at the present moment, imperialism is recognizing the inevitability of the defeat of the minority régimes in southern Africa. Thus it is quite clear that any solution that is found is the result of the armed struggle, of its intensification and of its successes. Each and every negotiated solution will have to be based on the conditions advanced by the authentic representatives of the people in the struggle.

232. In Zimbabwe, the struggle has been intensified in the last year. The intensification of military action, as well as the active solidarity of various African States, have placed Ian Smith's régime in an unsustainable position. The development of diplomatic and military action, and the condemnation and opposition by the overwhelming majority of the international community of the minority régime, have become so intense that by now it is clear to all that the days of the Smith régime are numbered and that soon the complete victory of the African freedom fighters will be a reality. Refusing to accept the principle of majority rule, trying to face a situation that was each time more

precarious, the Smith régime began to develop a desperate fight against the nationalist forces, increasing its military power in a vain attempt to stop the struggle. Smith even pretended to move to the offensive, trying to expand the conflict to the free States of southern Africa through provocation and through the escalation of violence.

233. In relation to Mozambique, this conduct has been sufficiently demonstrated through the constant aggressions against our territory and through the systematic violations of our frontiers with the object of spreading death among unprotected populations. No week goes by without a violation of our land or air space by the racist forces. These actions have forced us to be in a state of constant vigilance, for the enemy's actions constitute a breach of the peace in our country and a violation of our sovereignty, and indeed pose a threat to peace and security in the area.

234. This is the way it was at Mapai. In an action that involved the use of varied military equipment, reactionary forces invaded our territory, destroying non-military targets, murdering dozens of unprotected Mozambicans. This is also the way it was at Nyazonia, a camp of Zimbabwean refugees under the auspices of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. In an action that went on for several hours, the Rhodesian racists murdered in cold blood 675 Zimbabwean refugees—men, women and children. The brutality of the action has been clearly described by the representative of the High Commissioner for Refugees in Mozambique who visited that place.

235. We cannot but express our shock when certain countries choose to confine their preoccupation to victims of air terrorism or terrorist acts practised by small groups while ignoring completely the terrorism practised in southern Africa by the racist minority régimes. We have heard here only of 270 victims of terrorist acts perpetrated since the last time we met here. What about the 675 Zimbabwean refugees murdered at Nyazonia by the terrorists of the Smith régime? Or the Mozambican victims massacred at Mapai? And why the silence on the thousands of youths brutally murdered at Soweto and many other places in South Africa by racist troops? Was it merely an error of mathematical calculation or are we to understand that the lives of these thousands of human beings, victims of terrorism, have not the same value as the lives of those 270 people who were mentioned the other day as the only victims of acts of terrorism?

236. I would like to make it clear that the People's Republic of Mozambique by no means condones any form of terrorism. I have mentioned the above example simply to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the situation of terror prevailing in southern Africa.

237. Faced with these examples, the international community that supported our struggle against Portuguese colonialism cannot remain indifferent. It is clear that the continued existence of the minority régime in Zimbabwe embodies the perpetuation of colonialism with all its attendant evils, including systematic massacres of Zimbabweans. At the same time it constitutes a permanent menace to the territorial integrity and independence of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

238. It is therefore not enough to condemn the racist and illegal régime of Ian Smith. It is imperative to take concrete action to put an end to this anomalous situation. In this connexion we are confident that the international community will offer greater support to the fighters for freedom, whose inevitable victory is recognized by us all.

239. As a result of the relentless struggle engaged on the battle-field by the freedom fighters, the Smith régime has finally accepted the principle of majority rule. At this juncture I should like to note the significant efforts of the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Kissinger, in trying to persuade Ian Smith to recognize reality. This acceptance, in itself, could constitute a positive factor in the evolution of the struggle in Zimbabwe and in future steps towards complete victory. But what kind of an acceptance is this? We should like to see it put into practice. At the same time, it is necessary to state here very clearly to Smith and to his allies that the problem of Zimbabwe has nothing to do with the interests of this or that foreign Power. Majority government means precisely that it will be up to the people of Zimbabwe to decide on their destiny with no external interference.

240. The objective of the freedom fighters is to bring about a majority rule that will permit the creation of a just political, economic and social order, in which everyone will have the same rights. The question is how to achieve this majority rule. We submit that only the position of the liberation movement, the real defenders of the interests of the people of Zimbabwe, should prevail.

241. A lot has been said lately about minorities, about "guarantee of the minority's interests" and about "indemnification" to be made to the white minority. This is an attempt to elude the real core of the problem, to falsify the objectives of the struggle, and to introduce the spectre of a struggle between races in an attempt to confuse the definition of the real enemy against whom the freedom fighters have been struggling. The problem of Zimbabwe, as we have said, is that of the establishment of a just order, in which there will be no place for privileged minorities. The problem would be correctly approached if, instead of excessive preoccupation with the so-called guarantees of minority rights, the international community were to concern itself with the needs of Zimbabwe in its task of national reconstruction after the victory of the forces of freedom.

242. It is interesting to note how easy it has been for the Western world to accept the proposed creation of a fund worth \$1.5 billion for indemnification of the white minority, whereas it is still impossible to obtain even a necessary minimum to compensate the countries that decided to apply sanctions in support of the just cause of Zimbabwe's majority. In this connexion it is pertinent to recollect that Zambia's losses, incurred through its application of mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia, were to the tune of \$500 million, while those of Mozambique approximated \$300 million. We are not against assistance being given to the colonialists who decide to quit independent Zimbabwe, where they could be not useful anyway. But we want to point out the contrast that exists not only in the figures but also in the interest and readiness shown in the two cases.

243. In order to promote the immediate solution of Zimbabwe's problem, the People's Republic of Mozambique supports the convening by the United Kingdom of a constitutional conference outside Rhodesia, with the participation of the authentic representatives of the nationalist forces. For us, the United Kingdom is the colonial Power in Rhodesia and for this reason it has to assume full responsibility in the solution of the problem. It will be up to this constitutional conference to establish the process of transfer of power as well as to decide on the question of a cease-fire. And it is our firm opinion that the transitional government must be a majority government, with real power, in order to guarantee the nationalists effective exercise of power.

244. We would like to state categorically that there is no question of lifting sanctions until the constitutional conference has produced results considered satisfactory by the freedom fighters. Similarly, until these objectives are attained we will continue to support unconditionally the armed struggle.

245. My Government once again salutes the Secretary-General for his efforts in searching for solutions of this problem and for his active role and that of the team appointed by him and led by the Assistant Secretary-General for Special Political Questions, Abdulrahim Farah, in seeking the support of the international community for Mozambique subsequent to our application of sanctions against Rhodesia. My Government also expresses its appreciation to those countries that contributed to offset the difficulties resulting from the closure of our border with Rhodesia.

246. In Namibia the struggle has been intensified and, there too, the illegal occupation by South Africa has become unsustainable. Faced with an increasingly adverse situation, the South African racists launched a two-front offensive.

247. From the military point of view, the South African illegal régime has lately increased its war potential along the frontier with the People's Republic of Angola, creating a buffer-zone that is used, on one hand, as a base for successive aggressions against Angola and Zambia and, on the other hand, to repress in a more violent way the struggle for liberation of the Namibian people. Nevertheless, in spite of this military situation and of the support of various western Powers for Vorster's régime, the successes of the liberation war are evident.

248. From the political point of view and with the objective of perpetuating its domination, South Africa has changed its tactics. It is now busy organizing pseudo-conferences for the "concession" of the so-called independence to a fragmented Namibia which it wants to turn into a federation of "bantustans", led by South African puppet leaders. Meanwhile the persecution against the nationalists in the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] goes on, many of them being now in the racist prisons or in exile.

249. We are not going to dwell at length on this question of Namibia, because recently, on 1 October, we had the opportunity to express our opinion in the Security Coun-

cil.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless we find it pertinent to remind this Assembly that the action of South Africa in its illegal occupation of Namibia's territory constitutes a serious challenge to the fundamental principles of the United Nations, as well as a challenge to its effectiveness. Above all, it poses a serious threat to international peace and security.

250. The Security Council has the obligation to apply without delay the provisions of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter against South Africa. The United Nations Organization, which has long recognized SWAPO as the only liberation movement of the people of Namibia and endorsed the legitimacy of its struggle, should encourage and give substantial material help to SWAPO so that this organization may defeat the enemy.

251. We also support the convening by the United Nations of a genuine constitutional conference, in which the United Nations, the Republic of South Africa and SWAPO would participate. SWAPO should be the determining and decisive voice in the adoption of any solution in the conference. The People's Republic of Mozambique supports SWAPO's demand for the release of all the political prisoners as a priority condition for its participation in the constitutional conference. Our Government rejects any conference convened by South Africa on the Namibian question, and at the same time categorically repudiates as illegal, the so-called conference of Windhoek.

252. The situation in Namibia is intimately related with the situation in South Africa. The intensification of the struggle for liberation in Namibia is also a contribution to the decisive struggle of the South African people against *apartheid*. Within the boundaries of South Africa, the struggle develops every day. The revolts in the ghettos follow one another, showing once more the existence of organized forces against Vorster's régime. In the meanwhile, repression reaches proportions that clearly demonstrate that Vorster's intention is to drown in blood all organized movements against his régime. Nevertheless the struggle goes on and it is going to continue until the victory over *apartheid* and the restoration of a régime of justice based on human equality.

253. The People's Republic of Mozambique condemns the policy of "bantustans" and rejects the so-called independence of Transkei. We salute the countries of the European Economic Community which, by their position of refusing to recognize the Transkei, have made a contribution to the struggle of the South African people and helped to isolate Vorster's régime.

254. The People's Republic of Mozambique reiterates its unconditional support to the African National Congress of South Africa and to the struggle developed by this organization, the legitimate representative of the South African people. At the same time my country expresses its full support for all actions developed towards the liquidation of *apartheid*.

255. The Indian Ocean was declared a zone of peace by this Assembly at its twenty-sixth session in resolution 2832 (XXVI). In 1975, an agreement in principle was reached to convene a conference on the Indian Ocean. We support the convening of this conference as we are convinced that it will be an important step towards preserving the Indian Ocean free from the imperialist interventions which constitute a continual source of conflicts and threats to international peace and security.

256. We reaffirm at this time that we are disposed to receive with hospitality all the ships that use that international communication passage with peaceful intentions. We cannot, however, refrain from firmly opposing the extension of imperialist military bases, such as that of Diego Garcia. The occupation of Diego Garcia is aimed at weakening the forces of peace and progress in the region, and at hindering the consolidation of political and economic independence of the countries of the region. The new French bases of Juan da Nova, Europa and Bassas da India, in the middle of the Mozambique Channel, very close to our country, threaten our independence. Also the occupation by France of the Comorian Island of Mayotte constitutes a flagrant violation of the territorial integrity of the Comoros, a sovereign and independent country, and constitutes a dangerous precedent in the decolonization process.

257. We can observe from certain world developments that there is a great deal of hope ahead of us in achieving most of the goals this Organization has been striving for during the last three decades. Sometimes, however, we find ourselves confronted with certain unhappy situations, created by some Member States of this Organization. Such unfortunate situations are completely incompatible with the most elementary principles of our Organization. I am referring for example to the annexation of eastern Timor by Indonesia.

258. On 28 November 1975, at the end of a long struggle of resistance to colonialism, the people of eastern Timor, under the leadership of FRETILIN, proclaimed the Democratic Republic of East Timor, with its capital in Dili. On 7 December of the same year, the Indonesian Government occupied Dili, and later declared the annexation of eastern Timor. Nevertheless, installed in liberated zones, the Government of the Democratic Republic of East Timor continues the struggle and directs the work of national reconstruction. There is no doubt that the Government of Indonesia, violating the resolutions adopted by this Organization, has occupied militarily the territory of the Democratic Republic of East Timor.

259. In this connexion, we reiterate the appeal made by the President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Mr. Samora Moisés Machel, at the Colombo Conference, urging the Government of Indonesia to withdraw its occupation troops from the Democratic Republic of East Timor. We request all the States Members of the United Nations to join in this appeal and to condemn "the persistent refusal of the Government of Indonesia to comply with the provisions of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council". We condemn "the so-called official integration of East Timor carried out by the Government of Indonesia". We recognize

<sup>22</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, 1958th meeting*.

FRETILIN as "the only authentic representative of the people of East Timor". Finally, we call "the attention of the Security Council to the urgent need for taking all effective steps to implement its resolutions".

260. Equally we add our voice to the denunciation of the occupation by force and the partition of the territory of the Republic of Sahara. We salute the heroic struggle of the people of Puerto Rico, the people of the so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti), and we hail the peoples all over the world who are struggling for their freedom and independence. We demand the liberation of Luis Corvalán, and respect for human rights in Chile. We also express our indignation at the assassination of the former Minister and Ambassador to the United States, Mr. Orlando Letelier, perpetrated in Washington two weeks ago.

261. To the people of Palestine and the Arab world, we want to express our concern at the aggravation of the situation in the Middle East. We are convinced that for a just and durable solution to the problem, the international community should take into account the principles enunciated in the political declaration of the Colombo Conference, namely, total withdrawal of Israel from all the occupied Arab territories and exercise by the Palestinian people of all its inalienable national rights; total support and material, military and moral assistance to the Arab countries and to the Palestinian people represented by the Palestine Liberation Organization in their struggle against Israeli aggression; all States must refrain from taking any measures which will contribute to the material, military or moral support of Israeli policies; all States must condemn the complicity between South Africa and Israel, tending to create a racist expansionist axis to fight against the people and to deprive them of their national rights.

262. In respect to the Korean question, only the removal of foreign troops and the peaceful reunification of that country without external interference can be the basis for achieving a stable situation.

263. The admission of the Republic of Seychelles as the one hundred and forty-fifth Member of this Organization has filled us with happiness. We want to congratulate the people and Government of that fraternal State and assure them of our co-operation.

264. In the same degree to which we associate ourselves with those that preceded us in greeting the admission of a new Member of the United Nations, we cannot but condemn vigorously the manner in which one of the permanent members of the Security Council utilized its right of veto to exclude the People's Republic of Angola and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam from membership in our Organization.

265. The participation of the People's Republic of Angola in international meetings as that of the last session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has contributed in a significant way to the promotion of a climate of co-operation and friendship among the countries of the international community. Angola therefore must be admitted without delay as a full Member of the United Nations.

266. The decisive contribution made by Viet Nam in the struggle of the oppressed people led us to approve resolution 3366 (XXX), in which, by 123 votes in favour and none against, the Assembly requested the Security Council to reconsider favourably the admission to membership of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam. Yet later the United States vetoed the admission of Viet Nam. On 2 August 1976, a unified Viet Nam submitted a new request for admission. My delegation truly supports the admission of Viet Nam as a full Member of the United Nations and unequivocally rejects any extraneous pretexts designed to frustrate its admission. We sincerely hope that the United States of America will reconsider its position so that both Angola and Viet Nam will be admitted to membership in the Organization before the end of the current session of the General Assembly.

267. I cannot conclude without congratulating Mr. Amersinghe for his election to the presidency of this session of the General Assembly. We rejoice in having as President of our Assembly an illustrious diplomat of the country that was host to the Fifth Conference of Non-Aligned Countries and received it with such outstanding hospitality. My delegation is convinced that under his wise and clear-sighted leadership, the work of the thirty-first session will be crowned with success.

268. I would like also to pay my tribute to the wonderful work done by Prime Minister Gaston Thorn, President of the thirtieth session.

269. Last but not least, I would like to take this opportunity to reiterate my Government's sincere appreciation to our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his dedication to the triumph of the ideals of the United Nations. We thank him in particular for the successful job done in regard to the liberation of peoples, particularly his persistent concern and support for the struggle of the people of southern Africa. On behalf of my Government, I wish to affirm our full support for his continued services.

270. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We have heard the last speaker on the list for this afternoon. Several representatives have requested the floor in exercise of their right of reply. Members will recall that the General Assembly at its 4th meeting decided that statements in exercise of the right of reply should be restricted to 10 minutes. I call on the representative of France.

271. Mr. SCALABRE (France) (*interpretation from French*): After the statement made yesterday before the Assembly by the Commissioner for External Affairs of Nigeria [16th meeting], my delegation would like to allay the concern which has been expressed and would like to add some clarifications regarding the contract concluded between the FRAMATOME French group and the South African company ESCOM to build a nuclear power station at Koberg.

272. First, I should like to say how much France is aware of the value of the capital of goodwill and common interest that it has in Africa, which Brigadier Garba quite rightly mentioned in his statement. The French Government would not at any cost wish to compromise this capital and in this



spirit has ensured the absolute impossibility of South Africa's progressing towards military nuclear capacity by means of the Koberg power station. I would make it quite clear that this is a material impossibility as well as a contractual one. The Koberg power station is of the so-called "light water pressurized" type. As Mr. de Guirangaud indicated in the Security Council last June,<sup>23</sup> this type of power station uses as fuel a very low concentration of uranium, namely, 2.5 to 3.2 per cent, which cannot be used for military purposes unless passed through an enrichment plant which is as complicated as the power station itself, and there are very few of this kind in the world. As to the products derived from the combustion of the uranium, they are, in this type of power station, irradiated to such a degree that they cannot be used for either civil or military purposes unless they are reprocessed, an operation which requires a plant of such a complicated type that there is only one in the world, in France; another of this type is being built in the United States of America and another in Great Britain, and one is being planned in the Federal Republic of Germany. For all these reasons, the building of the Koberg power station does not run counter to resolution 3411 B (XXX), adopted on 10 December 1975, by which the General Assembly requested Governments to stop making available to South Africa any kind of equipment which would allow that State to acquire nuclear-weapon capability.

273. Added to these material obstacles is the guarantee of the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA]. South Africa, as Brigadier Garba pointed out, is not a signatory of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. France has not signed it either because of the discriminatory character of the Treaty. Nevertheless, it has decided that all nuclear exports would be subject to the control of IAEA. This principle has naturally been applied in the case of the Koberg power station and it was stipulated that this control would apply to the complete nuclear fuel cycle. To a bilateral agreement between South Africa and France has been added a tripartite arrangement between the two countries and the Agency. This agreement was approved on 17 September by the Board of Governors of the Agency, and France provided the latter with all necessary information for carrying out an appraisal of the conditions in which these guarantees would be applied.

274. Brigadier Garba has expressed doubts as to the effectiveness of this control, but if these doubts are well-founded the situation will be very serious, not only in South Africa, but throughout the world. Almost 80 nuclear power stations have been sold abroad, a large number of which do not have the same safety features as the Koberg power station, and for which the IAEA controls are the only guarantees of non-proliferation. The buying countries are not all signatories of the non-proliferation Treaty or were not when the contracts were signed. Our African friends object that South Africa is a special case, that that country cannot be trusted. This would mean that the IAEA controls are effective only if exercised on countries which can be trusted. This would be tantamount to saying that these controls have no technical value, and would result in the banning of any industrial nuclear power sales to

non-nuclear countries. Developing countries would then be unjustly deprived of the right which has been affirmed by several international acts to benefit from the peaceful uses of atomic power.

275. To the usual controls of IAEA, France has added a kind of "supercontrol", applying extra caution inspired by the concern to reassure the African countries, and I will quote some of the additional provisions. First, it has been stipulated that any power station which may be built in South Africa using technical elements provided by France for the building of the Koberg power station would be subject to the same types of control as that power station. Use of French technology is therefore not free and leaves no possible opportunity for misuse or diversion. Furthermore, the fuel used at Koberg can be reprocessed only outside South Africa, and the plutonium resulting from this treatment will be stocked outside South Africa in the country which has prepared and provided the fuel to be used for that power station. South Africa would find it impossible to lay hands on the plutonium, the only element in the reprocessing process which could be used for military purposes.

276. I note that this information adds to that given by Mr. de Guirangaud in June. I would recall that any country which has signed the non-proliferation Treaty may, under article 10, renounce it at three months' notice. This is not the case with the guarantees imposed by France, which are contractual and cannot be terminated unilaterally. These contractual guarantees are additional, as I have said, to the physical impossibility of using the fuel or the plutonium or acquiring reprocessed products. Any attempt to do so would be doomed to failure. Any attempt to infringe the control rules would lead to an immediate termination of the contract and the cutting-off of all French supplies or aid.

277. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I would ask the representative of France to be brief because 10 minutes have already gone by.

278. Mr. SCALABRE (France) (*interpretation from French*): In such circumstances the Koberg power station could no longer function. So, to sum up the conditions under which the Koberg power station would become operative, in five years at the earliest, my delegation can confirm that there is no risk of the station's being diverted from its function of providing electric power, and this applies to any technological component, any amount of nuclear material, however small, or any of the fissionable products used in the construction and utilization of the power station. Needless to say, had it been otherwise, the French Government would have refused its guarantee and authorization to any contract concluded between FRAMATOME and ESCOM rather than be the origin of what our African friends might consider to be a risk of any kind.

279. In conclusion, I should like to make it known to the Assembly that my delegation is available to any member who wishes to have more detailed technical information regarding the controls stipulated with respect to the operation of the Koberg power station. I apologize for speaking a little longer than the time allowed.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 1930th meeting.

280. Mr. GUNA-KASEM (Thailand): The statement made this morning by the Chairman of the delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic contained certain disparaging and inaccurate remarks concerning Thailand.

281. Suffice it for me at this juncture to point out certain facts to this distinguished Assembly. The basic policy of the present Thai Government is to maintain good and friendly relations with all the neighbouring countries, regardless of their economic or social system or political ideology. True to the concept of Pancha Sila, and being fully occupied with the problems of its own political and economic development, Thailand has not interfered in the internal affairs of others. We likewise expect others to adhere to this same principle of non-interference in their conduct of relations with us. All our neighbours to the East know full well our position, since we have always, in our dealings with them, striven to maintain and promote friendship and co-operation. Being peaceful by nature we have not initiated any act of provocation against any neighbouring country as alleged. Regarding the Lao-Thai border I wish to point out that it has never been closed. Lao people along the border have always been able to cross into Thailand at specified crossing points. Moreover, the Thai Government has tried its best to accommodate the wishes of the Lao Government and has just recently opened more border entry points along the Mekong river at their request. Several problems concerning Lao-Thai relations are presently the subject of negotiations between the two Governments. My Government remains hopeful that satisfactory conclusions may be arrived at to solve these existing problems for the benefit of peace and stability in the region.

282. The Thai delegation will have more details to add to this brief clarification during our statement to the General Assembly next week.

283. Mr. HASHMI (India): In his statement on 4 October [16th meeting] the representative of Pakistan made clear that the Foreign Minister of his country had called for a final settlement of the so-called Jammu and Kashmir dispute on the basis of the right to self-determination of its people. I wish to state categorically that the Government of India does not accept the position of Pakistan. Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of the sovereign territory of India. The people of Jammu and Kashmir are citizens of India. There can be no question of the people of any part of India determining their separate destiny through the exercise of the right of self-determination. There is no legal dispute concerning the status of Jammu and Kashmir which is an integral part of India; however, a part of Indian territory in Jammu and Kashmir continues to be under the forcible occupation of Pakistan, and it is this fact that has created the problem between India and Pakistan. The representative of Pakistan stated that it was not his purpose

to start a controversy here on this subject. Nor is it our intention to use this forum for a debate on this question. However, since Pakistan was the first to raise it we have felt obliged to place on record our position.

284. Mr. MARPAUNG (Indonesia): The distinguished Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mozambique deems it opportune to interfere in the internal affairs of my country. The people of East Timor have already exercised the right of self-determination in a manner of their own choosing and in conformity with their traditional institutions. They became independent through integration with the Republic of Indonesia on 17 July 1976. Therefore, my delegation categorically rejects the unfounded allegations addressed to my Government. My delegation would like to reserve its right to reply to those unfounded allegations at the proper time.

285. Mr. A. A. KHAN (Pakistan): The representative of India has just made a statement concerning the Jammu and Kashmir dispute and, referring to the statement made yesterday by the representative of Pakistan, he has said that India does not accept Pakistan's position. The statement made by Pakistan yesterday quite clearly established that the question of the exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of Jammu and Kashmir is a position of the United Nations as embodied in the resolutions of 1948 and 1949 adopted by the Security Council and accepted by both India and Pakistan. This is not Pakistan's position; this is the position of the United Nations. I reiterate once again that it is not our intention to enter into any debate because all those who are aware of this dispute, and its history and the course of the lengthy negotiations, are fully aware of the reason why the resolutions could not be implemented and where the fault lies. Having said this, I wish to state again that my delegation will still avail itself of the opportunity to give a further clarification at the appropriate time.

286. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call on the representative of India who wishes to reply.

287. Mr. HASHMI (India): I apologize for taking the floor again at this late hour. It is not our intention to carry on this debate here. We have stated our position on a number of occasions in this very forum earlier and in other forums of the United Nations. Even yesterday when my Minister spoke in the morning [15th meeting] he laid out India's position clearly before this Assembly. We have nothing more to add. However, Sir, after looking very carefully at the remarks of the representative of Pakistan, we reserve the right to come back to this question at some later stage.

*The meeting rose at 8.15 p.m.*