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President: Mr. Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA
(Algeria).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Bielka-Karltrou
(Austria), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. KARKI (Nepal): It is an honour and a privilege for me to convey to the President and to the representatives assembled here the greetings of my Sovereign, His Majesty King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Deva, and his best wishes for the success of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

2. I should like to convey to the President, on behalf of my delegation, our sincere congratulations on his election to the high office of President of this session of the General Assembly. We are familiar with his distinguished public career and the high reputation he has gained in his own country as well as in the international sphere. We are confident that under his able and wise guidance it will be possible for the work at this session to contribute towards the solution of some of the basic problems at present facing us. My delegation wishes to assure him of its full co-operation and support in the discharge of his heavy responsibility.

3. I should like also to take this opportunity of expressing our deep appreciation of the exemplary services rendered by the outgoing President of the General Assembly, Mr. Leopoldo Benites, who carried out successfully the task entrusted to him in a year which was one of the most challenging of our time from both the economic and the political points of view.

4. This year witnessed a most serious economic crisis which threatened the existing economic order of the world. But, at the same time, this has also been a year characterized by the numerous international initiatives taken and efforts made by various countries of the world and by the United Nations itself towards the solution of the outstanding socio-economic and political problems of our time. The most important among these was the special session of the Gen-

eral Assembly convened to study for the first time the problems of raw materials and development and devoted to the consideration of the most important economic problems facing the world community. Therefore, in spite of the discouraging economic threat looming over the world today, we are confident that with co-operation and understanding among ourselves and on the initiative of this world body we can work out internationally acceptable solutions to all the problems facing us. It is with this hope and in this optimism that we have come to the United Nations this year.

5. Remarkable progress is being made in the improvement of the international political climate. The policy of *détente* has continued to be the main feature in international relations and has helped to bring not only a relaxation of tensions but also closer co-operation between the major Powers. The agreements between the Soviet Union and the United States of America in the scientific, technological and industrial domains and on the limitation of strategic weapons and underground nuclear tests reached during the last visit of the former United States President, Mr. Nixon, to the Soviet Union are undoubtedly positive steps towards the promotion of world peace.

6. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe being held in Geneva also showed that there is strong determination among the European Powers to resolve their differences and bring about increased co-operation among themselves. This is in itself a positive trend towards lasting *détente* in Europe in particular and world peace in general.

7. Since it has contributed greatly to the relaxation of world tension, the increased co-operation between China and the United States and between China and Japan, is receiving ever-growing support.

8. In the Middle East, thanks to the untiring efforts and great negotiating skill of the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Henry Kissinger, a disengagement agreement between Syria and Israel, which constituted one of the most difficult tasks of our time, has been achieved. Mr. Kissinger not only brought together two parties which had never met before except on the battlefield but also devised a breakthrough which may be the beginning of a new era of peace in that area. This, together with the disengagement agreement reached between Egypt and Israel, will, we hope, clear the way for further negotiations between the Arabs and the Israelis for the final settlement of the problem.

9. In spite of these favourable trends in Arab-Israeli relations, the prospect of peace in the Middle East is still far off. We believe that no permanent solution of the Middle East problem is possible until the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people are properly and justly settled.

10. Nepal, as a peace-loving nation, has always been in favour of a peaceful settlement of the Middle East problem and has supported all such moves as were aimed at bringing about a peaceful and permanent solution of the problem. We have always supported the various resolutions of the Security Council designed to achieve a peaceful settlement of the Middle East problem. The practical solution is laid down, we believe, in Security Council resolution 242 (1967). The full and speedy implementation of that resolution is expected to bring about a lasting peace in the region.

11. We readily responded to the request of the United Nations to participate in the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East by sending a contingent of the Royal Nepalese Army to the spot. It is satisfying for us to learn that that contingent of the Nepalese Army, as on past occasions, has fulfilled its duties in a most disciplined way and has proved its worth. We are also glad that we have been able to contribute, in whatever humble way we could, towards the maintenance of peace and security in the region.

12. In the South-East Asian region a few tense situations that persist have been the source of permanent disturbance to the peace and security of the area. Though the fighting in Viet Nam has come to an end, the problem is still unresolved. My delegation is of the opinion that the Paris peace Agreement should be implemented to the full so that peace and harmony in the area may be speedily restored.

13. The restoration of permanent peace in the South-East Asian region will not be possible unless the Korean question is solved to the satisfaction of both the Koreans. The decision of the last General Assembly which brought about the dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea¹ was a positive step in that direction. My delegation will support all such moves that may contribute towards the creation of favourable conditions for the acceleration of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

14. The recent disturbances in Cyprus are deplorable not only because they caused a serious disruption of peace in the island but also because they brought heavy suffering to the innocent people there. We welcome any initiatives from within or from outside the United Nations which are aimed at establishing a normal situation on the island. My country appreciates the personal initiative taken by the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, in making an on-the-spot assessment of the situation and in the consultations he had with the leaders of the parties in conflict. We are of the conviction that there should be no threat to the territorial integrity of Cyprus and that it should continue to remain as independent and sovereign a non-aligned country as ever.

15. In spite of all these disturbances, the most satisfying trend in recent international relations has been the relaxation of tension. The settlement of conflicts in many regions of the world by peaceful means will undoubtedly create an atmosphere of confidence and trust between nations and will help to create conditions favourable to international peace and security. This positive trend in international relations should be complemented by other international actions that

can promote rapid economic progress and development, the most basic and urgent need of our time. More concrete international measures should be taken to halt the arms race, which is not only the cause of perpetual fear and distrust among nations but also the main factor responsible for economic retardation.

16. There have been many encouraging developments in the field of disarmament in recent years, but the progress achieved so far is inadequate. The arms build-up is increasing alarmingly and vast riches that could have been used for the promotion of peace and the welfare of mankind are being drained by the production of destructive weapons. We are of the opinion that the growing tendency among the developing countries and others on the threshold of development to rapidly obtain possession of nuclear power is dangerous not only because it seriously disrupts international peace but also because it retards the economic development of the world. It is for this reason that we oppose all proliferation of nuclear power and the consequent nuclear tests carried out underground or under water, in the atmosphere or in outer space.

17. As a peace-loving nation Nepal wants to remain at peace and is, therefore, especially interested in seeing peace restored in the South Asian region, to which it belongs. With this in view, we have supported all moves towards the normalization of relations between Pakistan and India and also welcome the resumption of talks between them. Our support of General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI) regarding the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace is motivated by this desire. We shall willingly support any such future moves that lead to the restoration of perpetual peace in the area.

18. It is only through general and complete disarmament that international peace and security, which is one of the main objectives of the Charter of the United Nations, can be achieved. We believe, therefore, that it is more urgent than ever before that positive consideration should be given to the convening of a world disarmament conference in which all nations, whether big or small, developed or developing, nuclear or non-nuclear—including the divided ones—could participate and deliberate on ways and means to achieve this sacred goal.

19. We are indeed very happy to welcome the People's Republic of Bangladesh among us as a new Member of this august body. The Republic of Bangladesh is one of our neighbouring countries with which we have the most intimate friendly relations. We supported its admission to this Organization from the very beginning and we are now happy to see this realized. We are confident that Bangladesh, by its participation in the various deliberations of the United Nations, will contribute to our common endeavour in the promotion of world peace. We should also like to express our deep satisfaction at the admission of Grenada to this world Organization. We are also happy to welcome the Republic of Guinea-Bissau in this family of nations as a sovereign and independent country. The emergence of Guinea-Bissau as a sovereign independent nation is an example of the decline of colonialism in the world. We hope that the Republic of Guinea-Bissau will add to the strength of the Organization in effectively dealing with the problem of decolonization and swiftly bringing salvation to the

peoples suffering under the tyrannical yoke of some colonial régimes and will thus contribute to the promotion of world peace.

20. This year, there have been some positive developments in the field of decolonization. The new Government in Portugal has recognized the Republic of Guinea-Bissau as an independent and sovereign country and has at the same time shown interest in entering into negotiations with various liberation movements. The independence of Mozambique is also already in sight, and it is gratifying to know that that country will emerge as a new independent nation in a year's time. We heartily welcome the establishment of a provisional government in Mozambique. The present policy of the Government of Portugal of granting independence to its colonies is highly praiseworthy. We only hope that the decolonization of all Territories under colonial rule and an immediate end to all the sufferings of colonial peoples, which have long been a matter of serious concern to all of us, can be achieved as speedily and as urgently as possible. We should also like to see Mozambique and Angola as Members of this august body in the near future.

21. The active participation of my country and its contributions to various international efforts to eliminate colonial domination and racial discrimination are well known to all representatives here.

22. The worst form of colonial oppression is being adamantly practised by the racist Governments of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, in total disregard of world public opinion. In South Africa, the colonial people remain condemned to all forms of torture and repression. The Government of South Africa has been stubbornly denying fundamental human rights to its people and has been making a mockery of all United Nations decisions, including those of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

23. The South African Government has not only continued forcibly and illegally to occupy the international Territory of Namibia against the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice² but has also practised a most inhuman policy of *apartheid* in exploiting and repressing the indigenous people there. We strongly condemn all these acts of barbarism on the part of the Government of South Africa, which are an affront to humanity and civilized behaviour.

24. The minority Government of Southern Rhodesia has also continued to consolidate its racist régime and to repress the liberation movements of its people by all inhuman and criminal means of collective punishment. It has denied the people of Zimbabwe the right to self-determination, freedom and independence, in defiance of all United Nations decisions. That illegal racist régime has sufficient moral and material backing from its major trading partners, who co-operate with and maintain it for their own selfish economic interests, thereby impeding the effective application of sanctions imposed by the Security Council against the regime. We are of the view that all Member countries should unite and consolidate their efforts to bring this deplorable situation to an end. We believe that the recently adopted International Convention on the

Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex] will be helpful in eliminating this form of racial discrimination and request all Member States to sign or accede to this Convention without delay.

25. The necessity for international co-operation has become urgent not only for the maintenance of political security and international peace but also for the solution of many of the social and economic problems of our time. The growing trend among nations in trying to solve, through peaceful consultations and understandings, global problems concerning the environment, population, food, the sea-bed and outer space is a very positive one. It is the more so when new and legitimate solutions to all these problems are being sought within a universal institution such as the United Nations, where every nation, big or small, developed or developing, has equal say.

26. Nepal has been participating with keen interest in all these United Nations activities. More recently, Nepal actively participated in the deliberations of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea held at Caracas. Though the Conference could not fully achieve its objective of producing a single agreed convention, the progress achieved in such an important area, progress which involved the varied and conflicting interests of nations, was undoubtedly noteworthy. We are of the opinion that we should give careful consideration to the rights and interests of all the groups of countries, instead of concluding a hasty convention that might leave room for future disputes on such a vital area affecting the common interest of mankind.

27. Nepal, together with other land-locked and geographically disadvantaged countries, has made its viewpoint sufficiently clear on the main questions affecting its interests in relation to the sea and its resources. The foremost interest of all land-locked countries, including Nepal, is the international recognition of their rights to free and unrestricted access to and from the sea. This is a prerequisite for the promotion and diversification of the trade and economic development of a land-locked country. Provisions for the right of transit through coastal countries and for port facilities, including the construction and maintenance of warehouses at the port to provide storage for goods in transit and facilities for the transport of goods, are the matters of vital importance for the land-locked countries which should find accommodation in the convention on the law of the sea.

28. We are against any attempt to annex the economic zones to the territorial seas of the coastal countries and to establish exclusive rights over such zones. The arbitrary limit of the economic zone at 200 miles lacks justification, and there is no reason why such a vast area should be occupied exclusively by coastal countries, in this way reducing the area of the common heritage of mankind to a meaningless concept. We do not mean, however, that we are opposed to the creation of an economic zone as such. But as the zone would be created for safeguarding the interests of the developing countries against the unscrupulous exploitation of the area and its resources by countries with advanced scientific and technological means, we are of the opinion that it should be under the common jurisdiction of all neighbouring States,

whether coastal or land-locked. All States should have a due share in the resources of the sea, whether living or inanimate. And all States which exercise jurisdiction over the zone should also share responsibilities as well as duties.

29. Another important international problem which confronts mankind today and in which the United Nations is deeply involved is the explosive increase of population and the growing world-wide shortage of food. The World Population Conference, held in Bucharest in August, and the forthcoming World Food Conference, to be held in Rome in November, are the other two major activities of the United Nations this year. Though these problems seem to be separate, they are very much related to one another. They should be examined together with other inter-related problems like the threat to the environment, the rapid depletion of resources and the need of accelerated economic growth. We very much welcome the World Population Plan of Action adopted by the Bucharest Conference.³

30. Nepal is one of the densely populated countries, with 79 persons per square kilometre, which is three times higher than the world average of 27 persons. With a rate of population growth of more than 2 per cent on the average, the population increase, which is expected to be doubled in 30 years, is already putting strains on the agricultural production. *Per capita* agricultural production is declining and if this trend continues, the cereals, especially food grains, which account for the exportable surplus of Nepal, will be a scarce commodity in a few years' time.

31. This, with the recent problems posed by the rising prices of fertilizer and other inputs, together with their scarcity, has been adversely affecting the economic development of my country. His Majesty's Government is aware of the urgent need to work out a comprehensive plan to face any future difficulties that these trends may bring to the economy. We therefore greatly value the world conferences on such vital questions as population and food, and see that these international initiatives may bring forth practical and urgent measures for effectively combating these problems looming over the future of mankind.

32. All these initiatives taken and efforts made by the United Nations, and those effected by all other countries of the world on their own, will not bear fruitful results until the widening gap of economic disparity between the developed and developing countries is narrowed.

33. From the economic point of view, the year has been very disappointing. If the continuously rising inflationary trend has become the common unavoidable feature of the world economy, on the one hand, the wide gap of economic disparity between the developed and developing nations is becoming even wider in an alarming way. Though the exporting countries benefit from the rise in prices of their products, the least developed and land-locked countries, like Nepal, which have practically nothing to trade off against the rising cost of both raw materials and manufactured goods, have become the most severely affected countries.

34. The impact of the deteriorating economic situation, aggravated by the energy crisis, was so severe on these hard-core poverty-stricken countries that the

objective of achieving an accelerated rate of growth, as envisaged in the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*] has not only become unattainable, but the question of maintaining the present rate of growth is becoming a matter of serious concern. As we are approaching the midterm appraisal of the Second United Nations Development Decade, the goals of the Strategy appear to be more and more remote. The recent problem of scarcity of essential and other basic goods has been added to the problem of rising prices. The developed countries have been reluctant to help in the accelerated development of the developing countries or to eliminate the gap of economic disparity. The contributions of 1 per cent of national incomes have not been forthcoming, and the transfer of technology and of its benefits to the developing countries has been purely fictional.

35. The sixth special session of the General Assembly was convened against this background of the deteriorating economic situation, further aggravated by the energy crisis. The session was able to convince the world that the present international economic order is in direct conflict with the current development in international political and economic relations, and it therefore approved the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3201 (S-VI)*] under which future economic relations among nations will be based on equity, sovereign equality, interdependence and co-operation. The most important achievement of the special session, in our view, is the full realization that the political, social and economic well-being of present and future generations depends more than ever on co-operation between the developed and the developing countries, and that the interests of these two groups of countries are closely interdependent.

36. The adoption of emergency relief measures by the United Nations to mitigate the difficulties of the developing countries severely affected by the economic crisis was one of the very encouraging decisions of the session. We believe that the contributions made so far to the Special Fund established by resolution 3202 (S-VI) are significant, though not sufficient for effectively meeting the economic hardships of the seriously affected developing countries. We hope that further contributions will be forthcoming from all potential donor countries for this purpose.

37. Nepal, as a least developed and land-locked country, faces many economic woes different from, and more serious than, those faced by other developing countries. Our level of economic development is so low and our exportable surplus so minimal and uncertain that our economy can neither benefit from the rising prices of primary goods nor sustain the burden of the rising cost of imports.

38. Nepal is basically a mountainous country with a difficult transportation problem, which has been the most serious bottle-neck in our economic development for many years. We are still building our infrastructure, and our economic growth has been almost stagnant. Our industries are few and medium-sized, and are hardly capable of producing export earnings. Our agricultural production is showing a declining

trend due to want of fertilizer and the increasing pressure of population growth.

39. In spite of all these adverse economic realities typical of least developed and land-locked countries, Nepal is seriously endeavouring to emerge from this economic stagnation by embarking upon all-round economic development, under the inspiring and zealous leadership of my Sovereign, His Majesty the King.

40. The recent economic crisis has brought about a serious disruption in the process of our development. The rising prices of basic commodities necessary for our development purposes, such as fertilizer, petroleum products and other development materials, coupled with the problem of their growing scarcity, have aggravated the situation. In the absence of dependable export earnings it has become extremely difficult to meet the increased cost of imports of both raw materials and manufactured goods resulting from the adverse terms of trade. This has also increased the possibility of a rapid depletion of the meagre foreign exchange reserves. To all these, the land-locked character of the country in itself is an additional burden because it increases the cost of transport and makes development more expensive. So it is due to these specific problems that a least developed country which is also a land-locked country needs special attention and increased assistance for its economic development.

41. We are very much encouraged by the particular consideration the General Assembly at its sixth special session accorded the seriousness of the problems faced by the least developed and land-locked countries of the world in adopting both special measures and the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order. As a least developed and land-locked country, we are naturally very eager to see that due consideration is given to such countries in providing the emergency relief measures provided for in the Special Programme of the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3202 (S-VI)*]. We all know that without first improving the economic conditions of the least developed and land-locked countries of the world—the hard core of the developing countries, as they are—the objectives of the new economic order envisaged will not be realized.

42. We are of the view that the Special Programme and the Programme of Action should also be so designed that they complement and further strengthen the goals and objectives of the International Development Strategy as well as the new measures formulated by the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly to offset the shortfall in achieving those goals and objectives so that the steadily accelerating economic development of the developing countries, especially the least developed ones, can be urgently stimulated.

43. In conclusion, I should like to point out that the world of today has become so interdependent that no problem can be confined to national boundaries or tackled effectively by national efforts alone. We are convinced that we need an effective multinational channel through which all global problems on a wide range of human activities can be properly dealt with. Such a channel could, no doubt, be the

United Nations, for this could for many years to come be the only conceivable world body in which all independent sovereign nations could work collectively, without losing their individual identities, for the common goals of mankind. It could be made an effective instrument for the international peace and security so vital to the socio-economic and political development of the world. I want to recall here the feeling expressed by our beloved and long-remembered King, the late King Mahendra, on the importance of this august body, when he said, "The only real alternative to the United Nations is an even more powerful United Nations", which amply demonstrates the faith the Nepalese people has in the United Nations and in its ideals.

44. Mr. van der STOEL (Netherlands): On behalf of my delegation I convey sincere congratulations to Mr. Bouteflika on his unanimous election as President of this session. The qualities of his leadership have been displayed both in his country and in the context of the group of non-aligned nations.

45. At times in history events and developments suddenly assume the proportions of a bursting dam. Since I addressed this Assembly a year ago [*2128th meeting*], the world has been confronted with war, with profound changes in the distribution of power and economic wealth, with the sudden scarcity of essential raw materials and with continued massive violations of human rights. Those dramatic developments have brought home the dearly-bought lesson that peace, justice, freedom and development are inseparably linked. None can be achieved without the others.

46. Last year, in this Assembly, delegations welcomed political *détente*. My Government strongly supported, and continues to support, efforts towards *détente* in Europe and elsewhere in the world. But the situation remains unstable because so far *détente* largely represents understanding between the big Powers within certain limits, limits defined by elements of deterrence, competition and collaboration. The unacceptable risk of nuclear war compels cooperation but does not exclude competition. External events beyond the limits of the understanding on *détente* continue to endanger the balance resulting from *détente*. *Détente* between the great Powers has therefore not eliminated sources of friction and crisis caused by lack of justice and freedom.

47. The most striking and dangerous case in point is the war in the Middle East and its aftermath. The international community was again confronted with the fundamental instability of a situation resulting from the absence of a just peace settlement in the region. Notwithstanding *détente* between the great Powers, peace proved to be impossible without justice to all the parties concerned. The Netherlands Government welcomes and supports the efforts and steps to achieve such peace and justice—the armistice agreements and the subsequent agreements on the disengagement of forces. A high tribute is due the Governments and statesmen within the region and outside it who made those agreements possible.

48. The position of the Netherlands Government in support of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council is known and is fully reflected in the declaration of the nine countries of the European Economic Community of 6 November 1973.⁴ Subsequent to

that declaration, the countries of the European Economic Community have entered into a dialogue with the countries of the Arab world in order to strengthen and intensify their mutual relations and to arrive at long-term forms of economic, technological and cultural co-operation. The Netherlands Government wishes to promote this European-Arabian economic co-operation. It expresses the strong hope that the efforts being undertaken in the political field will soon lead in the Middle East to durable peace based on justice.

49. Another external event affecting *détente* was the armed conflict in Cyprus. Here too, durable peace proved impossible without justice to all the parties concerned. A political settlement without any further recourse to armed intervention must, in the view of the Netherlands Government, be based on full respect for the independence and territorial integrity of the country and for the fundamental rights of the peoples and communities concerned. The conflict in Cyprus has caused profound human suffering and economic dislocation. My Government has contributed to the emergency operations of the Red Cross and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Parallel to further efforts towards a political settlement, action should be taken by the international community to restore the economy of the island by providing emergency economic assistance.

50. Although the United Nations has not been able to prevent the disasters that have afflicted the Republic of Cyprus since July, the presence of the United Nations has proved to be of great value. I wish to pay a tribute to the members of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus [UNFICYP] who have acted firmly and responsibly in situations of grave risk and have suffered severe casualties in performing their tasks. In view of the outstanding services rendered by UNFICYP in the present crisis, my Government has decided to make a voluntary contribution of \$250,000 for the current year to the financing of the United Nations Force.

51. The Cyprus crisis and the war in the Middle East have demonstrated both the potentialities and the limitations of the United Nations peace-keeping activities. The Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations has been trying for years to formulate basic guidelines for those operations, but has not yet succeeded in reaching full agreement on the complex issues involved. I am gratified to note that this lack of agreement on the theory of peace-keeping has not prevented the Security Council from taking practical action when circumstances required new operations. I do hope that this will accelerate the work of the Special Committee.

52. I should like to make one remark here about the question of the composition of peace-keeping forces. In my opinion this question should be dealt with in a pragmatic way and not made dependent on the application of too-rigid and antiquated yardsticks of geographical distribution. Paramount should be the objective of the operation: the efficient and expedient safeguarding of peace. My Government remains ready to contribute Netherlands units to United Nations peace-keeping operations.

53. Another grave source of danger to and instability of *détente* is in my view the arms race in the Middle

East, the unprecedented proportions of which threaten to prevent or to upset any political settlement and increase the potential danger to world peace of the conflict situation in the region. If the world really wishes to promote *détente* and peace, the United Nations and individual Member States must address themselves to the problems of the arms race in conventional weapons in this and other danger areas.

54. I have spoken of some external factors which threaten to frustrate the development of *détente*. In my view a further serious threat to lasting *détente* is the unsolved problem of nuclear proliferation.

55. The Secretary-General was right in drawing our attention, in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization, to the dangers to our civilization and the human race inherent in the uncontrolled spreading of nuclear "know-how" and of plutonium, and in the proliferation of nuclear devices [A/9601/Add.1, sect. X]. I cannot conceal my Government's profound concern regarding the action taken by India in May of this year in testing a nuclear explosive device.

56. We have taken due note of the statement of the Minister of External Affairs of India [2245th meeting] that India has no intention of becoming a nuclear Power and that it remains committed to a policy of using nuclear energy exclusively for peaceful purposes. Nevertheless it is difficult to distinguish between a nuclear test for peaceful purposes and a nuclear test for weapon purposes; therefore it cannot be denied that the Indian test explosion represents a setback to international efforts to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons and to ban nuclear tests everywhere and by everyone. I repeat: everywhere and by everyone.

57. The risk of nuclear proliferation should be a matter of concern to all nations, regardless of size or power. The imperative of world peace must override nuclear ambition. In this context the review conference provided for in the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex] gains even more relevance than before.

58. As a member of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva the Netherlands Government will continue to support all efforts to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. We regret that progress in this field has not come up to expectation. In particular, my Government deplores the fact that the parties to the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963 have not yet fulfilled their commitment to ban nuclear tests in all environments.

59. I assume that the Assembly will give great attention this year to the general problems of arms control and disarmament. Several new proposals from different sides deserve serious consideration.

60. As far as the situation in Europe is concerned, the Netherlands, in consultation with its allies, will continue to press for substantial results in the Vienna talks on mutual and balanced force reductions.

61. In the introduction to his annual report, the Secretary-General has urged us "to ensure that peace-keeping efforts must not be the pretext for slackening

the momentum of the search for a settlement of underlying problems." [A/9601/Add.1, sect. VI.]

62. In this connexion, I wish once more to draw attention to the essential but too-often neglected role of the International Court of Justice in the peaceful settlement of disputes. The Court has recently adapted its procedures and rules, which now permit shorter and more simplified action. I wish to support the Secretary-General's appeal to Member States to review the possibility of referring legal disputes to the Court.

63. Parallel to the achievement of universality in the United Nations there has been a progressive development of new rules of international law acceptable to all States, old and new. Such development of international law will, however, not lead very far without the strengthening of, and more frequent recourse to, effective machinery for the settlement of disputes. I hope that this session of the General Assembly will take action to that end.

64. There can be no peace without justice and freedom and without respect for human rights. The Secretary-General has shown his concern for the disregard of individual rights and the decline in civility. He has reminded us that the democratization of international relations in order to bring peace and justice to the daily life of all peoples has always been a central role of the United Nations.

65. The Netherlands Government will continue to press for the safeguarding and defence of fundamental human rights, within my own country—under the European Convention on Human Rights—in the discussions between Eastern and Western Europe, and in the world at large. I wish to express the profound joy of the Government and people of the Netherlands caused by the restoration of democracy and human rights set in motion in Greece and Portugal and by the reversal by the new Portuguese Government of the colonial policies of its predecessors. Those most encouraging developments, which have been welcomed by many in this General Assembly, should not, of course, turn attention away from persistent violations of human rights elsewhere. I refer specifically to the situation in South Africa and Namibia and to the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia. There is reason, too, for continued deep concern about the situation in Chile.

66. I refer also to the increasingly widespread practice of torture and maltreatment of prisoners. The Netherlands delegation, together with others, will put forward specific proposals in this respect.

67. The persistence and the very increase of violence and brutality in today's world is an alarming phenomenon. Practices of terrorism jeopardizing the lives of men, women and children continue to be a source of great anxiety. It is a matter of common interest and concern to all nations to prevent and combat such practices by joint and separate action.

68. In order to strengthen respect for freedom of religion or belief the Netherlands delegation will also introduce proposals aimed at the elimination of all forms of intolerance and discrimination based on religion or belief.

69. The year 1975 has been proclaimed International Women's Year by the General Assembly of the United

Nations [*resolution 3010 (XXVII)*]. My Government will fully support United Nations action in this respect, because the role of women is crucial in the search for development and justice.

70. There can be no peace without justice and freedom. The rapid developments towards decolonization in Africa have brought us considerably closer to the implementation of the right of self-determination of all nations. Some of the basic purposes of the Charter and the ideal of universality are now coming close to fulfilment.

71. The Kingdom of the Netherlands extends a most cordial welcome to the three new Members of the Organization: Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau. Our sincere feelings of sympathy towards the people and Government of Bangladesh, which have been so severely tried, have been expressed by our continuing efforts to render effective assistance. In Grenada we salute a nation close to the Netherlands Antilles, part of the Kingdom I here represent. My Government particularly rejoices at the presence among us of Guinea-Bissau. Its struggle to obtain the rights enshrined in our Charter has finally been justly rewarded.

72. It is my privilege to inform you that the Kingdom of the Netherlands next year will witness the accession to full independence and sovereignty of one of its partners, Surinam. The Government and people of the Netherlands are looking forward to the now rapidly approaching day when Surinam will be able to take its rightful place in the General Assembly. In view of Surinam's wish for independence in 1975, the three partners of the Kingdom, that is, the Netherlands Antilles, Surinam, and the Netherlands, will soon meet in a joint effort to reshape the present relationship agreements.

73. Stability in Europe and in the world is seriously threatened by economic dislocation, by persistent inflation, and by the danger of recession and unemployment. The energy crisis and the profound changes in international commodity markets have produced a catalytic effect on the economic development of the industrialized world. A reorientation of thinking and policy on our pattern of growth and on the level and nature of our prosperity is called for. Obviously, a redistribution of power and wealth has been set in motion.

74. However, there is the danger that this development will have a polarizing and antagonizing effect on international economic relations in the sense that consumer countries may be forced to embark on alternative sources of raw materials and self-sufficiency. I wish to sound a note of warning with regard to these polarizing tendencies. Any nationalistic raw materials policy, if carried to the extreme, risks being self-defeating. The alternative then is obvious: co-operation on the basis of economic interdependence, as called for in the Declaration and the Programme of Action adopted by the General Assembly at its sixth special session.

75. The resolution adopted at the sixth special session of the General Assembly gave expression to these fundamental changes in economic relations and in development co-operation. While the phenomenon of physical shortages was new to the rich countries, we

should remind ourselves that a scarcity of resources has always been a normal situation in the poor countries. New border lines have been drawn in the international community. Countries with a structural balance-of-payments deficit today are found among the poor as well as among the rich. Countries suffering from shortages of commodities today are to be found in both categories. This new reality demands new policies and agreements for commodity markets. It also demands a reorientation of the future economic growth of the rich countries, whose growth will have to be selective in the sense that they cannot continue to use ever increasing quantities of raw materials supplies, both in an absolute sense and as a percentage of global availabilities. Thus, the future requires strategies for development not only for the poor countries but also for the rich—strategies aimed at a global policy of interdependence.

76. A new, world-wide recession would be a disaster, in particular for many developing countries. Regardless of other urgent measures by developing and developed countries, has the time not come for producers and consumers of essential raw materials to meet under United Nations auspices in a common effort to give effect to the notion of interdependence in order to help forestall such a recession? The present situation offers sufficient scope for progress towards a larger degree of justice in international economic relations.

77. In the search for development strategies we have so far been concentrating most of our attention on medium- and long-term development. But the immediate needs of developing countries, the pressing problems of mass poverty, unemployment, undernourishment and lack of housing have often been neglected. Many developing countries are so hard pressed by the emergencies of today that they can hardly give sufficient attention to the problems of tomorrow. The Netherlands Government is convinced of the need for a new development dimension; a strategy and a programme are required to meet the immediate needs of developing countries, including those resulting from natural disasters. The United Nations machinery in this respect must be strengthened. The assistance, to be worked out internationally, should be additional to existing aid programmes for long-term plans and projects. The Netherlands Government in its budget for 1975 has allocated \$100 million for assistance to meet the immediate needs of developing countries.

78. The sixth special session of the General Assembly has adopted a Special Programme to assist the countries most seriously affected by rising energy and commodity prices. The Netherlands Government, in view of the appeal made by the Secretary-General, has decided to make available during the budgetary year 1974 an amount of \$30 million for assistance to these countries. A substantial part of these funds will be channelled through the Secretary-General's special account; another part through the European Economic Community or bilaterally.

79. Next year, the Netherlands intends to do more; it is prepared to contribute to the Special Fund established by resolution 3202 (S-VI). Our contribution will be made in the context of my Government's new four-year programme for development co-opera-

tion, which has recently been submitted to Parliament. This programme aims at a target for official development assistance of approximately 0.8 per cent of the gross national product by 1976.

80. Since peace and freedom cannot survive without justice and economic and social development, all means to redistribute wealth and economic power will have to be considered. It appears to me that the balance of wealth and power between rich and poor countries may be decisively influenced by the exploration and exploitation of the resources of the sea which so far have remained untapped. In the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General rightly calls attention to the tremendous importance of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea [A/9601/Add.1, sect. XII]. The Netherlands Government adheres to the concept that the sea-bed and its resources outside national jurisdiction are the common heritage of mankind. Effective exploitation of the resources of the sea for the benefit of the developing world could lead to a decisive change in the existing structure of inequality in wealth and prosperity. The Netherlands, therefore, advocates the adoption of a new legal system that would safeguard this common heritage, emphasizing the duties which the use of the sea entails for all States. This requires effective arrangements and machinery for international legislation, administration, supervision and international jurisdiction. In Caracas excessive emphasis was placed, in my view, on questions of national jurisdiction, to the neglect of vital issues of international control and common interest, and I wonder whether developing countries are sufficiently aware of the enormous benefits that they can reap from international exploitation of the resources of the sea.

Mr. Bouteflika (Algeria) took the Chair.

81. I have spoken of some vital problems with which this session of the General Assembly will be confronted: problems of war and peace, problems of instability and equality, problems of human misery and of the denial of fundamental rights. But I have also pointed to progress, new forms of co-operation and, in some areas, to break-through and new departures. The world, and with it the United Nations, is in motion and is moving faster than some may wish or expect.

82. In this perspective, the Netherlands Government attaches great importance to the special session of the General Assembly to be convened in September next year. That session represents a unique opportunity to come to grips with many of the problems that beset the world today. As one of the elements in this process, the outcome of the World Population Conference in Bucharest has provided a promising first step. The Kingdom of the Netherlands looks forward to the World Food Conference. More than ever before, the urgency of the world food problem calls for imaginative proposals and concrete action.

83. In the coming months, other international conferences and negotiations, such as the Second General Conference of UNIDO, the review and appraisal of progress in the implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, the discussions on international

monetary reform and the multilateral trade negotiations, will take place. All these activities, in which non-governmental organizations can play an important role, should converge in a decisive effort for reaching agreement on the foundations for a new economic order at the next special session of the General Assembly.

84. The cynics and self-professed realists who tell us that strategies, declarations and action programmes are nothing but words which can lead only to frustration and damage the prestige of the United Nations, should remember that the great ideals of mankind, in history and today, were drafted in words which, once conceived, were able to move men to action. A determined effort to carry out by intensified international co-operation what has already been agreed upon in the Strategy and in other instruments can overcome the triple danger of fatalism, cynicism and nationalism, so clearly confronting mankind. If the right choices are made, the thin margin between order and chaos, sufficiency and want, peace and annihilation, described to us by the Secretary-General, can make way for a system of peace, justice, freedom and development. The United Nations offers such a system in the unique collection of instruments for international negotiation and co-operation. Let us use those instruments. Let us devote more time to consultation and negotiation in the United Nations. We have it in our power to guarantee that future generations will not criticize our era as one in which a maximum of opportunities to better the lot of mankind was wasted by a minimum of goodwill and co-operation. Let us seize those opportunities.

85. Mr. CHIAO Kuan-hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): Mr. President, first of all, I should like to congratulate you on your election as President of the current session of the General Assembly and I am confident that you will preside well and make positive contributions to the current session.

86. New and important victories have been won by the people of all countries in their struggle against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism since the start of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly last year. The numerous third world countries have become the main force in the revolutionary struggle against the two hegemonic Powers. More and more people have seen through the so-called *détente* played up by the super-Powers. All the basic contradictions in the world are further sharpening, particularly the contradiction between the two super-Powers on the one hand and the people of all countries on the other and the contradiction between the two super-Powers themselves. It is now evident to all that the world today is amidst more intense turbulence and unrest.

87. What should be noted here first is the great October war in the Middle East. The heroic people of Egypt, Syria, Palestine and other Arab countries, in defiance of super-Power obstruction and disruption, boldly took up arms and successfully rebuffed Israeli Zionist aggression. This fight exploded the myth of Israeli "invincibility", upset the state of "no war, no peace" imposed by the super-Powers and demonstrated the might of the united struggle of the Arab people.

88. In this Middle East war, the Arab countries used oil as a weapon to deal a heavy blow at zionism and hegemonism. This was a historic, pioneering action. Its impact far exceeds the scope of the Arab people's anti-imperialist struggle. It has opened up a new dimension for the third world's struggle in defence of national resources against imperialist plunder and exploitation.

89. The African people's struggle for national liberation has made great progress. Portugal is one of the oldest colonial empires. The downfall of the former Fascist régime in Portugal is a victory for the African people, who have persevered in a long armed struggle, as well as for the Portuguese people, who have persistently opposed the reactionary colonial war.

90. The peoples of Indo-China have steadily achieved new successes in their struggle against United States aggression and for national liberation. The Viet Nameese people have carried on an unremitting struggle for the strict implementation of the Paris Agreement of 27 January 1973 and against the Nguyen Van Thieu clique's violations of the Agreement. In Laos, the Provisional Government of National Union has been formed. The Cambodian people have grown ever stronger in their fight against the traitorous Lon Nol clique. The struggle of the Korean people for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland has won ever wider support. There is a growing tendency among the South-East Asian countries to free themselves from super-Power interference and contention.

91. The struggle of the Latin American peoples against hegemonism and in defence of their State sovereignty, independence and national economic rights and interests has continued to surge forward. Those peoples initiated the struggle for the zone of exercise of their maritime rights of 200 nautical miles, which has become the common demand of the great majority of nations.

92. The Asian, African and Latin American peoples have supported each other in struggle, and they have become ever more keenly aware that unity is strength. At various conferences, they have strongly denounced colonialism, racism, zionism, imperialism and hegemonism. Their just struggles and those of the people of other countries, supporting and complementing each other, are pounding away at the old international order, which the super-Powers vainly attempt to maintain.

93. In the past year, the contention between the two super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, for spheres of influence and world hegemony has become more intense. This is a fact which no agreements between them can cover up. The Soviet leadership has lauded these agreements to the skies, as if the mere conclusion of agreements between the United States and the Soviet Union would bring *détente* to the whole world and usher in a "new stage of history", namely, a "world without war". "*Détente*" has become a kind of quack medicine hawked by the Soviet leadership everywhere. But none of us will forget that it was after the reaching of a stack of agreements at the second United States-Soviet talks that the Middle East war broke out, and that it was after the reaching of more agreements at the third United States-Soviet talks that the Cyprus events occurred.

So then, where is the “*détente*”? Has not there been ample manifestation of the contention between the two super-Powers during the Middle East war and the Cyprus events?

94. To keep a “balance of power” the United States and the Soviet Union reached certain agreements on “strategic arms limitation”. But it has become more evident since their third summit talks that, at bottom, these agreements serve the purpose of bigger and more intensified contention. As far as balance is concerned, it has always been relative and temporary whether in nature or in human society, while imbalance is absolute and constant. In the real life of today, there is in fact no “balance of power” between the two super-Powers. Instead, each side is desperately trying to outstrip and overwhelm the other, and the wildest arms race is on. No wonder the super-Power with the label of “socialism” has, of late, arrogantly boasted that it is “on a historic offensive along the entire front of the global confrontation”, and that the pace of its advance is “rapid”.

95. Lenin pointed out: “The content of imperialist politics is ‘world domination’ and the continuation of this politics is imperialist war.” So long as imperialism and social-imperialism exist, there will be the danger of war, and genuine *détente* or “lasting peace” will be impossible. Today, the danger of war comes from the super-Powers. One super-Power is trying by hook or by crook to carry out infiltration and expansion abroad and squeeze into the other super-Power’s spheres of influence in Europe and other parts of the world in order to supersede that super-Power and realize its own wild ambition of world domination. With this fierce contention between the super-Powers going on as it is, eventually either the super-Powers will go to war against each other or the people will rise in revolution; either the war will give rise to revolution, or revolution will prevent the war. As Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said: “The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today.”

96. By stepping up their contention for world hegemony, the two super-Powers are bound to hasten the process of their turning into their own opposites. Nowadays, not only have the third world countries risen one after another in revolt against them, but the second world countries in between the super-Powers and the third world have also stood up to resist in various ways control and bullying by the super-Powers. Beset by troubles at home and abroad, both super-Powers are having a very tough time. One super-Power has already overstretched itself and is in a dilemma, unable to attend to all its troubles at the same time. The other super-Power is in an even worse predicament. It has wild ambitions but lacks strength, and its difficulties abound. They are both in the plight described by the Chinese verse: “Flowers fall off, do what one may.” Over-estimation of the strength of the super-Powers does not square with the facts. In the final analysis, it is not the one or two super-Powers but the people of the world in their thousands of millions who determine the destiny of the world.

97. The Chinese delegation would now like to state its views on a number of questions confronting the General Assembly at its current session. First, we

would like to state our views on Africa’s fight against colonialism.

98. China consistently supports the liberation struggles of all oppressed nations and peoples and considers this to be her bounden internationalist duty. In Africa, we firmly support the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Azania and other regions in their just struggle against colonialism and racism. We hail the birth of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and warmly welcome its admission to the United Nations. We firmly demand that Spain terminate its colonial domination in Spanish Sahara and sincerely hope that the Arab countries concerned will work together with the people of Spanish Sahara to seek a reasonable solution to the existing questions of this region through friendly consultations on the basis of unity against colonialism.

99. We hold that the colonial peoples can win national liberation only by relying mainly on their own efforts to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against colonialism. Moribund colonialism relies on armed force to carry on its death-bed struggle, and it will never step down from the stage of history unless it is defeated by the armed struggle of the colonial peoples. Both the birth of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and the more recent agreement on the independence of Mozambique are in essence the result of the long and persistent armed struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, and are by no means favours bestowed by colonialism.

100. The downfall of the former Fascist régime in Portugal, which persisted in the colonial war, is, of course, an important event. But this development in no way implies that Portugal will bring independence to the colonial peoples on a silver platter. Recently, under the pressure of the people, the new Portuguese Government had to recognize the right to independence of the peoples in the Portuguese colonies. This is a manifestation of the general trend. But it is yet to be seen whether the new Portuguese Government will suit its actions to its words. Even when that Government has reached an agreement with a colony, it remains to be seen whether the agreement will truly be implemented. The declaration of the Assembly of the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] adopted at the eleventh ordinary session points out that, if Portugal does not take a clear position on the right to total independence of its colonies in Africa, there will be no other way but pursuit and intensification of the struggle for national liberation.

101. We warmly endorse this correct stand. According to our experience in China, all reactionaries habitually use counter-revolutionary dual tactics, and we must use revolutionary dual tactics to deal with them. Armed struggle is fundamental, but negotiations are not excluded. Sometimes negotiating is tit for tat; and sometimes not negotiating is also tit for tat. Even in negotiations one must base oneself on fighting. In the course of negotiations, the fundamental interests of the people must be protected. The armed forces of the people must be strengthened, and not weakened.

102. Moreover, it must be pointed out that while old-line colonialisms have not died out, neo-colonialisms of various descriptions, including the neo-colonialism flaunting the banner of socialism are stepping

up their infiltration. These neo-colonialisms are sowing discord among African countries and within the national liberation movements to split and demoralize them in a vain attempt to supplant old-line colonialisms and control the regions concerned. Sharp vigilance should be maintained against this. The future of the African liberation struggle is bright, but the road ahead remains tortuous. We believe that the great and increasingly awakening African people, strengthening their unity and persevering in a long struggle, will certainly surmount all difficulties and triumph in the end.

103. Second, on the Middle East question, we wish to say the following.

104. The Arab people brought about an excellent situation through fighting the October war. This war has strengthened the confidence of the Arab people in victory over the Israeli aggressor and broken the stalemate that was deliberately created by the super-Powers. Now, a disengagement has been effected between Egypt and Israel and between Syria and Israel, but the Middle East question is still far from being settled.

105. The essence of the Middle East question lies in Israeli Zionist aggression and the contention between the two super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, for hegemony in the Middle East versus the struggle of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples against aggression and hegemony.

106. The Chinese Government and people always support the just struggle of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples. From the very beginning, we have refused to have any contact with the Israeli Zionists, who persist in aggression. We have firmly opposed the contention between the two super-Powers in the Middle East and opposed their support of and connivance with Israel, and we have constantly exposed the truth that social-imperialism is giving sham support while actually attempting to control the Palestinian and other Arab peoples.

107. It is well known that the United Nations has held innumerable discussions on the Palestine question and adopted countless resolutions thereon, of which the one referred to most often is Security Council resolution 242 (1967). All these resolutions have the common feature of twisting the question of the restoration of the Palestinian people's national rights into a so-called "question of refugees". This is a gross injustice. We have always opposed it and will continue to oppose it.

108. Now, the Arab countries have proposed the discussion of the question of Palestinian national rights at the General Assembly session, so that all countries may hear directly the voices of the millions of Palestinian people and the 100 million Arab people and so that more countries may understand and support their just position. This is entirely necessary.

109. The restoration of Palestinian national rights and the recovery of the lost Arab territories form a struggle that is an integral whole. There can be no settlement of the Middle East question so long as the lost Arab territories are not recovered and Palestinian national rights are not restored. Whatever manoeuvres they may engage in, the two super-Powers will never succeed in their attempt to sacrifice the Palestinian

national rights and undermine the militant unity of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples.

110. We hope that the United Nations will rectify its long-standing unjust attitude on the Palestine question, recognize the Palestinian people's national rights and support their restoration. But historical experience merits attention. No unrealistic hopes should be pinned on United Nations resolutions. In the final analysis, the Arab countries can recover their lost territories and the Palestinian people can regain their national rights only by relying on their own close unity and unremitting struggle, with the support of the peoples of the whole world.

111. Third, our views on the question of Cyprus are as follows.

112. The question of Cyprus is a legacy of imperialist colonial rule. The internal cause of the recent eruption in Cyprus is the lack of a satisfactory solution to the question between the two communities on the island; and its external cause is the attempt of each of the two super-Powers to put this island of strategic importance under its own influence and control.

113. One super-Power stirred up trouble by pulling wires behind the scenes. The other super-Power, pretending to "uphold" the independence of Cyprus and feeling anxious, like an ant on a hot pan, issued one government statement after another, supporting one side one day and the other side the other, sowing discord and fanning the flames of trouble. Racking its brains for ingenious devices, it turned up with proposals, first for the sending of a "United Nations special mission" and then for the convening of an international conference with the participation of the five permanent members of the Security Council. Anyone with a discerning eye will see that its "mischievous" actions serve neither the interests of the independence of Cyprus nor the interests of the Greek and Turkish communities or the countries directly related to these communities, but are aimed at meddling in the Cyprus question and further squeezing into the eastern Mediterranean. In quest of hegemony in the Mediterranean, it has redoubled its efforts to threaten, cajole, subvert and undermine the Balkan countries, causing their grave uneasiness and aggravating tension in this region.

114. We hold that the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus must be respected. We hope that a reasonable solution will be found so that the Greek and Turkish communities can live together in equality and harmony. Cyprus, Turkey and Greece are all friends of China. We have all suffered from imperialist tactics of sowing discord and divide and rule. As for the questions left over from history, we believe that they will not be difficult to resolve so long as the Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus and the countries concerned seek to do so by peaceful means and through patient consultations. We should be constantly on guard against super-Power meddling and intervention.

115. Fourth, on the questions of the South Asian subcontinent and nuclear-free zones, we hold the following views.

116. The dismemberment of Pakistan by India with the backing of the Soviet Union gave rise to turbu-

lence and unrest on the South Asian subcontinent. Great efforts have been made by the Government of Pakistan to promote a normalization of relations between India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. By April this year, the Indian Government had finally implemented in full the resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council of 1971 on the cease-fire between India and Pakistan, the withdrawal of troops and the repatriation of prisoners. This ought to have created favourable conditions for the relaxation of the situation on the South Asian subcontinent. But a new wave arose when the previous one had barely subsided. In May, India exploded a nuclear device allegedly for peaceful purposes. In June, the Indian Government imposed on the people of Sikkim the so-called "Government of Sikkim Bill", which it had concocted single-handedly. And, more recently, the Indian Parliament adopted a constitutional amendment, making Sikkim a so-called "associate state" of India. To put it bluntly, this is the annexation of Sikkim. It is another naked act of expansionism perpetrated by the Indian Government after dismembering Pakistan by armed force.

117. The Indian Government's annexation of Sikkim has aroused the opposition of the Sikkimese people as well as the Indian people and met with condemnation by India's neighbours and world public opinion. The Soviet propaganda organs, alone, sing the praises of India. This shows that Soviet revisionist social-imperialism is the boss behind the scenes of Indian expansionism.

118. The Soviet Union is unscrupulous in its efforts to interfere in, subvert, divide and control the South Asian countries. It is conspiring to engineer another dismemberment of Pakistan. It dreams of opening a corridor to the Indian Ocean to serve its interests in its contention with the other super-Power for hegemony in the South Asian subcontinent and the Indian Ocean. The two super-Powers are competing with each other in setting up military bases in the Indian Ocean, some of which are overt bases while others are covert ones, nominally for civilian, but actually for military, use. The turbulent situation in South Asia and the Indian Ocean calls for vigilance.

119. The turbulence and unrest in South Asia totally contradict the desire for peace of the peoples of all countries in this region. The proposal put forward by Pakistan for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in South Asia [A/9706] is entirely reasonable. China gives it her firm support. We also firmly support the proposal of Iran and Egypt for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East [A/9693 and Add.1-3]. China is a nuclear country, although her nuclear weapons are still in the experimental stage. We are developing nuclear weapons for defence and for breaking the nuclear monopoly and ultimately destroying the nuclear weapons. The Chinese Government has solemnly declared on many occasions that at no time and in no circumstances will China be the first to use nuclear weapons. It consistently holds that the nuclear countries should undertake not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries or nuclear-free zones. We are ready to make such an undertaking in regard to the proposed nuclear-free zones in South

Asia and the Middle East. We hope that all the other nuclear countries will do the same.

120. Fifth, I turn to the questions of Cambodia and Indo-China.

121. In the past year, the Cambodian people have continued to win new victories in their war against United States aggression and for national salvation. The People's Armed Forces of National Liberation of Cambodia launched sustained offensives on all fronts and kept annihilating the effective strength of the enemy. The liberated zone is expanding and becoming ever more consolidated. The Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, head of State of Cambodia, is the Cambodian people's sole lawful Government. It has been recognized by more than 60 countries, and its friendly relations with third world countries are developing steadily. It enjoys a high international prestige. After the tour of Prince Sihanouk, Deputy Prime Minister Khieu Samphan visited many countries in Asia, Africa and Europe this year. They were both accorded a warm welcome in the countries they visited. The just struggle of the Cambodian people has won support on an ever wider scale from people all over the world.

122. The traitorous Lon Nol clique is a handful of national scum repudiated by the people of Cambodia. This clique is rent by disunity and beset with numerous contradictions. In the areas under its rule, the economic situation is deteriorating and mass movements are raging like a storm. It is in a dire plight. Of late, it has advanced a proposal for so-called "peace negotiations", attempting to achieve a demagogic effect. We all know that the key to restoring peace in Cambodia lies in the cessation of United States aggression and interference in Cambodia. So, the purpose of that so-called proposal is simply to cover up the fact of United States aggression and interference in Cambodia and prolong the moribund life of the Lon Nol clique. The Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia has already opposed and rejected that proposal. The Chinese Government resolutely supports the solemn and just stand of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia.

123. It is utterly illegal for the Lon Nol clique to usurp Cambodia's seat in the United Nations. Last year, some people used procedural tactics to postpone for a year the discussion on the question of restoring the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia. That was wholly unjustifiable. The Chinese Government firmly maintains that this session of the General Assembly should adopt a resolution to immediately expel the representatives of the traitorous Lon Nol clique and restore to the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia its rightful seat.

124. More than one year has elapsed since the signing of the Agreement on ending the war in Viet Nam, but peace has not yet been restored in South Viet Nam. The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam has worked tirelessly for the strict implementation of the Paris Agreement. But its efforts have met with obstruction and sabotage from the Saigon administration. Relying on massive United States military aid, the Saigon administration refuses to implement important provisions

of the Paris Agreement, with the result that the situation in South Viet Nam has thus far remained tense. We demand that the United States Government strictly comply with the Paris Agreement and stop its involvement and interference in South Viet Nam, so that peace can really be restored in Viet Nam.

125. The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam is the authentic representative of the South Viet Nameese people. The Paris Agreement recognizes the fact that there exist two administrations in South Viet Nam, namely, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Saigon administration. It is unreasonable that the United Nations should accept only the observer of one side, that is, the Saigon administration. To rectify this irrationality, we hold that the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam should be invited to send its observer to the United Nations.

126. Sixth, with regard to the Korean question, our views are as follows.

127. The General Assembly at its last session reached a consensus on the Korean question, confirmed the three principles of Korea's independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity and decided to dissolve the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea.¹ This was a welcome development.

128. The facts over the past year show that the United Nations should not rest content with the progress made but should continue to go forward. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has made many efforts to push ahead the north-south dialogue and promote the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. But all these efforts have been unreasonably rejected by the South Korean authorities. The proposals on minor issues advanced by the South Korean authorities are wholly aimed at covering up their unwillingness to conduct negotiations on the fundamental question of reunifying the north and the south. What they really want is division, not reunification. On the pretext of a so-called threat from the north, the South Korean authorities have taken a series of "emergency measures", depriving the South Korean people of all basic democratic rights. They have arrested, tried, imprisoned or murdered large numbers of people of various strata who call for democracy, freedom and peaceful reunification, ranging from young students and professors to political figures. Even people like former President Yoon Bo Sun and Catholic Bishop Chi Hak Soun have not escaped such persecution. Before the case of kidnapping Kim Dae Jung is closed, the South Korean authorities have already gone ahead with more sinister actions. Today, South Korea is in fact under the reign of terror of a Fascist dictator. It is mainly because they have the backing of United States troops that the South Korean authorities dare so feverishly to repress the people and sabotage the north-south dialogue. In order to eliminate outside interference in Korea and promote the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, the withdrawal of foreign forces from South Korea is entirely necessary.

129. In paragraph 2 (c) of the explanatory memorandum attached to the request for the inclusion in the agenda of the twenty-ninth session of an additional

item on the question of Korea, which was submitted by the United States and other countries [see A/9741 and Add.1-5], it is asserted that the United States troops under the United Nations flag have not interfered in the internal affairs of the host country. This makes a mockery of common sense. Does not the presence of tens of thousands of United States troops serve to embolden the South Korean rulers, to say the least? The consensus of the last session of the General Assembly affirmed that the reunification of North and South Korea should be achieved by peaceful means without interference by outside force. As a logical consequence of affirming this principle, the foreign troops under the United Nations flag should be withdrawn from South Korea. As for the statement contained in the draft resolution annexed to the explanatory memorandum that "tension in Korea has not been totally eliminated", well, to put it bluntly, this is another way of referring to the so-called threat from the north, which is a myth that has long been exploded. By now even that neighbouring country which has all along supported South Korea no longer believes in this myth. The assertion that the "United Nations Command" cannot be withdrawn because of the existence of this "threat" is sheer deception.

130. The Chinese delegation is firmly against that draft resolution. It strongly maintains that the current session of the General Assembly should discuss and adopt the draft resolution submitted by Algeria and other countries for the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations [see A/9703/Add.3].

131. Seventh, the Chinese delegation's views on the question of disarmament are the following.

132. It is quite understandable that disarmament is a matter of concern to people when the arms race, and especially the nuclear arms race, between the two super-Powers has become more intense and glaring. But hopes are one thing, reality another. For instance, we all talked about disarmament here a year ago. Now, after a year has passed, have the armaments accumulated by the two super-Powers decreased, or have they increased? In our view, they have increased. Is the danger of war greater or less than last year? In our view, at least one cannot say it is less.

133. Why is this so? First, because the two super-Powers are fiercely contending with each other on a global scale. And their arms expansion and war preparations serve their policy of hegemonism. Secondly, because the super-Powers, when faced with increasingly acute economic troubles, inevitably turn to the further militarization of the national economy as the way out. In this regard, the present situation resembles that of the 1930s in many ways.

134. Disarmament is an old issue, and China's views on it are well known. We are in favour of disarmament. But we favour genuine and not sham disarmament, still less empty talk about disarmament coupled with actual arms expansion year after year. Some say that to hold a disarmament conference is better than none. We understand this well-intentioned desire. But we consider that, when the arms race between the two super-Powers, which directly threatens the people of the world, is being stepped up, and when the super-Power with the label of "socialism" is actually

bent on using empty talk at a disarmament conference as a cover for its arms expansion and war preparations, the convening of a nominal disarmament conference or its preparatory meeting will only produce the effect of lulling the people of the world.

135. The Chinese Government is in favour of holding a genuine world disarmament conference. But the conference must have a clear aim and the necessary pre-conditions. The clear aim is the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and absolutely not the so-called limitation of strategic arms. The necessary pre-conditions are: all nuclear countries, and particularly the two nuclear super-Powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, must first of all undertake the unequivocal obligation that at no time and in no circumstances will they be the first to use nuclear weapons, particularly against non-nuclear countries and nuclear-free zones—for example, the Soviet Union should, first of all, undertake obligations in respect of the nuclear-free zone in Latin America—and they must withdraw from abroad all their armed forces, including nuclear missile forces, and dismantle all their military bases, including nuclear bases, on the territories of other countries. Only thus will it be possible for all countries, big and small, on an equal footing, to discuss with equanimity and resolve the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and other questions, free from any threat of force.

136. In the absence of a reduction of the armaments of the two super-Powers, what should the numerous small and medium countries do in the face of their threat? In our opinion, the small and medium countries should strive to strengthen their necessary and independent defence capabilities in the light of specific conditions. This is a fundamental and reliable approach.

137. As expected, the Soviet Government, which comes up with some novelties each year, has put forward this year an item entitled "Prohibition of action to influence the environment and climate for military and other purposes incompatible with the maintenance of international security, human well-being and health" [item 103]. The letter requesting the inclusion of this item as an important and urgent matter in the agenda of this session [A/9702] is so obscurely worded that one cannot make out its real meaning. We would rather wait till the Soviet representative explains the matter in clear and simple language before deciding whether it deserves some comment.

138. Eighth, the Chinese delegation would like to state the following views on the question of defending State sovereignty and national economic rights and interests.

139. Inspired by the victorious struggle which the Arab countries and people waged with oil as a weapon, the third-world countries have started an immense tide of struggle to defend their State sovereignty, control their national resources, develop their national economy and oppose exploitation and plunder by imperialism, and particularly that of the super-Powers. Through the efforts of numerous small and medium-sized countries from all parts of the world, the General Assembly at its sixth special session finally adopted the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic

Order. This was a significant victory for the united struggle of the third world countries. It marks a new trend in the struggle of the people of the world against imperialism, and particularly against hegemonism, a trend of deepening this struggle by carrying it into the economic field.

140. Since the sixth special session, the developing countries have strongly demanded the implementation of the provisions of the Declaration and the Programme of Action and the continued transformation of the old international economic relations based on exploitation and plunder. More and more developing countries are taking bold action to control their national resources and the production and pricing of their raw materials. They have further united themselves in various raw-material producers' organizations to strive to break super-Power manipulation and monopoly. An important part of this struggle of the third world is the work of formulating the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, initiated by the President of Mexico.

141. But the super-Powers have done their utmost to belittle or deny the great significance of the Declaration and the Programme of Action and tried by all means to obstruct the realization of the just demands of the third world. One super-Power openly declared its disagreement with certain principal paragraphs in the two documents and obstinately refused to implement their provisions. The other super-Power has set in motion its propaganda machine to vilify the Declaration and the Programme of Action as showing "regionalism" and "economism", "reflecting group interests", and so on and so forth. This fully shows that both super-Powers want to preserve the old order of exploitation and plunder.

142. Some people say that the current economic difficulties are caused by the increase in oil price. This is a specious statement. In the final analysis, the present economic difficulties are the inevitable outcome of the imperialist system; they are not due to increase in the prices of raw materials, still less to any alleged misdeeds on the part of the oil-producing countries. Those people are daily spreading the idea that Arab and other oil-producing countries have reaped a windfall of tens of billions of United States dollars through the oil price rise. But they forget that the international monopoly capital has reaped an immeasurably greater amount of super-profits through long years of plunder and exploitation and through the forcing down of the prices of oil and other raw materials. Ever since the emergence of colonialism and then imperialism, the parity between the prices of raw materials and industrial goods on the world market has always been unfair. Particularly in times of economic crises, the colonialists and imperialists invariably use every possible means, including the forcing down of the prices of raw materials, to shift the grave consequences of economic crises on to the broad masses in the colonies and semi-colonies, i.e., the developing countries of today. The imperialists regard this state of affairs as normal and reasonable, and even as sacred and inviolable. Now, this sacred and inviolable state of affairs is being violated. To fly into a rage is futile. To bluff is also futile. The profound significance of the oil battle lies in the fact that the developing countries have united themselves and independently

exercised control over their national resources and fought against plunder, exploitation and the shifting of crises on to them. Of course, higher oil prices have caused non-oil-producing countries of the third world some temporary difficulties. Ways should be sought to resolve these difficulties, but this struggle and its great historic significance must not be negated on this account.

143. Combating maritime hegemonism and formulating a new law of the sea is an important aspect of the struggle of the developing countries to safeguard state sovereignty and develop their national economy. At the recent Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea held in Caracas, the great majority of the developing countries were for the establishment of an exclusive economic zone of 200 nautical miles. Driven by circumstances, the two super-Powers ostensibly gave up their opposition—an attitude in which they had persisted all along. But, as if by agreement, they both raised a number of pre-conditions and restrictions under the name of a “package deal”. The substance of these pre-conditions and restrictions is insistence on “freedom of passage” through straits within territorial seas and on “freedom of fishing” and “freedom of scientific research” in the exclusive economic zones. Nominally they have accepted a 200-nautical-mile economic zone, but actually they want to emasculate the exclusive economic zone so that it will be devoid of any concrete substance and the developing countries will be left with nothing whatsoever. To put it bluntly, the “freedoms” demanded by the super-Powers are their freedom to plunder the developing countries and their freedom to pursue hegemonism.

144. In particular, the super-Power which claims to be “the natural ally of the developing countries” has put on an even more wonderful show. Assuming a compassionate tone, it exclaimed that international trade and security would be impaired if freedom of passage through straits within territorial seas should be denied, and that if it was not allowed to go fishing in the exclusive economic zone, the fish there would die uselessly. You see, how kind-hearted it is. In fact, these are but crocodile tears, which cannot disguise its vicious super-Power features.

145. It is a serious struggle to defend State sovereignty, control national resources, develop national economy and combat super-Power plunder and exploitation. The super-Powers are bound to put up a desperate fight, but it will be of no avail. At the sixth special session of the General Assembly and the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea at Caracas, numerous developing countries came forward to expose and condemn the super-Powers and resolutely called for smashing the old international order and taking their destiny into their own hands. This is a thing that has never happened before. The super-Powers have never been so isolated. The situation is excellent. We are confident that the numerous developing countries, closing their ranks, allying with all forces that can be allied with and persevering in struggle, will surely continue to win new victories.

146. International developments show that the world has changed enormously and profoundly. Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution—this torrential tide

is sweeping into every corner of the earth. Storms have broken out even in places that have been rather quiet for decades. The world situation at present is indeed aptly described by the verse, “The wind sweeping through the tower heralds a rising storm in the mountains.” And this wind is gathering momentum. At such a juncture, it is our hope that this session of the General Assembly will do some useful things to advance the cause of human progress. The Chinese delegation is ready to work with all of you toward this end.

147. Mr. NSEKALIJE (Rwanda) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, your unanimous election to the presidency of this Assembly is sure proof of the eminent personal qualities with which you have been so generously endowed and which have won for you today the esteem and confidence of this Assembly. That esteem, through you, goes to Algeria, your motherland, which throughout the sombre years of its history has fought with courage and determination to achieve its independence, and which today, under the noble guidance of its leader, Colonel Houari Boumediène, is the most successful example not only of the political, economic and cultural liberation of a nation, but also of a perceptive and tireless champion of universal social justice and of the full development of the third world.

148. Your election pleases us all the more since it comes at a time when Africa, of which you are an illustrious son, is at a turning-point in its total decolonization. We are convinced that your customary flexibility in negotiation, your dynamism and the clear thinking which has always characterized your approach to problems will enable our debates to reach realistic and practical solutions. My delegation would like to assure you that it pledges its full contribution to the success of this session of the General Assembly.

149. I am also called on to repeat our expressions of appreciation to Mr. Benites of Ecuador, who during two sessions directed our work with wisdom, competence and devotion rarely equalled, especially in view of the exceptional circumstances of his presidency.

150. This is also a good opportunity for us to reiterate to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the expression of the confidence of my Government because of his untiring and ceaseless efforts to render the Organization an effective instrument in the service of peace, social justice and security in the world. We publicly recognize the keen awareness with which the Secretary-General has discharged his noble mission, to promote, at whatever cost, co-operation among the nations. Throughout his world travels his constant concern has been the endeavour to protect and defend understanding among men, peoples and nations.

151. More than ever in the past, this Assembly requires that we all become more keenly aware of our international responsibilities, in the interest of the fate of mankind as a whole. Since the twenty-eighth session many changes have taken place in the world. It has been clearly demonstrated to us that it is high time for the Organization to be given the adequate moral and material power, which is needed effectively to thwart the misdeeds of the ever-present or latent forces of retrogression and reaction.

152. My delegation is pleased to welcome the new States Members of the Organization, Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau, which, through their admission, have enlarged the family of nations. Our particular welcome goes to the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, which has achieved its independence at the cost of so many sacrifices. Our sister country knows very well what our sentiments were at the dawn of its hopes, and we express our best wishes as it takes its new path towards progress and full independence.

153. In Africa, the thaw in the situation in the Territories administered by Portugal is an event without precedent in the history of that country, which was the most unshakeable bastion of colonialism. That development calls for adjustments on our part, and the international community, in order to carry out its mission properly, must channel that change towards a successful conclusion—that is to say that on the one hand it should strike an appropriate balance between social justice and economic growth and on the other hand it should promote the maximum conditions for the exercise of equality and freedom for all men.

154. The efforts towards decolonization made by Portugal are appreciated by all of us. We know that the problem is to strike a balance between the imperatives of legal principles and the economic interests of the moment or of an era. That has often been the stumbling-block to the best of compromise formulas. Lisbon needed real courage to come to such a change of heart, but it is urgent to transform intentions into actions. Mozambique and Angola await impatiently the glorious sun of real, authentic and unclouded independence.

155. The crises and tensions in certain corners of our planet, the deportations and separations of peoples and nations, have always been, and still are, a matter of great concern for my country, whether the problems concern Palestine, Korea, Viet Nam, Cambodia or Cyprus. My Government still believes that any attempt to settle the crisis in the Middle East must take full account of the legitimate aspiration and inalienable right of the Palestinian people to return to the country of which they have been robbed, and to decide their own fate.

156. The Government of Rwanda is following with great feeling the evolution of the situation in Indo-China. It hopes that the Paris agreements on Viet Nam will be fully implemented in order to improve the fate of the Viet Nameese people as a whole. We are pleased at the very substantial improvement of the situation in Laos and we follow with the closest attention, and with feelings of sympathy, the situation in Cambodia, a country torn apart by a long and harsh internal war. It is high time that an equitable and rapid solution be found, to bring that war to an end and allow the Cambodian people full opportunities of accomplishing the heavy task of national reconstruction and economic and social development.

157. The Korean problem is a cause of great concern. My delegation has never ceased to assert from this rostrum that the Organization must deal effectively with that problem. After the withdrawal of foreign troops from the entire territory of Korea, the peaceful reunification of the country, without foreign interference, is a matter for the Korean people alone.

It is for them, in the full exercise of their sovereignty and independence, to bring about democratically the reunification of the country and to ensure its future. That is why the Organization should beware of sanctioning any acceptance of a separation between the Korean peoples. Rather it should facilitate renewed contacts between North and South Korea with a view to reaching an equitable solution to this most important problem.

158. Finally the drama of Cyprus still warns us of the fragility of peace on our planet. Aims of geo-political and strategic supremacy in the Mediterranean and the Balkan peninsula have created a new hotbed of tension, which could lead to incalculable consequences if it is not dealt with in time. The solution of the problem of Cyprus will come only from concerted efforts, on a basis of sovereignty and free from all foreign interference, of the two communities inhabiting the island of Cyprus.

159. All sorts of foreign interference mark the four corners of the world, but Indo-China, more than any other region of the globe, has been a permanent source of conflicts and of insecurity. Today, as yesterday, the strengthening of peace and justice is one of the great aims of the United Nations. But everybody is aware that we live in a world of insecurity and injustice. This world which possesses this power of mass destruction; this world of local conflicts, sought and tolerated on behalf of power politics; this world where the most fundamental rights of men are daily flouted; this world of great masses that have become aware of their destinies in the modern era, but have not become free from hunger and misery; this world, finally, where there is little security because many States have violated the principles solemnly proclaimed in declarations that reverberate around the walls of this house.

160. The sovereign equality of all States, the non-interference in the domestic affairs of other States, the respect for the commitments undertaken in good faith, the peaceful settlement of disputes, the renunciation of the use of force, freedom and self-determination as well as universal social justice are the principles that should guide an international community worthy of our times and of future generations.

161. Unfortunately, reality does not reflect these principles. It is said that peace reigns among the great of this world, that there is *détente*; but there are devastating conflicts in various parts of the planet. Indo-China, the Middle East, Cyprus and southern Africa are still theatres of inter-se conflicts, sources of destruction and of misery. Since the last world war there have been 50 local wars, all of them disastrous. The world today is full of contradictions and a series of euphemisms. Thus, total and complete disarmament is no longer mentioned; rather we talk about mutual control of armaments. Peace has taken the name of *détente* among the great Powers. Hence there will be no "war" unless it is an atomic war and unless the super-Powers are directly involved.

162. These are the facts that we cannot resign ourselves to. Far from finding an excuse for discouragement, the United Nations should redouble its efforts to become more effective. Universal morality advocates these efforts not only to thwart the nefarious

forces of colonialism, racism and imperialism but also to silence weapons and to seek a new economic order which should transcend narrow egotisms and aim at universal social justice.

163. Peace, a thinker has said, does not come by accident; it is created; it is built; it is a constant creation; it can be imagined only as a supreme duty rather than as the fruit of a well-meaning order coming from outside. We are duty-bound within our means and our specific responsibility to work for the building of peace and international security. Our Organization cannot expect lasting peace as long as the arms race and the perfecting of increasingly deadly weapons and their introduction into hitherto peaceful regions proceed uncontrollably.

164. The international community cannot believe in peace when here and there in the world there are wars of attrition, struggles for influence, and millions of victims are claimed throughout the world. The international community will not know true peace as long as the unrepentant supporters of colonialism, *apartheid* and of zionism oppose with bad faith the appeals of this Organization to abide by its recommendations and resolutions.

165. The sixth special session forcefully proved that it is not only wars that violate peace but also social injustice. It is for this reason that we very clearly state that the international community will always be far removed from peace as long as three quarters of mankind possess only the right to live in poverty while a quarter of the inhabitants of the planet hold for themselves in their own consumer society 80 per cent of the wealth of the world.

166. May I take this opportunity to deal with the problem of the present international economic situation. My delegation as well as others have expressed the views of their Governments on the nature of the economic relations between the developed and the developing countries. I do not claim that I am bringing up a new subject, but I think that we should return to these matters more insistently than in the past since any objective observer of the present international situation must acknowledge the fact that there has been no tangible improvement. On the contrary, there are signs of deterioration that constantly cause us concern and worry.

167. In almost all the developing countries, economic relations with the developed countries are characterized by a dependence that is far too close. The developing countries are forced to export raw materials and to import manufactured goods. But in this field, injustice and inequality could become the rule and could be systematized to the detriment of those who are weak.

168. For over a century the terms of trade have constantly deteriorated and still do so to the detriment of the poor countries. These countries cannot influence the market laws that are set by the wealthy countries without any consultations with the developing countries. Thus the prices of raw materials follow the inherent factors of the political, economic and financial situation of the industrialized countries.

169. The deficit in the balance of payments further aggravates the already precarious situation of our economies. The poor countries are deprived of a

sizable amount of foreign currency upon which they were entitled to rely to cover the cost of imports they require in order to survive, such as capital goods and consumer items. The scarcity of these articles leads to a general increase in price since the local products inevitably follow the movement of inflation.

170. We must also not forget that the reduction of imports has also reduced the revenues of States since in our countries customs duties generally represent the greater part of government revenue. Since the prices received for exports have also followed a downward curve the State is forced to subsidize exports for obvious economic and political reasons. Often this can be done only by reducing or eliminating export dues, which, again, is a drain on the national treasury and a policy from which we at the moment cannot escape.

171. The situation that I have just outlined is serious enough to call on the international community to put an end to it. For, when all is said and done, proof has been given that in the long run the developed countries in turn may also suffer from an over-all lack because of the break-down in the harmony that should exist in international relations.

172. In order to force the wealthy countries to take into account the interests of three quarters of mankind, some countries have already taken drastic measures to control the development and marketing of their own resources on terms which they themselves fix. But this is a decision that must fall to the sovereignty of each State, and my delegation has repeatedly and unreservedly supported this fact. We stress that the States that can today act in this way are not too numerous. It is therefore, more than ever, indispensable that an international understanding be arrived at on terms of trade between the wealthy and the poor countries.

173. My delegation welcomes the conclusions and recommendations of the sixth special session, on raw materials and development. It was, in fact, encouraging for the international community to have recognized that it is urgent that everything possible be done to remedy the present situation by taking the necessary steps to improve the terms of trade for the developing countries by eliminating all manoeuvres that might leave our countries in a deficit trade balance situation every year.

174. But to achieve these goals, the international community must insist that the developed countries eschew all action detrimental to the poor countries. It is, therefore, urgent to take drastic measures to abolish the trade barriers with the developing countries. That trade must be carried out at prices that take into account the interests of the exporting countries. The various techniques designed to manipulate the raw materials market in order to force a decrease in prices must be eliminated from international trade practices, which must remain fair, sound and mutually advantageous.

175. As I pointed out here at the sixth special session [2222nd meeting], for my country the question of world currency exchange is but one aspect of the much greater problem that covers the entire range of international relations, including the particular aspect of co-operation among nations. For years, the idea of

international solidarity among the wealthy countries and the developing countries has been gaining ground. All the international conferences that have been held over the past decade have insisted, in vain, on the absolute necessity for the developed countries to lend their assistance to the economic and social development of the poor countries. Those appeals have fallen on deaf ears; and thus disturbing signs have been appearing more and more frequently in the gloom as the situation regarding assistance among nations deteriorates.

176. In fact, since the world energy crisis, bilateral aid has been diminishing. Multilateral aid, which generally draws its resources from investments made by the developed countries, will inevitably follow this trend if the attitude of those countries is not changed. This is why my delegation takes this opportunity to make a solemn appeal to the developed countries, urging them to maintain and to improve the volume and quantity of their aid to the developing countries. In this field, certain developing countries deserve particular attention, above all those which, as a result of the petroleum crisis, have lost considerable amounts in foreign exchange.

177. However, the picture is not entirely gloomy. For the developing countries, it is encouraging to note that international co-operation relations have more and more been assuming new forms. In fact, besides those vertical relationships that have hitherto existed between the rich countries and those less favoured, and principally between the former colonial Powers and their ex-colonies, we are witnessing the birth of a new horizontal international co-operation. I mean the co-operation that has been in existence for some years now among the developing countries themselves. These relations already exist in Africa, where efforts at regional integration are already under way, with varying degrees of success. The friendly and fruitful relations that have been building for some time between the African States and the Arab States constitute a specific example of such solidarity among the developing countries. More often than not it is a question of the type of co-operation that can speedily prove to be mutually advantageous to the partners involved. Arab countries with capital available to them can channel that capital into productive sectors and thus participate in the development of the African countries, while at the same time being assured of an adequate and reasonable return on their investments of capital.

178. My delegation is gratified at the progress achieved in this field. By their decision to create a development fund, the Arab countries that possess considerable financial means as a result of the petroleum prices have demonstrated to the world that the lofty proclamation of solidarity among the third-world nations is not a mere exercise in rhetoric. The important actions they have taken in full exercise of their sovereignty deserve our admiration, for not only do they open up financial possibilities for the less favoured countries but they also constitute a real change in international financial policy.

179. Here likewise we have a profound transformation in the conception, on the part of the developing countries, of what they have to do in order to win the war against ignorance and want. In fact, for some

years now our countries have realized that the development of the third world will take place first and foremost through the efforts of the parties concerned, and that foreign assistance will only complement our own efforts.

180. This realization on the part of the developing countries constitutes a guarantee to the wealthy countries that the assistance the latter may grant will not be wasted, for the simple reason that it is regarded by the beneficiary countries as a necessary complement for continued economic, social and cultural development of their populations, who must be the first to benefit from assistance to development. For it is to my delegation an obvious fact that man must be the focal point of concern in any economic policy or plan for co-operation.

181. Since I have raised the problem of the economic, social and cultural development of our peoples, I should also like to set forth briefly the point of view of my delegation concerning the question of population growth, which is still a very timely subject. This obviously involves a complex problem that concerns individuals as much as States and each country as well as the international community as a whole; and it is precisely because we are dealing here with a complex problem that the views expressed and the solutions proposed with regard to the question of population growth are far from receiving unanimous approval. Some utter cries of alarm; in a few years there will be too many human beings on the earth and there will not be enough to feed them. For others, more optimistic, the as yet unexploited potential of the earth will be sufficient, and the real problem is to mobilize all the manpower and all the technology, so that every human being, thanks to his own labour and assisted by international aid, will have every opportunity to lead a new and better life.

182. My delegation is of the view that, whatever the opposing positions may be, this question, in the last analysis, cannot be isolated from the general political context. The international community as a whole is involved. It is for this reason that my delegation was highly gratified at the initiative taken by the United Nations in convening the World Population Conference. We are very pleased that the third world succeeded in making itself heard there and was able to refute certain theories that all too often reflected only the selfishness of certain poorly disguised interests. For have we not, as a matter of fact, often heard it said that the developing countries should, at all cost, slow down the growth of their populations if they wish to develop? Certain theoreticians have gone even further than that and have subjected foreign assistance to the conditions of this twentieth-century Malthusian policy. But in Bucharest the bell tolled with a different sound. The third world wanted to see birth control matched by a simultaneous limitation on the waste that goes on in the industrialized countries; in other words, they want to see a parallel reduction in both fecundity and inequality.

183. My delegation is not unaware of truth of the profound realities and difficult problems created by the population explosion. On the contrary, Rwanda is all the more aware of those problems in that we are confronted with them. In fact, though a small country, we must feed a population of an average density of

more than 150 inhabitants per square kilometre. In certain regions our population density reaches 200 or 300 inhabitants per square kilometre. And may I add that the annual rate of natural increase stands at about 3 per cent, while at the same time our arable land is being exhausted day by day and our limited means do not permit us for the time being to modernize our agriculture and livestock-raising so as to increase their yield.

184. Yet we believe that birth control, or, more generally, the slowing-down of population growth cannot itself be set up as a valid policy. On the contrary, we are convinced that instead of being a goal, population policy must be considered as only one instrument among many used by a State to achieve its fundamental purposes, which must be primarily social and economic progress and the welfare of its inhabitants. For after all, the latest discoveries of the scientists demonstrate that the present total resources of our planet could feed more than 30,000 million human beings. For this reason we agree with those who say that the target in the field of population should be that of improving the standards and qualities of each individual's existence, bearing in mind, on the one hand, the diversity of conditions in the different parts of the world, and, on the other, the sovereign right of each country to determine its own population policies.

185. My delegation also feels that we should no longer try to impose a population policy that would be valid for the entire world. That is thinly disguised imperialism. We can agree to the United Nations co-ordinating national policies, but it must do so in absolute respect for the sovereignty of each State as also in respect for the right of each family to have the children it wants.

186. As the French Minister of Labour and Population, Mr. Michel Durafour, stated:

“A population policy must be integrated into the general development policy that is a prerequisite for the prosperity of mankind. In this perspective, the developed countries must give their technical and financial assistance to the under-developed countries that request it.”

187. That statement coming from the representative of an industrialized country is highly encouraging. We hope that the other developed countries will adopt the same view and, above all, will implement it in the interest of the international community as a whole.

188. My delegation once again makes a solemn appeal to all the wealthy countries not to express international solidarity merely by declarations of good intent that are not followed up by concrete acts. We still see the insufficiency of official development assistance. That assistance not only falls short of the needs of the third world and of what the industrialized nations can afford but it is only half of the target set by the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade. That target was to bring official development assistance up to 0.7 per cent of the gross national product of the developed countries. But, unfortunately, we note today that official aid has not passed the 0.35 per cent of the gross national product of all those countries.

189. In speaking of this economic selfishness, we may recall another matter that is also of current interest, namely, the law of the sea. This is surely a field in which international understanding and co-operation should replace the traditional egotism of nations.

190. It is regrettable that the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea that was just held at Caracas concluded without arriving at very positive results. On the contrary, the positions of the wealthy countries and those of the poor countries were so opposite that we might even say that the Conference was a failure.

191. My country considers it normal that a coastal State should claim the right to a much larger maritime economic zone than the area that is at present held to constitute territorial waters.

192. As regards the utilization of the sea, one principle has long prevailed, namely, the freedom of the high seas. To be sure, that principle corresponded with the colonial and naval interests of the great Powers. It was a satisfying basis for world order at a time when oceans were only used for navigation and fishing and in a manner that was relatively harmless for the marine environment. But that principle has already begun to be challenged. The development of technology has made possible a far greater and more intensive exploitation of the oceans. Thanks to modern technology, very possibly the resources of the ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction can soon be exploited on an industrial and commercial scale.

193. It is to be feared that these resources will only profit a small number of countries that possess the advanced technical means required for large-scale exploitation of this common wealth. In this field again, economic selfishness on the part of the developed countries may become widespread to the detriment of the countries of the third world, if we do not elaborate a new régime that will take into account the needs of mankind in general and of the developing countries in particular.

194. A hard task awaits the codifiers of the new law of the sea, namely, to reconcile the particularly wide divergences of interest between States. In fact, the great Powers wish to maintain as wide a zone as possible, free from any restriction. On the other hand, the coastal States would like to monopolize the exploitation of the resources of the waters adjacent to their territories. It is therefore imperative that international law should succeed in taking account of the interests of both sides in order to ensure better world-wide co-operation.

195. But there is another category of countries that follows questions concerning the law of the sea with an interest that is all the greater since they do not have a natural access to the sea—the land-locked countries. My delegation asserts that, in order to survive, the land-locked countries must have free access to the sea and freedom of transit across the coastal States. And within the framework of international co-operation, they should also be able to take advantage of the harbour facilities and related services of the coastal States.

196. We note that at present all countries seek to join or have already joined wide regional or international groups. Co-operation in this field therefore is possible. There are numerous examples all over the world to prove it. We all know how the land-locked countries of Europe have been able easily to gain access to the sea and thus develop their own maritime trade thanks to the understanding of their neighbours. All these examples prove that co-operation among the land-locked and coastal States is possible and that it can be consonant with respect for the interests of both sides. The new law of the sea will thus be founded on actual practice and will become a charter respected by everyone.

197. It is imperative for all countries, including the land-locked countries, to be able to benefit from the wealth contained in the oceans. An equitable distribution must be carried out in the interests of the international community as a whole in order to ensure a balanced development which is an absolute condition for lasting peace among nations.

198. We trust that all these appeals will be heeded and thus by combining all their efforts men will co-

operate from now on in the effective creation of a world of justice, progress, understanding and peace. A world where with the prospect of a new world order, all men of all continents and of all races will at long last be able to enjoy freedom, equality and dignity.

The meeting rose at 1.50 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 30*, p. 24, agenda item 41.

² *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971*, p. 16

³ *Report of the World Population Conference, 1974* (United Nations Publication, Sales No. E.75.XIII.3), chap. I.

⁴ *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-eighth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1973*, document S/11081.