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President: Mr. Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA
(Algeria).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. BATRES (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Coming from a region of destruction and death, I speak from this rostrum in pain, with the single purpose of appealing, on behalf of a people who today owing to a natural disaster is living the most tragic moments of its history, to the humanitarian feelings of the States of the world represented here.

2. Last week, a tropical storm of devastating force was unleashed on the Atlantic coast of Honduras, sowing destruction and death. The consequent climatic changes led to torrential rains, uninterrupted for several days, which caused violent and extensive floods, spreading damage over the entire national territory and leaving in their wake mourning, desolation and loss.

3. The very dimension of the tragedy makes it impossible for us to give exact information on human and material losses. Suffice it to say that so far it is estimated that 10,000 persons have died and that of the 600,000 persons inhabiting the areas most affected by the storms, and who are deprived of their means of livelihood, more than 100,000 are homeless.

4. To see these figures in the right perspective, it is necessary to bear in mind that the total population of my country is less than 3 million.

5. The backbone of the economy of my country is broken; 85 per cent of the harvests of the main exports and consumption products have been destroyed and water covers and will continue to cover for some time what used to be the fertile fields that constituted the greatest wealth of my country, making it virtually impossible to restore them for a long time and in some cases causing irreparable damage.

6. Honduras is essentially an agricultural and cattle-raising country, and a very high percentage of the national production in these areas was concentrated in the affected region.

7. As though this was not sufficient mortally to wound a poor and small country, our industrial centres are located in the area of the greatest destruction and in many cases they will have to close down, while in other cases they will have at least to reduce the rate of their operations for a long time, thus aggravating the already high rate of unemployment.

8. The damages to the infrastructure—roads, bridges, railroads, power-lines, drinking water systems, port facilities and so on—are simply catastrophic. The effort required for reconstruction is still incalculable.

9. Preliminary technical estimates set the losses at approximately \$1,000 million. And this in a country whose gross national product is far below that amount.

10. In the face of the Honduran tragedy, the international community has demonstrated its solidarity and responded with alacrity. From the four corners of the world we have received contributions which have helped in meeting our enormous need for food, clothes, medicines and supplies. To all the nations and organizations which, in one way or another, have come to our assistance, I should like, on behalf of Honduras, to extend our profound and lasting gratitude.

11. The people and Government of Honduras are stoically doing all that is humanly possible, devoting all their efforts and resources and working 24 hours a day to meet the most urgent needs brought about by our tragedy. And we are unshakeably resolute in facing the responsibility of reconstructing our wounded homeland with total devotion. Unfortunately, we understand that our own efforts, intensive as they may be, will not suffice and that we urgently need massive assistance on the part of all States of goodwill.

12. This is the reason for my presence on this forum. I am grateful for the special opportunity granted to me to address the Assembly. I come as the representative of a poor and proud people who need help. We have confidence in the international organizations and in the feelings of human solidarity of all nations and we hope that assistance will be speedy and generous. I am profoundly encouraged in that hope by the fact that the group of Latin American States has authorized me to tell you that it feels the tragedy afflicting Honduras as its own and as one of continental scope.

13. God's will, which puts us to the test, at the same time gives us strength to bear this test and the confidence that in the world there are sensitive people ready to extend a friendly hand to us. I appeal today to their consciences, since in supreme moments of anguish and pain a wounded people can only offer its unshakeable will to survive and its endless gratitude to those who accompany and assist it.

14. Mr. GULDBERG (Denmark) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, it is a great pleasure for me on behalf of my Government and personally to congratulate you on your election as President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

15. We congratulate not only you as President on this honour and this confidence that have thus been placed in you personally, but also your country, Algeria. The place of your country and your own personal place in the field of international co-operation will make it greatly possible for you during your presidency to initiate those progressive, conciliatory and mediating activities upon which the success of our General Assembly depends.

The speaker continued in English.

16. In his interesting report on the work of the Organization [A/9601 and Add.1], the Secretary-General has made it quite clear that this session of the General Assembly is of particular significance. Our attention this year must be focused on the danger of a recession in the industrialized countries, on the new possibilities for co-operation between industrialized and developing nations, and on the urgent need for emergency assistance to the countries most seriously affected by the economic crisis.

17. The United Nations must be prepared to keep abreast of rapidly and radically changing problems. At the same time, nations must be ready to meet new challenges. We must all realize the steadily growing interdependence of nations. The traditional grouping of countries is undergoing changes. International solidarity has become indispensable for an increasing number of countries.

18. The past year has seen sharp changes in international price relationships. The rate of inflation rose steeply. Balance-of-payments difficulties are threatening a great many countries. The deliberations of this General Assembly on economic and social problems are taking place against the background of fears of a world economic recession unprecedented in the history of this Organization. If we allow the situation to become further aggravated, the whole world will stand to lose.

19. Not only a feeling of solidarity, but also far-sighted self-interest should inspire the wealthier nations to contribute to the promotion of economic progress in the less fortunate countries. These countries, for their part, must recognize that stable economic growth in the developed countries is a *sine qua non* for the expansion of world trade and, in turn, for the economic development of the developing countries.

20. At the sixth special session of the General Assembly I stated from this rostrum [2218th meeting] that, in the view of the Danish Government, changes in relative prices are not only acceptable but necessary if technological and economic progress in all parts of the world is to continue.

21. But at the same time I warned against substantial price changes over short periods. Industries need time to adapt techniques to changed circumstances. Only by taking these factors into account can we hope to accomplish our aim of a more equitable distribution of resources among the peoples of the world at a steadily increasing level of wealth.

22. The present economic difficulties of countries like mine cannot, of course, be compared to those of a number of countries of the third world, where people are often wanting the most basic amenities of life. However, being heavily dependent on foreign trade, including imports of most raw materials, Denmark is also faced with very real problems that are especially hard to solve for a small country with an even distribution of income and with a democratic political system.

23. In Denmark we are striving to adjust ourselves to the new economic situation. We have just made a substantial change in the economy of our public sector by reducing our income taxes by 7,000 million Danish kroner a year, which corresponds to about 25 per cent, and at the same time reducing public expenditure by about 7,000 million Danish kroner. We know that to overcome the present situation the active part of the Danish population will have to work harder and more effectively to maintain the present standard of living. We have in fact been able to make this drastic cut in public expenses without changing the Danish development policy or the amount to be allocated to development assistance. We will continue, to the best of our ability, to maintain the high level of our contributions to multilateral development organs. We recognize that long-term assistance provided by industrial countries is the type of aid with which developing countries can best improve their economies and raise the standard of living of their people. It is our sincere hope that these efforts will not be undermined by policies leading to a contraction of economic activities in other industrial countries. Finally, the need for assistance in emergencies must certainly be recognized. As a member of the European Economic Community, Denmark will participate in the planned contribution by the Community to the developing countries most seriously affected by the economic crisis.

24. By organizing a series of world-wide conferences on economic and social problems, the United Nations has provided a framework for shaping new policies in international development co-operation. These conferences present unique opportunities which we must utilize. We must endeavour to understand the problems facing other Governments and the limitations set for their freedom of action. We must recognize that only widely accepted recommendations can lead to workable and lasting solutions.

25. The scope of these problems has also presented the European Economic Community with great challenges. It is the justified hope of the Danish Government that the nine members of the Community will be able to live up to these challenges so that the European build-up may gather renewed momentum for the benefit of the member States of the European communities as well as for all other nations of the world. My country attaches particular importance to the responsibility and open-mindedness of the European communities towards the outside world. We for our part expect that other economic groupings of the world will show understanding of the importance and necessity of growing economic co-operation in Europe.

26. Denmark—together with the other member States of the European communities—has whole-

heartedly supported the establishment of a European-Arab dialogue. This dialogue, which is directed neither against any other State nor against any other geographical area in the world and which in aim and content differs from the efforts made to solve the current Middle East conflict, is a natural continuation of a tradition based upon geographical, historical, cultural and economic realities. The dialogue is an innovation—a form of region-to-region co-operation based on the presumption that close neighbours have a concern for one another.

27. In Portugal, the firm resolve of the new Government to bring an end to 500 years of colonial rule in Africa has so far resulted in the admission of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau to membership in the United Nations, in the formation of a Government with African representation in Mozambique, which will soon attain independence, and also in the opening of negotiations for the future existence of Angola in freedom and independence. To a representative of a European country, which, throughout the lifetime of the United Nations, has made persistent and active efforts to speed up such developments, it is extremely gratifying to note that this mission of the United Nations is about to accomplish its ultimate goal. It is our hope that in the final phase of this process all sides will show the understanding necessary to ensure that the process can be terminated in peace and co-operation.

28. We have witnessed encouraging trends in international developments, but there are still areas in which human tragedies occur and political tensions prevail. I should like, in particular, to underline that, in order to secure for individuals respect for fundamental human rights, we consider torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment to be impermissible, wherever in the world it occurs.

29. In southern Africa, the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa and the attitude of the minority régime of Southern Rhodesia are frightening examples of developments that are incompatible with universally accepted trends. My Government is prepared, now as before, to contribute, within the framework of the Charter, to such effective measures as can be adopted to reverse the trend in these areas.

30. Although the situation in the Middle East remains very serious and fraught with danger there are still, in our opinion, prospects of progress towards an over-all solution of the Middle East conflict. It is essential to keep up the momentum in the international efforts which are being made to provide a just and durable peace on the basis of the troop separation agreements, with due regard for all legitimate interests, including the legitimate rights of the Palestinians.

31. In the last few months, we have witnessed a tragic conflict in Cyprus. We have the greatest sympathy for the Cypriot people, and we deplore the painful humanitarian problems which the crisis has created. The Danish Government, having contributed to the peace-keeping as well as to the humanitarian efforts in Cyprus, hopes that all parties will abide by the resolutions of the Security Council and observe the cease-fire, respect the United Nations flag and facilitate in every way the work of the United

Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus in discharging the important tasks imposed upon the Force. We are convinced that a just and durable solution to the problems of Cyprus can be achieved only through negotiations in complete conformity with the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations.

32. The major Powers, evidently, have a special responsibility for ensuring more stable developments in these troubled areas—developments opening possibilities for solutions equitable to both parties. Against this background it is most essential that developments in East-West relations should be marked by continuity in the policy of *détente*—a continuity which may hold out hopes for the viability of this policy.

33. The efforts to bring nuclear weapons under control and to expand co-operation in various fields between the United States and the Soviet Union have been continuing, and in our part of the world important questions stemming from the wish to develop mutual trust and co-operation and to reduce the level of military forces have been the subject of significant multilateral talks in Geneva and Vienna.

34. Denmark has noted with interest the agreements in the field of disarmament that were concluded between the United States and the Soviet Union at the summit meeting in Moscow in July. We hope that these agreements will provide a basis for progress towards limitations of strategic arms and complete disarmament. Denmark hopes that the treaty concerning underground nuclear arms test explosions may be extended to cover more than explosions exceeding 150 kilotons.

35. Efforts should be made in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament to reach agreement on a complete test-ban treaty and on a treaty prohibiting the development, manufacture and stockpiling of all chemical weapons and providing for the elimination of existing stocks of such weapons.

36. My Government considers it to be of great importance to achieve, as soon as possible, the adherence of all States Members of the United Nations to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*].

37. The efforts which Denmark has made for years to convene a Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe spring from a wish to give real substance to East-West *détente* in regard to the States as well as the peoples and the individuals involved. It remains our view that the mandate of the Conference, which was drafted during the preparatory talks in Helsinki, reflects in a realistic manner questions with respect to which it should be possible at the present juncture to make progress towards a solution. We believe also that such progress would be of great significance for continued and further *détente* both in Europe and in a broader perspective, which would be the primary aim of the Conference.

38. The Conference has just resumed its work in Geneva, and Denmark will continue its efforts to bring about as soon as possible a solution of the outstanding issues that will fully redeem the hopes which the convening of the Conference has generated in all participating countries.

39. In conclusion, I want to say that it is well known to this Assembly that Denmark has always attached decisive importance to participation in the work of the United Nations and has always regarded the United Nations as a fundamental element in the efforts to bring about a just world order and to preserve international peace and security. The existence of a workable and universal United Nations is one of the corner-stones of Denmark's foreign policy.

40. As a Nordic country we have, together with other Nordic countries, enjoyed a high standard of living and we have, jointly and to the best of our abilities, tried to help to promote development of the least-favoured nations. The intention of my further remarks is to emphasize that a country which does not produce raw materials and energy is also interested in continuing economic development and in contributing to progress and development in other parts of the world. It calls for understanding in other countries.

41. As a member of the European communities, we want to be able to participate in the progressive development of European co-operation so as to make Europe a corner-stone of world peace and an important economic factor in the efforts to promote development and raise the standard of living in other countries. That work too has met with difficulties in the present economic situation; that work too demands that other countries understand and accept what we are doing in Europe.

42. In the long term, the solution must be found in the evolving of new technology and in co-operation on an equal footing with the countries possessing natural resources. The task now before us is to ensure, by mutual understanding and co-operation, that the changes take a smooth course, leaving reasonable room and possibilities for countries with widely differing structures.

43. This Organization should be judged by its ability to reconcile conflicting views, to bend our wills towards one another, and to adapt its activities to the ever-changing problems.

44. Mr. VONGVICHIT (Laos) (*interpretation from French*): It would of course be more appropriate for Prince Souvanna Phouma, our Prime Minister, to head the delegation of Laos to the General Assembly. But Prince Souvanna Phouma has only recently been ill and must still spend some time convalescing. It is therefore my duty to head the delegation of Laos to this session of the General Assembly.

45. It is a great honour and a great pleasure for me to represent at the twenty-ninth session of this Assembly the Kingdom of Laos, which, having formed its Provisional Government of National Union and its National Political Coalition Council, has entered a new stage in its history.

46. May I be permitted, on behalf of my country, to associate myself with previous speakers and extend to Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the eminent representative of the glorious People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, a country in the vanguard of the non-aligned countries, our warmest and sincerest congratulations on his unanimous election to the office of President of the current session.

47. I would offer my congratulations also to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General, on his tireless and persevering efforts and the inexhaustible energy he has devoted to the cause of peace and international *détente*.

Mr. Genscher (Federal Republic of Germany), Vice-President, took the Chair.

48. I likewise offer my cordial and respectful greetings to all the representatives present here, to whom also I express my profound gratitude for their feelings of friendship and fraternal sympathy with regard to my country. They have my best wishes for good health and success in their noble undertaking.

49. The political programme of the Government, recently adopted by the National Political Coalition Council in conformity with the Vientiane Agreement, clearly reaffirms the policy of the Kingdom of Laos in favour of genuine peace, independence and neutrality. Moreover, as a member of the great family of non-aligned countries, the Provisional Government of National Union of Laos would wish to express from this rostrum, its position with regard to the various international problems, in conformity with the Political Declaration and the resolutions of the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Algiers in September 1973.¹

50. The year that has just passed has witnessed new and important victories in the struggle of peoples throughout the entire world for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. In all continents the peoples are strengthening their solidarity and intensifying their struggle against the policy of enslavement and exploitation carried on by the imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists, their struggle to reconquer and safeguard their fundamental national rights, to safeguard their countries' resources and to regain their due status in international relations. Those victories are reflected in this General Assembly itself by the number of its Members, which has grown considerably over the past few years through the admission of countries that have recently reconquered their independence.

51. Thus it is with a feeling of deep emotion and admiration that my Government and the people of Laos salute the entry of three new Members into the Organization—Bangladesh, Guinea-Bissau and Grenada—aware as we are of the enormous efforts and the numerous sacrifices made by the leaders and peoples of those countries before they achieved their sacred goal.

52. These happy results clearly demonstrate the imperative necessity henceforth to view world peace and the independence of peoples as the ultimate purpose of all policy. Our human community is faced with enormous tasks. Certain of them, such as the struggle for national liberation, the fight against hunger, the problems of pollution, over-population and the exhaustion of energy resources, are closely linked to posterity, to the freedom of mankind and to survival itself in an already gravely threatened environment. There is indeed a law that can be stated, and that is that human nature aspires to happiness and freedom, and that whatever system will make it

possible for these two fundamental aspirations to succeed will be the one that our human consciousness will recognize as the best. This, I believe, is not the profession of faith of a small Buddhist country; it is also a political philosophy on which we shall have to come to agreement.

53. Also, in view of what I have just stated, the delegation of Laos expresses its disapproval of whatever remains of the colonialist and imperialist spirit throughout the world. We suffer as we continue to see immense territories still being exploited by a colonialism that concerns itself solely with profits and not with morality and respect for man. We hail the heroic struggle of our brothers to free themselves from slavery to the colonialists and neo-colonialists and to conquer and defend their independence and freedom. This just struggle for national liberation has a sacred significance for all people conscious of their dignity, and we wholly and whole-heartedly endorse it.

54. In speaking of the practical results of world policy, we likewise salute the initiative taken in convening the sixth special session of the General Assembly for the purpose of discussing problems relating to raw materials and development, as well as the initiative taken for the drafting of a charter of rights governing access to the wealth of the sea by all countries, including both those with no coastlines and those that enjoy better geographical situation. The time has come for devising some equitable distribution of those riches. No country should be granted privileges on the pretext that the great Powers have at their disposal facilities denied to other countries. Many nations are at present attempting to find an acceptable and just *modus vivendi* capable of remedying many aspects of the economic backwardness of the third world, including the problem of hunger that exists in certain vast areas—an intolerable problem, when we see millions of human beings lacking the very minimum for their subsistence. We are gratified that from this lofty rostrum their cries of suffering are being heard, and that compassion has been aroused and that people are working to assist their neighbours in distress.

55. Since, in the last analysis, it is always a question of the struggle of peoples for their emancipation, we are bound to speak of the war in Indo-China and the directions it has taken. In that part of the world, the peoples have suffered and continue to suffer from an unending slaughter, the sole cause of which is the aggressive policy of the imperialist forces. Thus it is that in Cambodia battles are still raging, imperilling millions of lives and causing damage to artistic treasures of inestimable value.

56. Thus also in Viet Nam, despite the signing of the Paris Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam some 20 months ago, the fighting has not stopped. It is obvious that the peoples of the Indo-Chinese countries are closely bound by ties that have existed for centuries—ties woven by history, politics and sentiments. The peace and independence of the three Indo-Chinese countries are closely bound up together. As one of the signatories of the 1954 Geneva Agreement on the countries of Indo-China and the 1962 Geneva Agreement on Laos, the Provisional Government of Na-

tional Union of Laos believes that the peoples of Laos, Cambodia and Viet Nam must reinforce their solidarity and mutual support in their struggle against imperialist aggression and interference with a view to the full realization of the fundamental national rights of each people. It is precisely for this very reason that strict compliance with the Vientiane Agreement on Laos and similar compliance with the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam are closely linked, as they are linked with the struggle for the peace and independence of our brothers the Khmer people.

57. The Provisional Government of National Union of Laos respects the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and firmly supports the struggle of the Vietnamese people for strict compliance with that Agreement, which implies the reaffirmation of the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people, the cessation of military action and imperialist interference and the solution of the political problem of South Viet Nam through reconciliation and national concord between the two Governments of South Viet Nam in accordance with the legitimate aspirations of the people of that country.

58. The Provisional Government of National Union of Laos firmly supports the struggle of the Khmer people against the policy of aggression and imperialist intervention and for an independent, peaceful, neutral, sovereign, democratic and prosperous Cambodia, secure in its territorial integrity.

59. Lastly, I would venture to speak to you of the problems of the Kingdom of Laos, being convinced that this Assembly will understand the reasons we have for presenting them to you again—reasons stemming solely from our search for peace and national concord.

60. As you are aware, the people of Laos has waged a long and victorious patriotic struggle against imperialism. Thanks to the firm will for independence and peace on the part of the whole Laotian people, and to the immense patience and self-denial of Prince Souvanna Phouma and Prince Souphanouvong, the Vientiane Agreement and its Protocol were signed, asserting once again the fundamental national rights and the neutrality of Laos, re-establishing peace throughout the entire Kingdom, and bringing about national concord step by step. After 20 years of fierce fighting, this result is considerable and has been warmly applauded by the Laotian people and perhaps also by all peoples friendly to Laos. Little by little, a great tranquillity has settled upon that peaceful Kingdom—the great tranquillity of the countryside, once peaceful and prosperous. And now our 700,000 refugees, who had been obliged to leave their villages during the war, are encouraged in their hopes to return in the near future.

61. The two parties in Laos, with the approval of the whole Laotian people, have agreed to participate in the new Government which was formed after the Agreement of 21 February 1973 and the Protocol of 14 September 1973. This new Provisional Government of National Union views its principal tasks as the implementation of the Vientiane Agreement and the completion of the process of national reconciliation so that the Laotian people, shortly after the Kingdom-wide general elections, will have a new, functioning Government, freely

elected by the people, within a constitutional framework of the kind we wish for a peaceful, independent, sovereign, democratic, neutral and unified Laos, which we shall endeavour to make prosperous through our own efforts and with the intensive and unqualified assistance of friendly countries.

62. The Provisional Government of National Union of Laos, faithfully following its policy of peace and neutrality in conformity with the Vientiane Agreement and its Protocol, is concentrating, and will continue to concentrate, all its efforts on consolidating peace and strengthening national independence, preserving the Provisional Government of National Union and the National Political Coalition Council and strengthening national concord. Internationally, the Provisional Government of National Union is pursuing a policy of peace, independence and neutrality. It advocates ties of friendship with all countries, especially with its neighbours, on the basis of respect for the five principles of peaceful coexistence. Laos will make its positive contribution to the common cause of the non-aligned countries, and is actively supporting the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against colonialism and neo-colonialism and for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. While relying upon its own resources for the national reconstruction, it will seek unconditional assistance from all countries that, whatever their political régime, may wish to help Laos bind up the wounds of war and rebuild a country devastated by a long, destructive war.

63. The total withdrawal of all troops and all foreign military personnel from the territory of Laos and from all the neighbouring countries will help to strengthen peace in Laos and reinforce the ties of friendship among the peoples of that part of the world. The struggle of the Laotian people against all attempts to sabotage peace and in favour of the proper implementation of the Vientiane Agreement is a long and arduous one; but because it is a just struggle, the Laotian people will be able to overcome all difficulties and obstacles and will surely achieve final victory.

64. The people of Laos, redoubling its vigilance and strengthening its national union, is determined to fight resolutely for the full and strict application of the Vientiane Agreement, the maintenance of peace, the consolidation of independence and the complete achievement of national concord. It is resolved not to permit a repetition of the unfortunate circumstances of previous coalitions and to safeguard its fundamental national rights.

65. We are firmly convinced that countries and peoples represented in this Assembly that desire peace, freedom and justice will continue to support us in our struggle for the proper implementation of the Vientiane Agreement and to give us all the effective aid necessary for our national construction.

66. I shall conclude my statement by offering my sincere thanks to the friendly countries which have been good enough to give us their disinterested assistance, as well as to those who will be willing to provide their help in the future for the healing of the wounds of war and the reconstruction of our country, thus bringing about a substantial improvement

in the living standards of our people and ensuring real and lasting peace and national concord in Laos.

67. May this year see peace and national concord in Laos strengthened, new victories won by the peoples fighting for peace and national independence and, finally, world peace safeguarded. That is the ardent wish of the people of Laos.

68. Mr. MacEACHEN (Canada): I take great pleasure in joining speakers who have preceded me in congratulating the President on his election to that high office. My delegation is confident that under his wise guidance this twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly will create the climate necessary to deal with the new world outlook so many speakers have foreseen during this general debate.

69. We are particularly aware of the leading role of the President's country in the non-aligned movement. Indeed, the initiative which Algeria took in calling for the special convocation of this Assembly earlier this year will be of signal importance to the work of this Organization in the months and years ahead. The aims of the non-aligned countries as enunciated by President Boumediène in this Hall at the sixth special session [2208th meeting] merit recollection as we commence our work: the emancipation of all peoples in the context of international co-operation based on the equality of States, respect for national sovereignty and the establishment of a just peace throughout the world. These are ideals to which we can all readily subscribe.

70. The presence among us for the first time of the delegations from the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Grenada and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, following the accession of those three States to membership, is evidence of the continued march of this world Organization towards universality. Canada was a sponsor of each of the three resolutions supporting their membership and we are confident that each of those countries will make a distinctive contribution to our work at this session and in the future.

71. We in Canada have been deeply moved by the tragic aftermath of the hurricane which has devastated Honduras and surrounding regions. We heard this morning from the Foreign Minister of that country an appeal for international assistance. In this connexion the Government of Canada has decided to allocate \$525,000 for emergency relief efforts in areas affected by this natural disaster.

72. Some of the major political problems which faced the United Nations during its early years have now receded and no longer figure so prominently in its deliberations. In particular, the cold war is giving way to growing co-operation and *détente*.

73. The last two decades have witnessed the resolute progress of peoples under colonial rule towards self-determination and independence. The past few months have seen particularly encouraging developments in the African Territories which have been or remain under Portuguese administration. Guinea-Bissau has now attained its independence and negotiations to the same end are under way with regard to Mozambique and Angola. It is a matter of satisfaction to all supporters of the United Nations that Portugal has agreed to work with the appropriate United Nations bodies in the process of decoloniza-

tion. We in Canada welcome these developments and offer our encouragement to the Portuguese and African peoples concerned in their search for early equitable and peaceful solutions to remaining problems.

74. Elsewhere, some fragile yet hopeful progress has been made in the past year towards settling certain of the regional conflicts that still exist. Lest we be lulled into an unrealistic sense of security, however, the recent events in Cyprus serve to remind us how quickly a slowly simmering dispute can degenerate into a serious threat to international peace and security.

75. If we have in the past months been reminded of the fragility of international peace and security, we have also come to realize the fragility of international monetary and trade relations. Accelerating rates of inflation and declining rates of growth, high interest rates and low stock prices, together with a widespread sense of unease, mark the problems facing the international economy. There is no doubt that the higher energy costs will require much more financing and in time massive adjustments on the part of those countries, both developed and developing, whose payments positions have been most severely affected.

76. No people or government can of itself deal with the problems of inflation and unemployment, of trade imbalances and currency fluctuations. None will be immune if short-sighted and selfish policies lead to graver repercussions. These are not simply technical problems—questions of currency flows, trade barriers, and exchange rates—they are matters of human dignity. Unemployment, malnutrition, starvation and lack of shelter are an affront to all of us. We ignore them at the risk of our own welfare and security.

77. A renewal and strengthening of international co-operation is an urgent requirement if we are to sustain social progress and economic development. We all have a responsibility to contribute to such co-operation. Those countries which command massive financial resources have, however, a special responsibility for seeing that such resources are invested in a helpful and constructive manner, and that their use strengthens, rather than disturbs, the health of the world economy.

78. At the present time there is no more urgent development issue than the vigour of the world economy. When production and demand falter, all of us—whether developed or developing—suffer. Difficulties in the developed countries translate into distress in developing countries and something akin to disaster in the most seriously affected.

79. If there are grounds for apprehension there are also signs of hope: some important steps have been taken in IMF towards a systematic and progressive reordering of the monetary system; the onset of a major trade negotiation appears to be drawing nearer; a number of industrialized countries have pledged themselves to exert their best efforts to avoid measures restrictive of trade in response to balance-of-payment difficulties.

80. But much more still needs to be done. Development assistance should be maintained and, where possible, increased. The responsible inter-

national institutions should be strongly supported. The habit of consultation should be strengthened.

81. Those considerations will influence Canada's thinking at this session of the General Assembly, as at other international meetings. There are two such meetings to which I wish to draw special attention. This autumn, Governments will meet at the World Food Conference to adopt a programme aimed at securing a sufficiency of food for all. Next year they will meet here in New York at the seventh special session, on development. The Canadian Government attaches great importance to the work of these conferences. We will exert our very best efforts to ensure their success.

82. In seeking solutions to our political and economic problems we cannot forget that we face another pressing task: to ensure that human beings are alive to enjoy the improved circumstances that we are seeking for them.

83. Our security is threatened more than ever today by developments in nuclear and conventional warfare. One of the most urgent problems of our time is how to bring the nuclear arms race under control in order to ensure international stability and the avoidance of nuclear war. The nuclear Powers have a direct responsibility for overcoming this grave problem. At the same time that we face the immediate dangers of existing nuclear arsenals we are confronted—as the Secretary-General has warned—with a heightened risk of the wider dissemination of such arsenals. Here all States have a responsibility. Canada takes seriously its share of that responsibility.

84. Specifically, the problem we face is to devise a system which will allow the dissemination of the benefits of nuclear energy without at the same time contributing to the spread of nuclear weapons. The international community has attempted to devise a system to cope with this problem. Canada has been very active in this endeavour. But the system could be strengthened further.

85. We have developed a valuable system of nuclear power generation and we believe that nuclear power should not be withheld from those whose energy needs can best be met by this method. We are deeply committed to the cause of international development, but equally we are anxious to avoid contributing to the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

86. In addition to our requirements, and subject to security and resource limitations, we want to make our nuclear power generating system available to other countries. However, until more adequate internationally agreed measures are instituted, Canada intends to satisfy itself that any country using Canadian-supplied nuclear technology or material will be subject to binding obligations that the technology or material will not be used in the fabrication of nuclear explosive devices for whatever purpose. To that end Canada attaches special importance to the role of nuclear safeguards applied by IAEA.

87. The need for truly effective anti-proliferation measures fully accepted and applied by the international community is now pressing. The nuclear technology involved is no longer beyond the reach of a growing number of countries. The costs of de-

veloping a nuclear explosive device are no longer prohibitive. The principal problem is to obtain the necessary materials. Every day more and more of these materials are being developed throughout the world and the problem of controlling their movement, as well as their use, is becoming proportionately greater.

88. The phenomenon of proliferation is, in political terms, something like a nuclear chain reaction. With the successful explosion of a nuclear device by each newcomer to the ranks of the nuclear Powers, greater grows the desire of other countries to "go nuclear". In a world without truly effective safeguards they feel their national existence threatened. If each new nuclear-weapon State prompted its neighbour to follow its example, all concerned would find their security quickly undermined.

89. We believe that it is the very existence of nuclear explosive devices that presents the hazard to humanity and it increases in proportion to the number of countries possessing them. One need make no distinction in terms of what countries possess such devices. The danger lies as much in the number of countries that have them as in the policies of the possessors.

90. If we are to avoid a nuclear catastrophe we must accept the fact that there are practical limits to the application of the principle of non-discrimination. The Canadian Government urges the international community to accept the obligation not to contribute to the uncontrolled spread of nuclear explosive capability, and the safeguards required to ensure compliance with that obligation.

91. Our aim is to secure international measures which will halt both the multiplication and the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons, and which will check the spread of the technology of nuclear explosive devices and the further development of that technology as applied to nuclear weapons. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the efforts to limit strategic arms, and the achievement of a comprehensive test ban are designed to achieve these objectives.

92. As for the halting of the proliferation of nuclear weapons, all States should undertake not to transfer nuclear technology or materials except under international supervision aimed at ensuring that the transfer is not used for fabricating nuclear explosive devices. In addition, all States should place the inventories of the nuclear fissile material that they hold for peaceful purposes under international supervision. Nuclear-weapon States should, as a first step towards this objective, place their peaceful nuclear facilities under this supervision and seek to halt their production of fissile material for weapons purposes. International supervision of fissile material is the best available means for the international community to be assured of each State's peaceful intentions. This would allow States to concentrate on the development and distribution of much-needed nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

93. The nuclear threat to our security may be dramatic and awe-inspiring but we cannot neglect the more prosaic and lethal threat from the use of conventional force. One of the few useful tools we have

developed so far to deal with this problem is peace-keeping by a force sponsored by the United Nations. Canada has responded positively to United Nations requests and has engaged in virtually all the United Nations peace-keeping operations to date. This has not been without cost in lives of Canadians or of those from the forces of the other participating countries.

94. Our interest is therefore obvious. There is no doubt in my mind that an overwhelming majority of Canadians continue to accept the importance and the usefulness of a United Nations peace-keeping role. But I would be less than candid if I did not admit that Canadians are today less inclined to accept in an unquestioning way the burdens of participation. Their concern springs mainly from the fact that peace-keeping endeavours often seem to do no more than perpetuate an uneasy *status quo*.

95. If United Nations peace-keeping is to be fully effective, it must be accompanied by a parallel effort on the political level, especially by the parties most directly concerned, to convert the temporary peace that a peace-keeping force is asked to maintain into something more durable. If this is not done, and if those who contribute to peace-keeping are faced with indefinite prolongation of their hazardous tasks, I am afraid that Governments will be less willing to respond to future requests for troops.

96. The past year has seen two new peace-keeping operations established in the Middle East and the Force in Cyprus reinforced. These developments were important in themselves, but they are also capable of teaching us lessons for the future. From the Canadian standpoint the operations in the Middle East are working effectively and are making an essential contribution to the maintenance of the cease-fire and disengagement agreements. But equally important, new principles have been established in the process. Participants have been drawn from a broader base than in the past, and a sounder financial foundation for the operations has been laid through a general assessment of the United Nations membership. These innovations have contributed to effective peace-keeping in the Middle East for the present, and will enhance the prospect of greater effectiveness in the future.

97. There are fewer grounds for satisfaction in the case of Cyprus. There, despite the presence of United Nations peace-keeping forces, fighting has taken place on an unprecedented scale because the long-smouldering political problem remains unresolved. Moreover, it has been demonstrated once again in Cyprus that without the agreement and co-operation of the disputants the constructive role of a peace-keeping force is severely circumscribed.

98. If the usefulness of the United Nations in peace-keeping is to be maintained and expanded, new principles and techniques to strengthen it must be found. The machinery is at hand under the Charter to ensure an effective United Nations response to future peace-keeping needs. The advantages of agreement in advance on how United Nations peace-keeping should be directed and controlled are obvious. The experience of the United Nations Emergency Force could point the way to such agreement or to the formulation of guide-lines for peace-keeping operations

under the overall authority of the Security Council, with a system of sharing responsibilities among the Security Council, the Secretary-General, the troop contributors, and the parties directly concerned in the field. This Organization can scarcely afford to neglect any instrument that might have a contribution to make in helping to defuse situations of armed conflict. It is the hope of the Canadian Government that Member States will continue to give this problem the attention it deserves.

99. I have touched upon a few of the pressing political and economic problems that demand the attention of this Assembly. But I have dwelt upon two major problems of security: peace-keeping and the proliferation of nuclear explosive devices. As the Secretary-General has pointed out, a proliferation of nuclear explosive devices could help to "... create almost unimaginable dangers for the survival of our civilization and the human race." [A/9601/Add.1, p. 7.] I do not therefore apologize for my preoccupation with these problems.

100. I would not wish to conclude without paying tribute to the work of the Secretary-General and

his staff at Headquarters and throughout the world in carrying forward the wide spectrum of tasks which challenge our Organization. In the introduction to the Secretary-General's report, he said the following:

"We are reminded every day of how thin the margin is between order and chaos, between sufficiency and desperate want, between peace and annihilation. If we wish to overcome the vast anxieties and uncertainties of our time, we have to make a conscious and concerted effort to change course and to make some of our stated objectives into realities." [*Ibid.*, p. 9]

At this twenty-ninth session, the Canadian delegation pledges itself to work with all other delegations to move towards our common goals.

The meeting rose at 12.20 p.m.

NOTE

¹ See A/9330 and Corr.1.