

United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-SECOND SESSION

Official Records



**28th
PLENARY MEETING**

Tuesday, 11 October 1977,
at 10.55 a.m.

NEW YORK

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President: Mr. Lazar MOJSOV (Yugoslavia).

Address by Mr. Michael T. Somare, Prime Minister of Papua New Guinea

1. The PRESIDENT: This morning the Assembly will hear a statement by the Prime Minister of Papua New Guinea. I have great pleasure in welcoming His Excellency the Right Honourable Michael T. Somare and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

2. Mr. SOMARE (Papua New Guinea): Two years ago, on the occasion of Papua New Guinea's admission to membership in the United Nations, I had the honour to address the thirtieth session of the United Nations General Assembly.¹ Since then Papua New Guinea has held national elections, and I now avail myself of this opportunity to reaffirm Papua New Guinea's support of and continuing commitment to the principles of the United Nations.

3. Papua New Guinea wishes to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election to your high office. The task that you have been given is not an easy one, as the outcome of this session of the General Assembly will depend largely on your guidance. I wish you well in this task.

4. I wish also to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka, who performed his duties as President of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly with distinction.

5. I should also like to place on record Papua New Guinea's appreciation for the work done by the Secretary-General and his staff.

6. It gives me great pleasure, on behalf of the people of Papua New Guinea, to extend a warm welcome to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of Djibouti as new Members of the United Nations. We hope

that both nations will have a long and rewarding association with this Organization.

7. Papua New Guinea is still a very young Member of the United Nations family and is only now becoming aware of the full scope of the Organization. Our experience with the United Nations has, so far, been limited to a number of the special bodies of the Organization and its related agencies. These are already making a valuable contribution to Papua New Guinea's development.

8. There are numerous United Nations conferences and meetings held every year on many and varied technical matters. In view of our limited resources, we have carefully selected the conferences to which we could send representatives, but now we must ask whether the diversity and complexity of the matters considered by the United Nations family have not grown so great that this Organization is losing its effectiveness. Papua New Guinea hopes that a cautious review of this problem could be made.

9. Papua New Guinea attended the recent Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in London in June and came away from it with a sense of achievement. The Commonwealth has proved that it can play an effective role in the field of international affairs, and we therefore applaud the decision taken at the last General Assembly session to grant the Commonwealth Secretariat observer status within the United Nations [*resolution 31/3*].

10. Papua New Guinea has been involved, through direct participation, in programmes of action and development undertaken by the world community to create a peaceful and balanced world order, especially in the field of international trade. We have also followed with much interest the current North-South dialogue at the Conference on International Economic Co-operation. We deeply regret that the results of that Conference fell short of expectations. Papua New Guinea will continue its active participation in the meetings under the auspices of UNCTAD, particularly in relation to the Integrated Programme for Commodities² with the common fund. We should like to see a much firmer commitment by the parties involved on these two particular issues. This commitment should be one based on an honest and realistic exploration of all avenues, because failing to do so may well lead to inappropriate and inadequate solutions, and certainly not to the new international economic order we all wish to see.

11. My Government has noted with concern the failure so far of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2383rd meeting.

² See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10), part one A, resolution 93 (IV).

the Sea to reach a successful conclusion. Papua New Guinea is among those countries which have felt obliged to take action to extend fishing limits to protect their resources. We acknowledge, however, that this kind of individual self-help is a poor substitute for a generally-accepted treaty. The Conference also failed to meet the just demands of the third world for a fair and equitable régime to govern the exploitation of the deep-sea-bed.

12. In the absence of a new treaty, the general extension of fishing limits has created a special challenge for the countries of the South Pacific. Most of us in the South Pacific are developing countries; some lack any resources of economic value except fish. Fisheries management has presented these countries with a new opportunity for regional co-operation. However, we know that this is a field in which rich and powerful countries can gain benefits at the expense of the smaller, less-developed nations. Papua New Guinea is a small country, but we are determined to resist exploitation by foreign fishing interests. We are also determined to see that the policy of regional co-operation takes account of the interests of our developing neighbours, including those not yet fully independent and those smaller than ourselves.

13. Papua New Guinea was honoured to welcome Samoa, another member of the Pacific group, into the United Nations at the last session. We hope that with the admission of more Pacific countries into the United Nations and other agencies the voice of the South Pacific can now be clearly heard.

14. The South Pacific region is often thought to consist of many small island-nations without regional identity. That is no longer true: the region now has an identity in the South Pacific Forum, and we hope that decisions made by that body will be given due consideration by the United Nations, its related agencies and all Member nations.

15. Papua New Guinea is an ardent supporter of the decolonization process, and we note with considerable gratification that our near neighbour, the Solomon Islands, will become independent next year. It is the hope of Papua New Guinea that all of the few remaining colonies, not only within the South Pacific area but world-wide, will achieve self-determination within the immediate future.

16. I should now like to speak about some of the major international issues before the General Assembly. Of particular concern to Papua New Guinea are developments in southern Africa.

17. First, as regards Rhodesia, Papua New Guinea strongly supports a negotiated settlement between the parties involved. We welcome efforts by the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States of America to seek a constitutional settlement there. We would not support the use of force in any settlement of this question. We have already made it clear at the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting that we should like to see majority rule in Rhodesia. Any settlement there must fully ensure the rights of the black African majority.

18. Papua New Guinea condemns the situation in southern Africa, where the rights of the people are totally suppressed

by small white minorities. Full pressure should be brought to bear on these minority régimes to ensure an equitable settlement in southern Africa. Papua New Guinea fully supports the present sanctions imposed upon South Africa and Rhodesia. However, we have serious reservations about their effectiveness, particularly when influential Members of this Organization do not play their part by enforcing them.

19. My country recently banned trade with South Africa. Although trade between Papua New Guinea and South Africa was very small, we wish to play our part in enforcing the sanctions. We call upon other, more influential Members of the United Nations to be totally honest in enforcing the agreed sanctions. We feel that the racist régime will continue to oppress the majority of the people of South Africa as long as Members of this Organization continue illegally to trade or associate with this racist régime.

20. While we are concerned at illegal white minority régimes that cause suffering to black people in southern Africa, Papua New Guinea is also gravely concerned that in Uganda there is a black régime which resorts to oppression of its own people. This must be condemned in the strongest possible terms by this Assembly, and we urge that consideration should be given to ways in which this Assembly can help to alleviate suffering in that country.

21. In addition to the appalling denial of human rights already mentioned, there are instances of many other countries denying their citizens basic human rights. Such violations must be strongly condemned. It is the view of my Government that this Organization must take appropriate action to ensure that all people of all races are accorded the fundamental rights and freedoms enshrined in the Charter and other instruments of the United Nations.

22. Another area of grave concern to us is the continuing development and testing of new types of nuclear weapons. In the past we have strongly opposed the testing of such weapons, particularly in the Pacific region, and we will continue to do so. That the testing of nuclear weapons has not been totally banned is a matter to be regretted, and I urge all nations to co-operate in the search for an effective means of controlling those weapons of mass destruction.

23. There is one further issue that I must mention. That is the question of resolving the conflict situation in the Middle East. We commend the diplomatic initiatives taken by the United States of America on this problem and have sincere hopes of their success. It is essential that there be an early resumption of the Geneva negotiations. We hold the view that a Palestinian State must be given recognition but, on the other hand, we firmly believe that Israel must not be denied the right to exist as a sovereign State.

24. I have touched on a number of issues of real concern to the world community and hope that this session will find lasting solutions to those and many other issues to be debated in this forum. Finally, I wish to reiterate the view of my Government that our involvement and participation in international affairs reflects the genuine values that our people have and their aspirations to live in a peaceful world. We shall continue to be mindful of developments on the international scene and the likely implications for Papua

New Guinea and the region of which we are part. Papua New Guinea will continue to contribute, within its limited resources, to the objectives of this Organization and to accept our share of the responsibilities of membership in the United Nations and the international community.

25. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly I wish to thank the Prime Minister of Papua New Guinea for the important statement he has just made.

AGENDA ITEM 3

General debate (*continued*)

26. Mr. IENG SARY (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*):³ Mr. President, the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea is happy to extend to you its warmest congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly. Your election represents a tribute to Yugoslavia, a friendly nation which has always pursued a policy of independence and non-alignment and, through Yugoslavia, it also represents a tribute to the movement and the principles of non-alignment. We offer you our best wishes for success in carrying out your new mission.

27. We should like also warmly to congratulate Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe on his success as President of the thirty-first session of our General Assembly.

28. We extend our warm congratulations and our welcome to the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which is participating in our work for the first time since its complete liberation on 30 April 1975 and the achievement of the unity of the country. We also express our warm congratulations to the Republic of Djibouti on its admission to the United Nations.

29. In the course of the past year the movement of revolutionary struggle, the movement of national liberation, the struggle for the defence of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the right of self-determination and the struggle of the oppressed peoples, of the peoples of the non-aligned countries and of the third world to build their nations have made a tremendous forward thrust and have grown prodigiously. This is a new situation which will gladden the hearts of all the world's peoples and will further strengthen their confidence, but which causes panic among imperialists and reactionaries of every kind. By standing firm the struggling peoples have won one victory after another, creating a new situation favourable to the revolutionary cause and to the cause of the national liberation of peoples throughout the world.

30. Faced with this situation, the imperialists and the expansionists, who have suffered one complete defeat after another, are pursuing their subversive activities in various regions of the world in order to stem the victorious tide of the peoples' struggle. They are engaging in psychological warfare and attempting through campaigns of mendacious propaganda to create in the peoples a spirit of dependence and servility vis-à-vis the great Powers. They are interfering

in domestic affairs, provoking conflicts, exacerbating contradictions and doing everything possible to divide the movement of the peoples' struggle, to sow discord in the ranks of the non-aligned countries and to undermine the solidarity of the countries of the third world. But the struggling peoples are more and more aware of the truly cruel and stubborn nature of the imperialists and expansionists and of their annexationist ambitions, their aggressive designs and their false and treacherous manoeuvres. That is why the peoples of the world resolutely oppose them.

31. After the failure of the United States policy of aggression in the region and, in particular, after the complete collapse of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization, the peoples of South-East Asia, having seen through the designs of the imperialists, the expansionists and their partisans, stepped up their struggle in full independence and sovereignty and have resorted to their own means to achieve their aspirations to independence, peace, neutrality and genuine democracy in their respective countries, without military bases or foreign troops on their national territories. The peoples of the countries in that region are resolutely opposed to all forms of foreign interference and intervention, so that their countries may live in genuine independence and sovereignty.

32. In the course of the past year and parallel to their efforts in their struggle in full independence and sovereignty, the African peoples have consolidated and developed their solidarity and have given each other encouragement and support. The Organization of African Unity has decided to consider the struggle to overthrow the racist régimes and *apartheid* and for the liberation of southern Africa as the task of all African countries and has determined to increase its support for the national liberation movements in that region. Thanks to that support the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania have been able to carry their just cause towards victory. The resolution of The Organization of African Unity against interference by wealthy great Powers in the affairs of the African continent⁴ does not merely emphasize the determination of the African peoples to struggle against outside interference and to choose their own destiny; that resolution also shows that the countries of Africa are resolved to strengthen their solidarity where their common interests are concerned and to settle their problems among themselves without any outside interference. Furthermore, the success of the first summit Conference of Arab and African countries last March⁵ also advanced the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, expansionism, Zionism, racism, and *apartheid*.

33. The political and moral support that the oppressed peoples, the peoples of the non-aligned countries and the third world give one another is a powerful source of mutual encouragement and has become a material force which bears down hard on all oppressors, interventionists, aggressors, and annexationists, inflicting on them defeat after defeat. Such solidarity is thus an imperative necessity and a sacred duty. It has been consolidated in the course of

⁴ See document A/32/310, annex II, AHG/Res.85 (XIV).

⁵ First Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States, held at Cairo from 7 to 9 March 1977.

³ Mr. Ieng Sary spoke in Khmer. The French version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

struggle for it is based on the principles of equality, mutual respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual support, non-interference in the domestic affairs of others and respect for the right of every people to decide the destiny of its country in full independence and sovereignty. Such solidarity among the peoples of countries with billions of inhabitants and with an ever keener political awareness, represents a prodigious force which no Power or manoeuvre can impede. In the future that force of solidarity based firmly on the principle of mutual respect and equality will be further strengthened.

34. The people of Kampuchea, who suffered from the war of aggression waged by the American imperialists and their lackeys, who carried on a stubborn fight for national liberation and who are at present struggling to defend and build their country in the new stage of their revolution, greatly appreciate the real value and effectiveness of the moral and political support of the struggling peoples, the non-aligned and third-world countries and the genuinely progressive countries of the world.

35. Democratic Kampuchea considers it to be its noble duty to show its solidarity with and give support to the just struggles of the exploited peoples and of the non-aligned and third-world countries for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, the right to decide their own destiny and to build an independent and prosperous economy and against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, expansionism, zionism, racism, *apartheid* and all the forces of interference, aggression, expansion and annexation. Although we continue to face many problems following the devastating war waged by the American imperialists we are doing our best to show our solidarity and to give our moral and political support while standing firmly shoulder to shoulder with the peoples struggling for national liberation, independence, freedom, democracy and social progress.

36. First in Korea, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea under the leadership of President Kim Il Sung, representing the profound aspirations of the entire Korean people, has repeatedly put forward proposals for resolving the problem of Korea and reuniting Korea in full independence and sovereignty. But the Government of the United States of America obstinately continues its designs for aggression and interference in Korea, its policy of "two Koreas" and of maintaining its domination over the southern part of the country. Recently, while the South Korean puppets were stepping up their cruel and Fascist repression of the population, the United States of America took various measures in South Korea to strengthen its military base and its neo-colonialist régime there in order to perpetuate the division of Korea. That is a further grave violation of General Assembly resolution 3390 B (XXX) and also a fundamental obstacle to the reunification of the Korean homeland. The United States of America should immediately withdraw from South Korea all its land, naval and air forces and all its military *matériel*, including nuclear weapons; it should cease its interference and intervention in and its aggression against Korea, abandon its policy of "two Koreas", dissolve the so-called "United Nations Command" and transform the "Armistice Agreement" into a definitive peace agreement. That is the only way the problem of Korea can be resolved in full independence and sovereignty without any

foreign interference. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea wishes to reaffirm here its complete support for the position of President Kim Il Sung and the proposals formulated by him for resolving the problem of the reunification of Korea.

37. Secondly, the United States of America continues its interference and intervention in the internal affairs of China. The People's Republic of China rightly insists on defending its national sovereignty and its territorial integrity. The liberation of Taiwan, which is an inalienable part of the People's Republic of China, is a matter which falls entirely within the sovereignty of that country and must be resolved by the Chinese people themselves, without any foreign interference. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea unreservedly supports the position of the People's Republic of China and the manner in which that Republic is seeking to resolve the problem of Taiwan.

38. Thirdly, in southern Africa the barbarous and colonialist *apartheid* régime of Vorster and the racist and colonialist régime of Ian Smith have been severely shaken by the powerful struggles of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania. Those régimes would have crumbled long ago if the rich great Powers and their supporters had not given their political and material support, and carried out manoeuvres, to oppose the resolute struggle of the peoples. We offer our continuing resolute support to all peoples and countries of Africa, all the non-aligned countries and countries of the third world in their action against the treacherous manoeuvres of the wealthy great Powers and their supporters. We highly appreciate the firm resolve of the people of Zimbabwe to continue the people's war, counting mainly on their own forces to secure the country's independence. We highly commend the efforts of the people of Namibia to persist in the armed struggle for the independence and unity of Namibia. We also praise highly the widespread spontaneous movement of insurrection of the people of Azania to secure the right to determine their own destiny and to achieve the unity of their country. We once again express our firm solidarity with the just causes of all peoples in southern Africa.

39. Fourthly, in the Middle East the Palestine problem remains the key to the situation. The problem of peace cannot be resolved so long as the Palestinian people are unable to exercise their fundamental national rights. To attain this objective the heroic Palestinian people have carried on a long and valiant struggle. But the wealthy great Powers, which are competing for influence in the Middle East, have created many obstacles to the exercise of these sacred rights of the Palestinian people. The United States of America supports the Israeli Zionists in the pursuit of their policy of aggression, expansion and the settlement of colonies directed against the Palestinian people and other Arab peoples. It opposes the implementation of various United Nations resolutions recognizing the fundamental national rights of the Palestinian people and demanding that Israel restore to the Arab countries territories conquered by force. We express our firm and constant support for the just and many-faceted struggle, particularly the armed struggle, of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, until the Palestinian people can exercise their national rights, and particularly the right to return to live in their own country,

the right to decide their own destiny, and the right to create an independent Palestinian State on Palestinian land. We also reiterate our firm support for the struggle of other Arab peoples to free their territories. We are convinced that, through their persevering and resolute joint struggle, and with the support of the non-aligned and third-world peoples, the Palestinian people and other Arab peoples will be victorious in their just and sacred cause.

40. Fifthly, among the problems of decolonization, the problem of East Timor continues to concern countries which have known foreign domination and to confront the conscience of peoples that prize independence and justice. The aggressors continue to violate the independence, the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of East Timor. They continue to violate the principles of non-alignment and the pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council of the United Nations. We reaffirm our support for the struggle of the people of East Timor, carried on under the leadership of the Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente, to recover its independence and the right to decide its own destiny. Our support rests on the principle that no country should use either the size of its territory or its population as a pretext for acts of aggression or annexation against the territories of other countries or attempt to absorb such territories. That is a position of principle. We do not believe that support for a small country with a small population like East Timor should come into conflict with self-interest and consequently suffer neglect. We consider the defence of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of East Timor as being the defence of the principle of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries, great and small, that is stipulated in the United Nations Charter and that conforms to the principles of non-alignment. The defence of those principles is at the same time a condemnation of the law of the jungle practised by imperialists, colonialists, neo-colonialists and reactionaries of every kind, which, abusing their power and their strength, commit acts of aggression and annexation against small or weak countries, while claiming that they do no more than exercise their rights. We should defend these sacred principles against any attempt from the outside to mount acts of aggression against our countries and to swallow up our territories, and we must never allow such designs to be achieved.

41. Sixthly, the poor countries are still wrestling with numerous difficulties in their efforts to develop their independent economies. The reason is that the wealthy great Powers persist in defending the present international economic order, which is a régime of domination and exploitation, and throw the entire burden of their economic crisis upon the poor countries which they are endeavouring to keep in their place. The poor countries, closely united, have struggled actively to install a new international economic order based upon equality and justice. This struggle is an integral part of the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and expansionism, and against all acts of exploitation, oppression, interference and intervention. The countries of the third world are aware of the tremendous strength of their peoples and of their fertile creative genius that has built brilliant civilizations in the past. They also are aware of the

abundance and the variety of their natural resources. From their own experience, the countries of the third world are understanding more and more clearly that they must look to their own peoples and strive to build up their economic strength, their independence and sovereignty by themselves, and that it is only on that condition that they can secure greater strength for continuing the struggle and for imposing the new international economic order on the wealthy great Powers. The struggle will become still more arduous and complex. But the countries of the third world have accumulated more experience and victory will surely be theirs.

42. Seventhly, the poor countries have expressed solidarity with each other in their struggle to establish a new law of the sea. They have achieved tangible success in the defence of their sovereignty and of their maritime resources, and have broken the privilege of the wealthy great Powers in exercising exclusive control over the sea. The sea-bed in the international zone and the resources thereof are the heritage of all the peoples of the world. No country has a right to appropriate those resources unilaterally. The trend towards establishing the exclusive economic zone at 200 nautical miles has been affirmed in practice. But the large wealthy countries have attempted to prevent the establishment of the new law of the sea with the unavowed aim of preserving their privilege of exploiting the sea-bed for their own selfish interests. They have not hesitated to use technical and financial pressure, and have resorted to manoeuvres in order to control the so-called "international authority" that is to be set up, with a view to reducing the role played by the countries of the third world. On this question of the sea-bed, Democratic Kampuchea, as ever, associates itself firmly with all the countries of the third world in pursuing the joint struggle for a new law of the sea that will be in the common interest of all the peoples of the world.

43. Eighthly, thanks to the common struggle of the non-aligned countries and the countries of the third world, the United Nations General Assembly has adopted pertinent resolutions on some important world problems. But those resolutions have remained a dead letter because of the abuse of the veto power by the large wealthy countries in the pursuit of their own interests. Furthermore, while competing for influence and with each other in continuing the sophisticated arms race and the sale of arms all over the world—a source of continuing tension in various parts of the world—these large wealthy Powers use the rostrum of the United Nations to dupe the peoples, to lull their vigilance, in order the better to subjugate them. At the same time, they are endeavouring to stem the tide of the national liberation struggle of peoples all over the world. This tends to reduce still further the role played by the United Nations. With all the non-aligned and third world countries, we continue to demand the urgent revision of the United Nations Charter so that the United Nations may be enabled to play its role in conformity with the realities of today's world, which is undergoing profound change. Decisions on major world issues should not be the exclusive reserve of the wealthy great Powers. All States, great or small, must have the same rights in deciding international affairs.

44. The movements of revolutionary struggle and national liberation, the struggle for the defence of independence,

sovereignty and territorial integrity and the right to decide one's own destiny have greatly encouraged the people of Kampuchea in their present efforts to complete the work of national defence and construction in the course of the new state of its revolution.

45. The people of Kampuchea wish to live in peace, with dignity and honour, as masters of their own country, and to build a society in conformity with their deepest aspirations, to follow a road which they have themselves chosen, in full independence and sovereignty. Those are the basic principles to which they are firmly committed. But in the past, for centuries, our country was reduced to the most abject slavery. Our country, which was subject to exploitation and domination by foreign feudal and reactionary circles, by colonialists and imperialists, lost much of its territory. Its present frontiers are the unhappy result of endless acts of aggression, expansion and annexation by foreign Powers. Since 17 April 1975, the date of the total and final liberation of Kampuchea, our people has become the true master of its country and of its own destiny. It is inspired by a burning and just patriotism. Despite its painful past history, it has no wish to open old wounds; it is looking to the present and to the future. We have no enmity; we have no designs against other countries for aggression, expansion or annexation. We covet not a single inch of anyone else's territory. Our country is small; our population is small; our geographical situation and our political régime in no way predispose us to commit acts of aggression against other countries. Small weak countries do not swallow large countries. In world history only the reactionary ruling classes in large countries, like Hitler, invent pretexts for provoking small countries, accusing them of aggression and using such pretexts for committing acts of aggression against the small countries, and increasing their own territory at the expense of the latter. Democratic Kampuchea has no motive which might impel it to acts of aggression against others. Its territory is some 181,000 square kilometres and comprises about 6 million hectares of rice paddies and fields. Its great lakes, its rivers, including the Tonlé Sap, the Mékong and the Bassac, its ponds and other water courses are abundantly stocked with fish. Its forests, its soil, its subsoil and its sea abound in natural resources. And yet we have scarcely 8 million inhabitants. Each peasant family has an average of five hectares of cultivable land. Thus we have had no reason to extend our territory at the expense of others. On the other hand, our country has just emerged from a devastating war. We need time, and we must mobilize all our forces to build up our own country and effect a rapid improvement in the living standards of our people.

46. Respect for our independence, our sovereignty and territorial integrity is an imperative for us. We have always endeavoured to establish close and friendly relations with all countries, near and far, throughout the world. This can be seen from the visits by our delegations to various countries in 1975, immediately following the liberation of our country. We have always scrupulously respected the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of other countries. But we are firmly resolved to defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of our own country. Our people has now become master of the destiny of its country, having waged a valiant struggle, endured all kinds of difficulties, and having vanquished the

American imperialists and their lackeys on 17 April 1975. Our people will never allow anyone to commit acts of violation, aggression, interference, subversion or provocation, or to change its frontiers. Because they are just, these positions of our people meet with the approval and support of our friends near and far on five continents. But our enemies of all kinds are seeking by every means possible to destroy Democratic Kampuchea. The question which arises is whether, with so small a population, Democratic Kampuchea can ensure the defence of its own territory. At present our people, which has a firm hold on revolutionary power, is fully and absolutely capable of ensuring that defence, because we are strengthened by our experience gained in the course of the war of national liberation against a most cruel war of aggression waged by the American imperialists, experience which enabled our people to win the great victory of 17 April 1975, in full independence and sovereignty and counting mainly on our own strength, with the support of peoples near and far.

47. More than two years have elapsed since then, and despite many post-war problems which still remain to be solved, our people and our Revolutionary Army—alerted to the true nature of the aggressive and annexationist, cruel and treacherous American imperialists and of their lackeys and reactionaries, who are the enemies of our people to be found on every hand, now constantly on the revolutionary alert—have shattered all their attempts at aggression, expansion, subversion and provocation, fully succeeding in the defence, consolidation and development of the achievements of the revolution and of revolutionary power, as well as safeguarding the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and frontiers of their own country in full independence and sovereignty, and relying entirely on their own strength.

48. All these victories have created new conditions, enabling us to complete the work of national defence and to work even more successfully towards building up the country.

49. We should like formally to proclaim once again here that Democratic Kampuchea will provoke no other country and will adhere resolutely and unshakeably to the principles of mutual respect for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and equality.

50. Security is complete throughout our country. Foreign guests can travel by day or night in perfect safety for hundreds and thousands of kilometres. Our national defence is thus far perfectly sound, but we must redouble our revolutionary vigilance to remain masters of the situation in case of attempts at provocation and aggression on the part of the enemy.

51. In both the building up of our country and in safeguarding the gains of the revolution and the national defence, we still cling to our position of independence and sovereignty, and we still rely on our own strength. This position which the people of Kampuchea has won, thanks to the constant education of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, has been tried and tested at all stages of the revolutionary movement and has won a succession of brilliant victories for the people of Kampuchea.

52. During the more than five years of the war of national liberation, from 1970 to 1975, the people of Kampuchea and the Revolutionary Army displayed sublime heroism, endured difficulties of every kind and made immense sacrifices in order to secure control of their own country's destiny, and they carried on the war of national liberation, in full independence and sovereignty: independence and sovereignty in understanding the situation in the country and the revolution, for no one knows his own country better than himself; independence and sovereignty in formulating and applying the strategic line and the tactical line of struggle; independence and sovereignty in building up one's strength in every sphere—the strength of the leadership, the strength of the people, military strength, economic strength and so forth.

53. In 1973, at a time when the international situation was complex and hardly as favourable to us as it is now, when the United States imperialists were mobilizing all their strategic and tactical air forces in Asia and in the Pacific solely to attack and to bombard Kampuchea so as to destroy at a blow our country and our revolution, our people and our Revolutionary Army resolved to defend our national dignity and to take a firm hold on their own destiny and the destiny of their country. Not disheartened in the face of any difficulty or sacrifice, they resolutely carried on the struggle and launched offensives without respite for five years and one month until they achieved a glorious victory which was total and definitive.

54. The valuable experience acquired in the course of the war for national liberation has strengthened our faith in the path of independence and sovereignty and in reliance on our own strength.

55. The results obtained by our people and our Revolutionary Army during the nearly two years since 17 April 1975 have once again clearly confirmed that this policy of struggle is the key factor in all our victories.

56. In the work of national construction, we are not disregarding the true state of affairs of our country, which is a backward agricultural country destroyed by a war of aggression and devastation. We firmly rely on the exalted revolutionary awareness, the tremendous strength, the experience and creative spirit of our people, the vast majority of whom are peasants. We take agriculture as the fundamental factor, and we make use of the capital accumulated by agriculture in order progressively to build up industry and to transform Kampuchea, which had had a backward agriculture, within a short period of time into a modern agricultural country and then into an industrial country, while firmly keeping to the path of independence and sovereignty and drawing fundamentally on our own strength.

57. With respect to agriculture, we are giving priority to solving the problem of water, which is the key factor in obtaining the maximum yield in the production of rice, which is our basic food crop. During the last dry season, in every zone, we completed the construction of large reservoirs with a capacity of from 100 million to 200 million cubic metres each, in each region that of medium-sized reservoirs each containing 50 million to 60 million cubic metres of water, and in each district that of small

reservoirs containing 5 million to 10 million cubic metres of water each, totalling altogether 2,800 million cubic metres of water. We also dug several hundred kilometres of canals leading from those reservoirs, making it possible to irrigate 250,000 hectares of rice paddies in every season. Simultaneously, we completed the construction of five dams on the Prêk Thnot river serving 60,000 hectares of rice paddies, two dams on the Chinit river serving 20,000 hectares of rice paddies, three dams on the Pursat river serving 30,000 hectares of rice paddies, and a dam on the Battambang river serving 40,000 hectares of rice paddies. We have also constructed dams on the Siemreap and Kralanh rivers and on a number of smaller rivers. All this work was done by our workers and peasants, who depend entirely on their own strength. Simultaneously, the production of natural fertilizers and insecticides, using the raw materials and plants that are amply available in our country, has been carried on by a spontaneous mass movement. The widespread organization of co-operatives, in which the peasants hold power and control production, constitutes the fundamental factor that is constantly changing the appearance of the countryside of Kampuchea and transforming it. In 1976, we reached the planned targets for the production of rice, which made it possible for us to meet the needs of the population and provide an average of 312 kilograms per year for each person in 1977 and to begin in 1977 the exportation of several tens of thousands tons of rice, which, together with rubber and other agricultural products, is designed to secure capital for the defence and the construction of our country.

58. The orientation of our industry is also based on the practical state of affairs in our country. We are concentrating on factories that serve the development of agricultural production and the improvement of the living conditions of the population. We are not diversifying beyond what is necessary. In conformity with this policy, we are concentrating our efforts on the construction of new factories and on repairing and transforming factories that depended on foreign supplies of raw materials, in order to enable them to use the country's own primary commodities. Parallel with industry, we are developing artisan activities at the level of both individual and regional production units so as to stimulate economic development.

59. In the field of culture and education, our policy is to study the task of national defence and construction while we put our studies into practice. Theory is related to practice and to work and production. Our schools exist mainly at the level of co-operatives and factories. Our education rests on a popular and national base, from which we are speeding up the development of technology and the sciences. In the immediate future, our main objective is the elimination of illiteracy. In the old society, there were certainly schools and high schools and a certain number of universities, but in the countryside 75 per cent of the people, particularly the poor and marginal peasants, were illiterate, and even in the cities 60 per cent of the workers were illiterate. At present, just two years after liberation, only 10 per cent of the population can neither read nor write and these are all persons already advanced in age. We have solved the problem of illiteracy by resorting to a mass movement of study. The former system of education was no more than a copy of a foreign system alien to our national situation. It was useful neither for national defence

nor for national construction, nor did it serve to improve the living conditions of the population, and it was indefinitely dependent upon foreign aid. Now, in order to serve at the same time the tasks of national defence and construction, our educational programmes are concentrated on technology. Theoretical and practical studies are carried on simultaneously. We are studying, at one and the same time, technology, general culture and theory, in particular the technology of agriculture in the fields of rice and rubber growing, various industrial techniques and the development of water resources. We observe that the present orientation of our teaching and education admirably serves the purposes of defence and national construction and the improvement in the standards of living of our people. Furthermore, thanks to this orientation, our children, our young people, our workers, our peasants and our fighters are being educated in the most authentic and most ardent revolutionary patriotism. They feel concerned at the fate of poor peoples throughout the world and they understand the distinction between friends and enemies in the revolutionary struggle and in the national liberation movement of peoples throughout the world. They stand resolutely side by side with the revolutionary peoples of the world.

60. In the social and health fields, in order rapidly to improve the health of the entire population, we are training revolutionary doctors, who are moved by a deep love for the people and by a lofty spirit of self-sacrifice, and we are producing medicines from the herbs growing in the country. In their training, our revolutionary doctors combine theoretical studies and practice, and they increase their knowledge at the same time. We have developed and are developing health networks by creating hospital establishments and centres for the manufacture of medicines in all co-operatives, districts, regions and administrative zones and in the capital Phnom Penh. There is an average of one general hospital, three attending physicians, one factory for the production of medicines and three pharmacists for every 100 families. The health of our people has shown considerable improvement. We have definitively eliminated social diseases and drug addiction. We are paying particular attention to the eradication of malaria. In the past year, the first year of the four-year plan for the eradication of malaria, 70 to 80 per cent of the plan targets has already been achieved. We are endeavouring very rapidly to improve the living conditions and the health of our people because we need a population of 15 to 20 million in 10 years' time. Vice, delinquency, prostitution, theft, robbery, banditry and other social evils of the kind that exist in the imperialist countries and in an exploitive class society have been rooted out by the great mass movement.

61. Over and above the results I have just mentioned, the line of independence, sovereignty and self-reliance, and a sense of being masters of the country and of the revolution have deeply pervaded our people and have aroused throughout the country a spontaneous and enthusiastic mass movement deeply imbued with an ardent spirit of patriotism and of a lofty community feeling which is of profound revolutionary significance. This is a movement which has never before been known in the more than 2,000-year history of our nation.

62. The results achieved by our people in the past year, under the just and far-sighted leadership of the Communist

Party of Kampuchea, represent new and very rapid victories in the present stage of our revolution.

63. But with regard to the long-term aspirations of our people, the road that we have yet to travel is long indeed. We must redouble our efforts. We are endeavouring as rapidly as possible to improve still further the living conditions of our people, so that everyone may have sufficient strength and health and ardent patriotism, so that our entire people may rapidly and constantly progress and that we may continue in the defence and speedy construction of a prosperous Kampuchea. We have no reason to reduce the size of our population or to maintain it at its present level for, with close to 8 million inhabitants, our population is still far short of our country's capacity, which has a need of more than 20 million people. This is why our objective is to bring about a very rapid increase in our population.

64. Although our people do not yet live in affluence, their living conditions are assured for each and in all spheres. By comparison with the situation in 1975, as we emerged from the cruel war of devastation, the present situation does show considerable improvement. Our people are very happy and are proud of this excellent state of affairs where they are truly the masters of their own destiny and of their own country. Our population now consists of 95 per cent workers and peasants and 5 per cent persons engaged in other tasks. Closely united under the just and far-sighted leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, our people live and work in perfect harmony, in a healthy society where equality, justice and genuine democracy prevail. Masters of the revolution and enjoying all its benefits, our people continue with enthusiasm, faith and confidence to continue the revolution. Our people are resolved to safeguard and defend, to consolidate and incessantly to strengthen its revolutionary power. The victory of the policy of independence, sovereignty and self-reliance has strengthened our people's faith in the country's radiant future. Without the support, union, unity and the faith of the entire people, the present spontaneous movement for national defence and construction would be unthinkable and Democratic Kampuchea would have been unable to win such brilliant victories. The strength of this union, this unity and this faith is the key factor in our present victories, as it was in our great victory of 17 April 1975 over the United States imperialists.

65. Many friendly peoples and countries have welcomed these achievements of Democratic Kampuchea and have expressed to us their sympathy and encouragement and their moral and political support. Some friendly countries have given us bilateral assistance. We are happy to receive this assistance without strings which, granted on the basis of the principle of equality and genuine mutual respect, further strengthens our independence and sovereignty. This is evidence of the sincere solidarity among the non-aligned and third-world countries. But our country is now already liberated and our people are amply capable of defending themselves and of building the country using their own strength. We believe that peoples that are shedding blood in the struggle for national liberation are in greater need of support and additional assistance in order to secure the triumph of their just cause. This does not mean that we are living in abundance. But we must persevere further in our

efforts, we must overcome other obstacles to resolve the post-war problems, to defend and build the country by ourselves, in order not to be the subject of concern to friendly countries. We should endeavour to advance the revolution in our own country and to win great new victories. We should try to contribute still further to the revolutionary struggle and to the national liberation struggle and the struggle for national defence carried on by peoples all over the world.

66. Democratic Kampuchea considers the sympathy, encouragement and various tokens of the solidarity of the non-aligned and third-world countries and of genuinely progressive countries as a precious support for its policy of independence, peace and non-alignment. We shall always abide by that policy. Never shall we allow any foreign country to establish military bases on our territory. Never shall we tolerate the presence of foreign troops on our soil. In the past we have from time to time been asked to join this or that federation or regional association. Democratic Kampuchea belongs to no alliance and no regional group. But we do endeavour to develop with all countries, near and far, bilateral relations of friendship, based on equality and mutual respect. This position has met with the sympathy and understanding of many countries with which we maintain good and friendly relations.

67. Our people are convinced that their efforts to carry through the revolution in its country, effectively to defend and solidly to build our homeland and rapidly to improve our living conditions on the basis of independence, sovereignty and self-reliance represent a modest contribution to the revolutionary struggle of peoples in the world, to the national liberation struggle of peoples of exploited countries and to the struggle to safeguard and defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the non-aligned and third-world countries. The experience of our own revolutionary struggle and the struggles of peoples throughout the world have taught us that, if we wish to make a positive contribution to the world-wide revolutionary struggle, we must resolutely carry the revolution in our own country to a successful conclusion. Revolution cannot be exported or imported from one country to another. That is why our people are bending every effort to complete the revolution in their own country, in complete independence and sovereignty, relying on their own strength, so that they can better contribute to the revolutionary movements and the fighting movements of the world's peoples.

68. The peoples of the exploited countries, the peoples of the non-aligned and third-world countries, have acquired an ever keener political awareness and ever more confidence in their own strength and capacities; they see ever clearer the true nature and manoeuvres of imperialism and expansionism and their supporters, and they endeavour valiantly to continue the struggle as masters of their own destiny. At the same time, they continue to develop and strengthen their solidarity by foiling the divisive manoeuvres carried out by all the imperialist and expansionist powers. This historic current will develop incessantly for ever; no force can halt it. The revolutionary and progressive peoples throughout the world will surely win further victories. In the past, as at present and in the future, Democratic Kampuchea will continue to identify itself with those

struggles and do everything within its power to give further momentum to this irresistible tide of history.

69. Mr. JAMEEL (Maldives): It is a pleasure for me to extend to you, Sir, my delegation's sincere congratulations on your election to the high office of President of the thirty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly. We consider your election as a well-deserved tribute paid to you by the world body for your eminent qualities of statesmanship and experience, as well as added recognition of the prominent role played in world affairs by your country. My country, which maintains close links with Yugoslavia, particularly within the non-aligned movement, conveys to you, through me, its good wishes for success in your important deliberations.

70. Allow me also to express my Government's appreciation of the invaluable role played by your predecessor, Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe, during his term of office as the President of the thirty-first session. I wish to congratulate Mr. Amerasinghe on the successful manner in which he discharged his onerous responsibilities.

71. I should also like to express my Government's deep appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, for his untiring and dedicated efforts to promote the objectives of the Organization.

72. This current session marks the admission of two new Members to our Organization: the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of Djibouti. My delegation welcomes with joy the two new Members in our midst, whose admission to our Organization is not only a further step towards the achievement of universality of the Organization but also a clear indication of the strength displayed by the peoples of those two countries in achieving self-determination and national independence. We are convinced that their presence in this family of nations will contribute positively towards peace and co-operation.

73. Maldives is among the community of nations a small nation which depends very much for its well-being and progress on the principles of peace and international co-operation. We firmly believe that the United Nations system, despite its short-comings, has been and will continue to be the most vital instrument that the family of nations has so far evolved for the maintenance of peace and security in the world and for the promotion of the principles of freedom, justice and human dignity.

74. We realize that the problems which we face today are difficult, complex and of a considerable magnitude; but we hope that, with a greater sense of responsibility and our collective efforts, we shall be able to solve those problems. The implementation of the resolutions we adopt, and a genuine belief in and enthusiasm for the principles embodied in our Charter remain the key factors for the success of our deliberations. As our Secretary-General has said in 1976 in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization:

"The . . . concept of world order is based on respect for the decisions of the principal organs of the United Nations and for international law, principles and procedures."⁶

⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Supplement No. 1A*, sect. IV.

75. The framework for solutions to today's economic problems has already been laid down. The Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*] and the resolution of the seventh special session on development and international economic co-operation [*resolution 3362 (S-VII)*] can guide us, in our deliberations, towards the establishment of a new partnership between the developed and developing countries and of an effective relationship between nations based on the principles of interdependence and mutual respect. My country feels happy that, as a result of our deliberations within the United Nations system during the past few years, we are now able to identify a number of key issues involved in the process of achieving this new relationship. Despite the failure of the recent dialogue in Paris to live up to the expectations of the developing countries, Maldives is happy to see the evidence of an entirely new approach to development and the desire of the developed countries to create effective conditions for a better world economic order.

76. Allow me to mention some specific problems of my country pertaining to development. The most serious impediments are our meagre natural resources and the extreme fragmentation of the thousand-island archipelago, which occupies nearly 100,000 square kilometres in the Indian Ocean. Fisheries and tourism are the only two major fields in which any viable activities can be immediately carried out. So far, Maldives has depended solely on its own limited resources and the bilateral assistance received from friendly countries. The effectiveness of United Nations-assisted programmes was in the past at a minimum, due to the lack of intensified programming to cater for the existing problems of the country. It is only now, because of the nature and urgency of our development needs, combined with the hard economic realities of our times, that we have embarked on projects which require relatively large funds. It is in this context that the Government of Maldives decided to join the IMF, the World Bank Group and the Asian Development Bank. Furthermore, the Government is also seeking assistance from other, similar sources. We are hopeful that with the support of these sources and agencies, and given a few more years to plan ahead, we will be able to catch the train and thereby be able to maintain an adequate momentum of progress to participate in the newly-constructed world economic order.

77. Turning to the major issues confronting the world as a whole, my delegation believes that the problem of disarmament in all its dimensions, particularly the question of controlling the nuclear arms race, remains most urgent. The dangers of recent developments in the field of armaments are beyond our imagination. My delegation hopes that the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly on disarmament will achieve progress in the direction of complete disarmament, or at least free mankind from the perils of nuclear destruction. We strongly condemn the trend of thought which tries to justify the acquisition and use of nuclear weapons as a method of blackmail, even as the last resort for survival.

78. We in Maldives, as a freedom-loving and peace-loving country, view the question of southern Africa as another issue posing grave threats to world peace. In Zimbabwe, the

right of the people to rule themselves is still being obstinately denied by the minority régime in Salisbury. In Namibia, the illegal occupation of African soil by the Pretoria régime continues, and the right of the people to self-determination and independence continues to be ignored. In South Africa itself, the tragic results of the continuation of the abhorrent policy of *apartheid* are being seen in the form of the massacres of the African population in Soweto and other places. Recent developments in South Africa have again demonstrated that the denial of the basic human rights of peoples will only lead to destruction and total unhappiness. Maldives will continue to support the United Nations in its efforts to change the situation in southern Africa, and we reiterate our solidarity with the peoples of southern Africa in their just struggle for human rights and independence.

79. The situation in the Middle East remains a grave disappointment to the people of Maldives. On earlier occasions, my delegation has clearly indicated its rejection of the illegal occupation by Israel of the Arab territories. I wish to reaffirm this position of my Government, which is based not only on an understanding of the historical factors involved, but also on our rejection of the idea of the acquisition of territories by war. We further deplore the flagrant violation of human rights carried out by the Israelis in the occupied territories through systematic efforts to change the demographic composition of Arab lands. We in Maldives, being a Moslem nation, are particularly hurt by the Israeli practices in Jerusalem aimed at changing the Islamic edifices in the Holy Land. My delegation also reiterates its support for the Palestinian people, who have the legitimate right to self-determination on their own national soil. We are convinced that the participation of their authentic representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, is essential in any peace-making effort aimed at a just and lasting solution which will guarantee peace and security in the area.

80. As a maritime nation, Maldives pays special attention to the work and achievements of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. It is of special significance in determining the status of the economic and maritime zones, defining the continental shelf and dealing with the problems related to marine environment.

81. We view the achievements of the last session of the Conference with optimism. It is hoped that the forthcoming session in Geneva will achieve a higher degree of co-ordination in order to conclude the task of the Conference.

82. The Indian Ocean washes the shores of most countries of Asia, including ours. We have joined hands with the countries of the region to make that ocean a zone of peace, free from great-Power rivalry and conflict.

83. Since the inception of the United Nations Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*], we have supported all efforts made towards the practical implementation of that Declaration. Further, we are happy to note the interest expressed early this month by the United States and the Soviet Union in achieving practical results in their talks on this subject. We believe that their good will and co-operation will yield a significant degree of progress in this endeavour.

84. My delegation remains deeply disturbed over the continued violation of the unity and territorial integrity of the Republic of Comoros by foreign occupation of the Comorian island of Mayotte.

85. The question of Cyprus is another unsolved problem which has remained on our agenda for the last several years. My delegation supports all efforts in search of a negotiated and permanent settlement of the problem. We feel that any realistic solution should take into consideration the legitimate interests of all the ethnic groups of the Cypriot community, and that it should preserve the independence and territorial integrity of the nation.

86. Strengthening the role of the United Nations in maintaining peace and security, fostering economic co-operation and harmonizing international action towards a better future is not an impossible task only if we are committed seriously to the principles of the Charter and if we can summon the will and sustain the courage to adjust the national interests to the changing perspectives of the world.

87. Once again I reiterate my country's faith in the United Nations and its firm commitment to the principles of the Charter. I wish to express my Government's hope that the work of the thirty-second session will be crowned with successful results compatible with the expectations of the peoples of the world.

88. Mr. PALMA GALVEZ (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On this particularly auspicious occasion I should like to present to all the members of this Assembly and to the peoples of the world so ably represented here the best wishes of the people and the Government of Honduras.

89. I wish in particular to offer my sincere congratulations to Mr. Mojsov, Deputy Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, on his well-deserved election as President. We are well aware, Mr. President, of the dynamic role your country has played in the international arena in the past few decades, and we are familiar with your personal contribution. Our congratulations go also to Mr. Amerasinghe, who so ably carried out his important functions as President of the General Assembly in a year which was particularly important for the United Nations.

90. My country welcomes the admission of two new Members to the United Nations: The Republic of Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. We greet them warmly and wish to express to them our feelings of friendship and solidarity.

91. The United Nations came into being at the end of the Second World War and unquestionably it has been an expression of the fondest hopes of the peoples of the world for the creation of lasting peace for everyone on the basis of sovereign equality and international co-operation. The United Nations today constitutes the best forum for raising and solving the problems besetting nations. It offers us eloquent proof of what can and should be achieved through dialogue for the benefit of mankind.

92. We have faith in the United Nations. By strengthening it we are laying the groundwork for world peace and we are

giving substance to the hope for a better future for the peoples of the world. All countries represented here have an excellent opportunity to realize fully their potential, to join forces to prevent war and to strengthen international justice.

93. My Government believes that within this Organization the nations of the world must direct their efforts to two fundamental and indissolubly linked objectives: peace and development.

94. There must be world harmony, but it will be difficult to achieve without high levels of economic growth and social well-being for the more than two thirds of the people of the world who are living in a state of abject poverty. The United Nations must therefore maintain peace with justice and, faced with this immense task, its role as a great conciliator will increase, and in future years its success will largely depend on the progress made in the area of justice among nations and development.

95. There have been many changes in the international arena in the past few years, and in this constantly changing world of ours there must be respect for the principles which should underlie international relations and which have been often proclaimed by our Organization over the past three decades. Not only is this the right time to reaffirm our faith in the principles of the Charter; this is the time for performance and for achievement. It is a matter of urgency that we overcome the economic and political obstacles to a climate of peaceful coexistence based on a harmonious and balanced development of the international community that will end situations of great inequality, substitute dialogue for confrontation, recognize the interdependence of the peoples of the world and associate the developed and developing countries in prosperity and freedom. We believe that it is only by overcoming economic and political obstacles that we can guarantee peace and well-being for present and future generations of the world in which we live. It is towards these goals that we must strive.

96. Honduras is a peace-loving nation and it respects its international commitments. We hope that in our part of the world, Central America, renunciation of the use of force as a means of settling differences will be a guiding principle in our international conduct.

97. I should like to reiterate on this occasion our determination to achieve an early and satisfactory settlement of the dispute that has in the past few years divided my country and the Republic of El Salvador. We believe that the mediation agreement concluded under the auspices of the Organization of American States on 6 October 1976 will be a decisive element in a final settlement, if both sides so agree. We expect that on 22 November next the procedure laid down will be initiated and can lead us eventually to the restoration of the peace and the cordial relations which should exist between peoples that are linked together by history and geography. We shall go to the negotiating table without any prejudgement and with our minds open to whatever solutions may be proposed for the settlement of the dispute, and we invite the nations represented here, and the Organization itself, to follow closely and support our efforts to bring back peace and harmony to Central America.

98. That has been our traditional position. That is also our hope with regard to other conflicts dividing friendly countries.

99. It is with good reason that my Government has viewed with concern the crisis which has recently arisen between Guatemala and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland over the territory of Belize. My country wishes to express its support for a negotiated settlement of the problem.

100. Honduras believes that in the solution of this problem the historical and legal data on which the Guatemalan claims are based and the universally recognized principles of international public law that guarantee for the parties a solution that will take account of their fundamental interests, must not be disregarded.

101. In accordance with the Guatemalan statement of 25 August of this year, my Government reiterates its satisfaction at the decision of the Governments of Guatemala and the United Kingdom to resolve the problem of Belize in accordance with the method of the peaceful settlement of international disputes established by international law in such a way as to find a negotiated solution which will reconcile the rights of Guatemala and the interests of the people of Belize.

102. Pursuing the same line of thought, I must say that the Government and people of Honduras welcomed with satisfaction the signing of the Panama Canal treaties between the United States of America and Panama. Honduras interprets this as the expression of a new attitude and a new desire on the part of the United States of America to understand Latin America sympathetically, to work with and respect us in meeting the challenges of the world of the present day. Force must no longer be used but must be replaced by interdependence and considerations of mutual benefit.

103. It is our earnest hope that the dispute between the Argentine Republic and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland concerning the Malvinas Islands will be resolved taking account of the historical and legal rights underlying the position of the Argentine Republic. We are confident that the talks which took place in Rome in May of this year between the representatives of the two nations will make a positive contribution to the settlement of the problem. The reopening of the dialogue is proof of the mature and responsible manner in which the Governments concerned have approached the settlement of the problem. We also hope that Spain, rejuvenated and vibrant, will conclude its negotiations on Gibraltar with the United Kingdom.

104. For the reasons already stated, my country has followed with interest the negotiations between the Governments of Bolivia, Chile and Peru relating to the land-locked status of the first. While sympathizing fully with Bolivia's predicament, we believe that the countries concerned will be able to reconcile their positions so that, in accordance with the historic Declaration of Ayacucho,⁷

the dialogue will continue and lead to the best possible solution in accordance with the aspirations of those brotherly peoples.

105. The efforts which have been made to maintain peace throughout the American continent strengthen our confidence in the inter-American system and its machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes. We note that similar arrangements exist in other parts of the world with regard to pending problems, the solution of which is not impossible.

106. Consequently my Government views with satisfaction the prospects for the resumption in Geneva of negotiations on peace in the Middle East. The diplomatic actions of friendly nations lead us to hope that there will be at the negotiating table representatives of all the parties concerned. The United Nations has played and should continue to play an important role in the maintenance of peace in the Middle East, and resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) adopted on the subject by the Security Council take account of the interests at stake and should serve as a basis for lasting peace in that part of the world. Honduras cannot fail to reaffirm its hope that in regard to this international problem as to others the principles of the United Nations Charter will be respected.

107. My Government joins the international community in urging the provision of assistance to the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe in order to ensure that they speedily obtain majority government and independence by peaceful means.

108. We also hope that there will be genuine progress in the talks on Cyprus which are being held in Vienna with the participation of the United Nations. The best tribute to the memory of Archbishop Makarios would be the achievement of an equitable solution of the complex problems of that country, which relate to its territorial integrity.

109. Today more than ever before the future of mankind depends on our being able to reconcile the different interests in the international community. Honduras places its faith in continuous negotiations, open dialogue and permanent co-operation. No matter how widely separated positions may seem to be, my country believes that at the present time no international conflict can remain unresolved indefinitely.

110. Reviewing the principal international problems, Honduras is particularly pleased that in most cases the world has chosen the only acceptable civilized way of settling disputes among nations—namely, the peaceful way, which my country traditionally, clearly, sincerely and unswervingly supports.

111. I am expressing the feelings of the people and Government of my country when I say that it is our hope that the outstanding problems to which I have referred will be solved speedily and appropriately in accordance with the principles of international respect and harmony.

112. Any conflict requires the diversion to armaments of the resources needed to provide better living conditions for man. Unquestionably, the settlement of international dis-

⁷ Signed in Lima on 9 December 1974. For the text, see document A/10044, annex.

putes would release a large part of those resources. We are hoping for ever more radical changes in this field because never before has so much been spent on armaments in time of peace. But mankind must not only desire but must move firmly towards general and complete disarmament.

113. Because it is contrary to our way of thinking, we are particularly concerned about the proliferation of nuclear weapons and the growing danger of the use of nuclear energy for warlike and destructive purposes. The security supposedly created by an arms race has in fact been destroyed by the very existence of these death-dealing weapons. The enormous sums of money spent on arms make us think that the world's development depends largely on halting the arms race. The world community can no longer continue to harness human genius to the invention of the means of its own destruction. With a quarter of the resources spent in one year on research on and the production of armaments we could carry on a significant struggle against under-development and social injustice in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

114. My country hopes that at the next special session of the General Assembly which will be devoted to disarmament significant progress will be made and that the role of the United Nations in achieving this priority objective will be strengthened; otherwise the declarations and covenants which state that international society was created by and for man will have no meaning.

115. In the sphere of human rights our position has been, is and will continue to be one of strict respect for those rights. We believe that the problem of human rights is a challenge to the international community. There can be no respect for human dignity when we do not fight hunger, low levels of health, illiteracy, inequality and injustice. My Government is trying to bring about substantial reforms with a view to furthering economic, social and political development in my country. We are particularly interested in social development to benefit the overwhelming majority of the population of my country.

116. In September Honduras became the fourth country to deposit with the Secretary-General of the Organization of American States its instrument of ratification of the American Convention on Human Rights, which was signed in San José, Costa Rica, on 22 November 1969. By so doing, my Government wishes to emphasize the importance which it attaches to this subject.

117. We hope there will be an analysis of the situation of human rights throughout the world, with special reference to the close relationship between under-development and respect for human rights. We believe that respect for human rights is a problem which cannot be taken up solely from a national standpoint. We believe that international relations play a most important role in the observance of human rights and that both the industrial nations and those striving for development have a responsibility which cannot be avoided. For that reason, my country supports Costa Rica's proposal for the establishment of the office of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights.

118. Political terrorism, which is non-existent in our country, is a source of great concern to the Honduran

people, particularly because of the harm that violence has caused throughout Central America. Those acts, which have proliferated over the past few years, deserve a detailed and thorough analysis of their causes and motives and drastic action on the part of the international community.

119. We are well aware of the efforts that the United Nations has made to arrive at decisions aimed at eliminating this problem completely. It is unquestionably a threat to the integrity of the human person.

120. My country greatly regrets that, halfway through the second part of the twentieth century, the policy of *apartheid* continues to exist, for it negates the principles of the Charter and constitutes a real crime against humanity. The indifference with which the various resolutions of our Organization have been greeted should lead us to reconsider collective action against that particular odious form of segregation. For that reason, my country will continue unreservedly to support whatever action is taken to eliminate the policy of *apartheid* once and for all.

121. Regarding the problems relating to the law of the sea, Honduras hopes that, with wisdom, nations will be able to remove the dangers that threaten the conservation and exploitation of the resources of the sea, which is the common heritage of mankind. In the coming years, we will have to resort more and more to the sea as an important source of food and mineral resources. The conferences that the United Nations has convened on the law of the sea should give the world rules and regulations ensuring the rational and equitable exploitation of such resources, the freedom of navigation, agreement on the delimitation of various maritime areas under national sovereignty and control, effective means to prevent the pollution of the seas, and the rights of States to conduct scientific research in the various zones. All such arrangements should, of course, have due regard for the inalienable right of the developing countries to dispose freely of their natural resources.

122. My country established its sovereignty over the continental and insular shelf and superjacent waters out to a distance of 200 miles from our coast, in Decree No. 96 of 26 January 1950, which was issued during the administration of Mr. Juan Manuel Gálvez. Our rights were reaffirmed in the Declaration of the Honduran Foreign Ministry of 17 June 1974, wherein Honduras' right was stated as follows: "to exploit the living and mineral resources in a 200-mile zone, in accordance with the principles proclaimed for the first time in the Gálvez Declaration of 1950".

123. This is perhaps an appropriate time also to say that recently the twenty-fifth anniversary of the historic Declaration of the South Pacific⁸ was put forward. While recognizing the special features of the position put forward by the brotherly countries of Chile, Peru and Ecuador, we must recognize their contribution to the fight being waged by developing countries to maintain their rights over the sea.

124. This struggle cannot be separated from the international undertaking to bring about a new international

⁸ Declaration on the Maritime Zone. See *Yearbook of the International Law Commission*, 1956, vol. I (United Nations publication, Sales No. 1956.V.3, vol. I), 362nd meeting, para. 35.

economic order. We fully support the philosophy of the United Nations that there should be new relations of co-operation based on equity, sovereign equality and the common interests of States. My country hopes that effective action will be taken to rectify existing injustices. We must set aside whatever resentful feelings we may have which may cloud our action, and we must substitute co-operation for confrontation. The countries of the third world must speedily overcome the present vulnerability of their economies, the chronic deficits in their foreign trade balances, and the lack of funds they need for integrated development. These objectives can only be achieved in a climate of harmony and with the understanding of industrial countries. The dialogue begun in Paris during The Conference on International Economic Co-operation should be pursued and continued within the United Nations.

125. It would be disastrous for the world to close out the possibilities of discussion and effective co-operation concerning energy conservation, rational use of energy, energy supplies and the search for new sources of energy, as well as the help that should be given to the developing countries that do not produce oil and whose economies have been seriously affected by the recent rise in the price of energy.

126. The establishment of a common fund for stabilization of commodity prices might be one result of the Paris Conference. This co-operation should be extended to the search for effective means to ensure competitiveness between natural and manufactured products and to ensure better marketing and distribution of raw materials, diversification of exports, the opening of new markets for traditional products, and the improvement of the generalized system of preferences and of bilateral trade conditions.

127. Negotiations regarding tropical products in the Tokyo round of GATT negotiations ran into the same sort of impasse as in other areas, despite the urgent label attached to the conclusion and implementation of an agreement on the subject.

128. Attention must be given to development aid programmes and to increasing co-operation in the areas of agriculture, food and health. Similarly, in the areas of industrial development, infrastructure and the transfer of technology, my country feels there should be machinery to make more flexible and regulate relations based on mutual advantage, bearing in mind the special needs of the developing countries.

129. UNDP has fortunately overcome the crisis which threatened it last year, but it cannot be said that its future is completely secure. It has done most useful work, for which Honduras would like to express its appreciation once again; it should continue to receive increased funds, to administer them judiciously, and to adopt new machinery such as joint projects and bilateral sources of assistance.

130. Other United Nations funds should also co-ordinate their policies with those of UNDP, and all of them should always adhere to the principle of universality in their allocations. The specialized agencies of the United Nations should not only be able to use the resources of UNDP, but they should begin really to supplement them with funds from their regular budgets which, despite the financial

difficulties affecting them at the present time, should be more oriented to development assistance.

131. We cannot fail to mention the importance which Honduras attributes to co-operation among developing countries, especially to forms of economic integration based on a just distribution of benefits and sacrifices. We also attach importance to achieving broader objectives and broader membership, and this would apply to the Latin American Economic System, from which my delegation expects great achievements.

132. We believe that the time has come for the peoples of the third world unhesitatingly to increase their efforts to improve their future in the economic and social areas. We hope that they will in this way play their part in the concert of nations. The results of this would be that the new human spirit we all hope for will indeed emerge and there will be a respect for man wherever he may be in the world.

133. I should not like to conclude my statement without expressing warm and respectful appreciation to Mr. Kurt Waldheim for his wisdom and dynamism as Secretary-General.

134. I wish to express the hope of the people and Government of Honduras that the debates of this Assembly will be directed towards the finding of solutions which will guarantee peace among nations, so that man's great adaptability and imagination will be used to overcome the obstacles to the development of all the peoples of the world.

135. Today, when we no longer believe that negotiations on a world-wide basis should be marked by sterile rhetoric; today, as we try to go beyond the more inglorious moments of human history, using our knowledge of what we have been and of what we are and with faith in a future that will confirm the prodigious changes wrought by man for man through progress in science and technology, we wish to reaffirm our adherence to the principles of the legal equality of States, of territorial integrity, of the self-determination of peoples and of respect for human rights. We proclaim our belief in the peaceful settlement of international disputes, in non-intervention, in international co-operation, in the permanent and full sovereignty of each State over its natural resources. We condemn the use of force and armed aggression. We repudiate foreign domination and occupation, discrimination in any form and the exploitation and degradation of man by man. That is our credo.

136. The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker for this morning. Several representatives have requested to exercise their right of reply today. I will call on three representatives this morning and the others will speak at the end of this afternoon's meeting.

137. Mr. AL-SAHHAH (Iraq): Of all the baseless allegations made by the spokesman of the Zionist entity yesterday before this Assembly I shall, in exercising my right of reply, refute only one, namely, that relating to the cause of the refugee problem, since he brought up the name of Iraq within that context.

138. Moshe Dayan's claim that the refugee problem was the outcome of the Arab attack against the Zionist entity is refuted by his own former Prime Minister, David Ben-Gurion, who stated in his book *Rebirth and Destiny of Israel*, published in 1954:

"Until the British left, no Jewish settlement, however remote, was entered or seized by the Arabs, while the Haganah . . . captured many Arab positions and liberated Tiberias and Haifa, Jaffa and Safad . . . So, on the day of destiny, that part of Palestine where the Haganah"—the Haganah, as you know, is the Zionist terrorist organization—"could operate was almost clear of Arabs."⁹

"Clear of Arabs": how similar is that expression to the Nazi concept of the *Judenrein Reich*, the Reich made clear of Jews. As Ben-Gurion said, Arab armies did not enter Palestine until after the British left, and there were already 300,000 Arab refugees from Palestine. The Arab armies came to the rescue of the remnant of the Palestinians.

139. When the Zionists now point out that there was in fact an exchange of populations as a result of the alleged Arab aggression, they are seeking to perpetuate another myth in order to cover up their premeditated plan which effected the said exchange of populations.

140. The plan was hatched here in New York in May 1942, long before any Arab soldier set foot in Palestine. The Zionists met at the Biltmore Hotel and adopted the so-called Biltmore programme. After consulting with Zionist leaders, General Patrick J. Hurley reported the following to President Roosevelt:

"... the Zionist organization in Palestine has indicated its commitment to an enlarged programme for (1) a sovereign Jewish State which would embrace Palestine and probably eventually Transjordan, (2) an eventual transfer of the Arab population from Palestine to Iraq and (3) Jewish leadership for the whole Middle East in the fields of economic development and control."¹⁰

141. In order to establish their entity in Palestine, the Zionists had to clear the land of the Palestinians, the rightful owners and the undisputed majority in the land. Iraq never acquiesced in the Zionist plan. It never accepted the movement of peoples like herds of cattle across international boundaries in order to fulfil the dreams of the Zionist empire. Hence the Zionists' venomous attacks against Iraq, especially since the Government of Iraq has promulgated a law ensuring full citizenship rights to all Iraqi Jews wishing to return to Iraq. Other Arab Governments have adopted similar laws. This of course raises the wrath of the Zionists. It is a reversal of the Zionist plan to uproot all Jewish communities wherever they may be throughout the whole world and transplant them to occupied Palestine.

142. Mr. NUSEIBEH (Jordan): By a remarkable and blatant combination of omissions and commissions,

Mr. Dayan in his statement yesterday [27th meeting] communicated his Government's abrogation, in this hall, of practically all United Nations resolutions, including the General Assembly's resolutions 181 (II) and 194 (III), by virtue of which Israel was admitted to the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the inalienable natural rights of a whole people, the fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 1949, international law, and, last but not least, the sincere and assiduous efforts that are painstakingly being made to convene the United Nations Peace Conference on the Middle East and to arrive at a just and lasting peace. His message was, in effect, telling delegations, "I interpret the resolutions, and you drink the sea".

143. Specifically, I would refute the following points.

144. First, it is a distortion to claim that the Arabs have been for the last 30 years guilty of aggression. The Israelis wilfully and deliberately launched their 80,000-man military machine against the wholly disarmed Palestinians, who did nothing more than to take part in one or two riots in protest against the vivisection of their country.

145. Secondly, the Israelis launched the 1956 war against Egypt, and everybody knows that.

146. Thirdly, the Israelis struck Egypt in 1967—Pearl Harbour style—on the eve of the scheduled departure of Egypt's Vice-President to Washington, D.C. to resolve the issue peacefully.

147. Fourthly, 1973 was the only time that the Arabs started a war after despairing of Israel's withdrawal from the occupied territories and after telling the Security Council in June—and I attended that meeting—that occupation could not and would not be allowed to continue.¹¹ Israel occupied four fifths of Palestine long before a single Arab soldier set foot in Palestine. The Arab armies entered after 15 May 1948 in order to prevent a more massive massacre of the civilian population that would have dwarfed the indescribable Deir Yasin massacre of 300 unarmed men, women and children by the arch-terrorist, Mr. Begin. I saw the remains of those stunned children when they were thrown across the lines, having been paraded on Israeli streets in a "victory parade".

148. Fifthly, contrary to what Mr. Dayan claimed, we could have had peace decades ago when both sides met at Lausanne and initialled the Lausanne Protocol on 20 July 1949. After initialling, the Israelis reneged and a member of the Israeli delegation told a Palestinian member of the Syrian delegation, whom he knew in Haifa: "Every time we tell the old man"—meaning Ben-Gurion—"about that peaceful solution, the old man's eyes turn red". This all happened under the auspices of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine.

149. Sixthly, the Jordanian Army never conquered or annexed Palestine. It was—as Mr. Dayan knows better than anyone else because he was a member of the British Army—stationed in the most strategic areas of Palestine.

⁹ David Ben Gurion, *Rebirth and Destiny of Israel* (New York, Philosophical Library, 1954), pp. 530-531.

¹⁰ See *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers: the Near East and Africa, 1943*, Department of State publication 7665 (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964), p. 77.

¹¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-eighth Year, 1717th meeting*, para. 165.

throughout the Second World War to help the allied cause. It withdrew from Palestine when the British Mandate ended on 15 May, and returned only on 18 May to rescue the beleaguered Arab inhabitants of Jerusalem, who defended the city heroically until their ammunition completely ran out. The Jordanian Army, a mere battalion 600 strong, came to the rescue of the citizens at their urgent pleading and it came to Arab Palestine and not to those areas earmarked by the United Nations for Israel.

150. Seventhly, the allegation of Jordanian annexation is equally distorted. The unity of the two banks was an act adopted on 24 April 1950 by Parliament, a Parliament freely elected from both banks. In that resolution there was a provision to the effect that their unity was based on their working together towards the restoration of all the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, who, when those rights were restored, would exercise their right to self-determination—which His Majesty King Hussein has been saying all along.

151. Mr. Dayan's reference to Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) renders them meaningless, just as frenzied Israeli settlements in the occupied territories have rendered them, in practice, empty shells.

152. Eighthly, I do not know why the Israelis have such a penchant for self-persecution. The reference in resolution 242 (1967) to refugees is clearly to the Palestinian refugees, whose sufferings have been beyond description for the last 30 years, while the Israeli conquerors were happily settled in their homes, farms, factories and public utilities.

153. Ninthly, the Arab Jews from the Arab countries are not refugees. They were enticed, bribed and promised heaven if they would leave their ancient homes. They left properties for which, if they refuse to return, they will be compensated. But who in his senses would equate that migration with the dispersal, homelessness and suffering of the Palestinian refugees recognized by this Assembly in resolution 194 (III) and reaffirmed every year thereafter?

154. Tenthly, a little brushing up on English terminology might well be in order. Quite apart from the "inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war" which are the words of Security Council resolution 242 (1967)—and quite apart from the notorious missing "the", the word "withdrawal" refers to the territories occupied in 1967. The identification of withdrawal with 1967 means, in straight English as I understand it, all territories occupied on a specific date, namely, 6 June 1967.

155. I have given a very brief comment on Mr. Dayan's *diktat* to this Assembly yesterday.

156. There is one further point that is so pathetic that it sounds more amusing than tragic. Mr. Dayan wants the residents—or are they "guests" in his ideology?—in other words, the Palestinians in their ancestral homeland, to participate in the political life of Jordan while Israel retains control over the West Bank. Is there a precedent in history or in politics, where a country—in this case, Jordan—is to be free in the East Bank and in bondage in the West? How can a gentleman become a member of the Jordanian Cabinet or Parliament when he is under the *de facto* control of a foreign Power? This is a novelty cocktail that might well be recommended as a new concept in defining government, independence, self-determination and sovereignty.

157. The reason why Mr. Dayan has not come out for open and complete annexation is that he does not wish the Palestinian inhabitants to undermine the purity of the Jewish State. So he came up with this ingenious idea. Need I go any further? Yes, I should, because upon this hangs the survival of the Middle East region and not only that region. In 1950, Mr. Ben-Gurion formed a special committee, accountable directly to him, to work in the development of an atomic arsenal. To do this Israel has resorted, over the past two or three decades, to every means, fair and foul, including the piracy of plutonium and the theft of the ideas and technology of advanced countries. Now Israel has the atomic weapon, and yet Mr. Dayan claims that it wants a nuclear-free zone in the region, and that the Arabs are standing in the way of the establishment of such a zone.

158. Mr. ABDULLATIF (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): In reply to the representative who took the floor for the third time when he was claiming that regional co-operation, in which my country firmly believes, is a threat to the stability of that country, I would like to offer the following comment, which is simply to state that the true threat in fact stems from the policy of aggression in various forms adopted by his Government vis-à-vis my country ever since its independence.

159. My country is aware of its special responsibilities regarding the maintenance of stability and attaches special importance to its co-operation with the neighbouring countries concerned. Thanks to that co-operation with our neighbours and brothers, we are determined to ensure the security and stability of our countries. And that is the very basis of my country's foreign policy established by His Majesty Sultan Qabus bin Said.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.